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Publications

F.S.A., F.R.H.S.

Ballads from Manuscripts.

Vol. X.

BALLADS ON THE CONDITION OF ENGLAND IN HENRY VIII'S AND EDWARD VI'S REIGNS,

(Including the State of the Clergy, Monks and Friars,)

ON WOLSEY, ANNE BOLEYN, SOMERSET, AND LADY JANE GREY;

WITH

WYNKYN DE WORDE'S TREATISE OF A GALAUNT

(AB. 1520 A.D.)

EDITED BY

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TRINITY HALL, CAMBRIDGE, ONE OF THE EDITORS OF BISHOP PERCY'S FOLIO MS., ETC. ETC.

PRINTED FOR

The Ballad Society,

BY TAYLOR AND CO., LITTLE QUEEN STREET,

LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS, LONDON.

1868–72.

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REGIA

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FOREWORDS.

Of old Ballads of high imagination, deep pathos, or sweet fancy, there are none, to my knowledge, in manuscript, which have not long since been printed, and printed over and over again. Having searcht long, enquired widely,[1] and had many searches and enquiries made for me, I have come to the conclusion that until new collections are found, or closed ones are made accessible, men who want 'Ballads' from Manuscripts must be content to put up with those that, though poor in verse, are valuable as illustrations of the social state and life of their time. I have no hope of our Society being able to increase the imaginative wealth of the world, but I am very sure that it can add, that it has added, material of great worth to the store of facts that enables us to realize, more or less, what the condition of England in past times was.

This claim I put forward with confidence on behalf of the present volume, because the ballads in it, and the extracts from contemporary writers confirming the ballads' statements, do correct most usefully Mr. Froude's glowing picture, in his History, of the state of England in Henry VIII's early time,—a picture which gives an entirely one-sided and wrong view of the real facts of the case.—The truth is,

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[1] One of our former members, Mr. Archibald J. Dunn, reproached me for my choice of unprinted ballads from MSS, and ventured on the statement "Knowing, *as I do*, how rich our MSS are in worthy Mediæval Ballads" &c. On being askt twice at intervals to name one unprinted MS of the kind, he has of course failed to do so. Projecting MSS from your consciousness, to make a paragraph read well, is not the kind of work one admires.

that Henry VIII's reign, instead of being a specially bright time for working-men, was a dark one; instead of being one that specially favoured their class, was one that saw a more sweeping blow smite the independent yeomen into poverty,[1] than perhaps any former age had witnessed. The wide conversion of tillage into pasture—sheep devouring men, as Sir Thomas More said—the decay of villages, the massing of small holdings into large, landlords' tyranny, Henry's extravagance and exactions, caused a moan of distress to rise from the whole land, and drove the sufferers to rebellion. Open what book, hear what ballad, of the time, you will, 'a care-ful cry' comes forth. Henry's own chaplain, Henry's own Chancellor, his Statutes, his Commons, his Lords, all join in declaring that in Ascham's youth[2] as well as his prime, his terrible phrase was true of the English poor, "*Nam vita, quæ nunc vivitur a plurimis, non vita, sed miseria est.*"[3] Since the issue of the first Part of this book in February 1869, I have procured the publication of not only several tracts mentioned in it that illustrate the condition of England in Henry's reign,[4] but also of Thomas Starkey's *Dia-*

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[1] The yeomen went to increase the number, and share the wages, of the labourers and artisans.

[2] He was born in 1515, and died Dec. 30, 1568.

[3] Written on Nov. 21, 1547, see p. 113 below.

[4] I Four Supplications 1529–1553 A.D. E. Engl. Text Soc. 1871.

1. A Supplicacyon for the Beggers (written ab. 1529 A.D. and (as is believed) by Simon Fish.

2 A Supplycacion to our moste Soueraigne Lorde Kyng Henry the Eyght / Kynge of England of Fraunce and Ireland / and moste ernest Defender of Christes Gospel / Supreme Heade vnder God here in Erthe / next & immedyately of his Churches of Englande and Irelande (written A.D. 1544).

3 A Supplication of the Poore Commons, A.D. 1546.

4 Certayne Causes gathered together, wherein is showed the decaye of England only by the great multitude of shepe, to the vtter decay of houshold keping, mayntenaunce of men, dearth of corne, and other notable dyscommodityes, approued by Syxe olde Prouerbes (a Supplication to Edward VI's Council, A.D. 1550–3).

II Robert Crowley's Thirty-one Epigrams A.D. 1551; his "Informacion and Peticion agaynst the oppressones of the pore Commons of this Realme, compiled and Imprinted forth is onely purpose, that amongest them that haue to doe in the Parliamente, som godly minded men, may hereat take occasion to speake more in the matter then the Authoure

logue between Pole and Lupset,[1] a calm book of philosophical discussion, which yet gives the same picture of the distress in England that its like, More's *Utopia* does, and scarcely lowers the intense colours in which the partizans of the time painted it. Men can now therefore easily judge for themselves whether Mr. Froude's light fancy sketch fairly represents the condition of England in Henry VIII's time, or not. If the contemporary evidence does not convince them, and they want one modern authority against another, then let them set Professor Brewer's against Mr. Froude's. To the study of Henry VIII's time Mr. Brewer must have given at least a week for every hour that Mr. Froude has; and in his Calendar of the State Papers of Henry's reign, as well as privately, Mr. Brewer has declared his opinion against Mr. Froude's—though not naming him.

Besides the distinctly social state of England, the political and the religious conditions of the country are also well illustrated by the Ballads in the present volume. It is somewhat odd that so little blame is thrown on Henry VIII in the different complaints. Fear of death for treason was no doubt the main cause of this ;[2] but the monarch's early popularity, and the divinity which doth hedge a King, must be credited with their share of his exemption. Having a proud Minister to blame and hate, and he a grasping Papist, the people concentrated on him the abuse of which his master should have had at least an equal share.

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was able to write;" his Voyce of the Last Trumpet; his Way to Wealth, 8 Febr. 1550. (Early English Text Soc. 1872, ed. J. M. Cowper.)

III The Wyll of the Deuyll &c ed. F. J. Furnivall.

IV 'Roy's Satire, Rede me and be not wroth;' with 'A proper Dyaloge betwene a Gentillman and a Husbandman, eche complaynynge to other their miserable Calamite through the Ambicion of Clergye,' 1530 A.D. (ed. C. Arber, 1871).

Lever's Sermons, ed. Arber, 1870, was on Mr. Arber's list before.

Henry Brinklow's Works will probably be publisht in 1874 by the Early English Text Society.

[1] England in the Reign of King Henry the Eighth. A Dialogue between Cardinal Pole and Thomas Lupset, Lecturer in Rhetoric at Oxford. By Thomas Starkey, Chaplain to the King. Edited, with Preface, Notes, and Glossary, by J. M. Cowper. Early English Text Society, 1871, 12*s*.

[2] See the Exeter case in the Notes.

The two Ballads 'Of the Cardnall Wolsey' p. 333, (A.D. 1521–2), and 'The Impeachment of Wolsey' (1528 A.D.), p. 352 may well be set alongside of Skelton's and Roy's diatribes against the Minister, as evidences of how bitter the people's feelings were.[1]

As to the state of religion in Henry's time, our Ballads show that the putridities of Popery stank in men's nostrils in England as well as in Rome,[2] and that a purification, a Reformation, were a necessity of life. Home and hearth, justice, law, school and court, were all under the cloud of corrupting influence that Rome's ministers diffused, and there was nothing for it but to clear them out. That the chief agent in the work was a bad King labouring for his own bad lust, makes little difference in the value of the work done, short as the measure of it fell from that which ought to have been accomplished. Sad as it was to see abbey land and money going to courtiers instead of education, the Reformation was nevertheless a blessing to England; and those sentimentalists and ritualists who groan over it and abuse it, know neither the poisonous evils that Popery caused here, nor the lies and deceits that wrung from men kept wilfully ignorant and superstitious, the money that raised the abbeys and buildings which modern unknowing covers with a halo of sanctified regret. I have no wish to lessen any estimate of the services which Popery—or Christianity notwithstanding its Popery—rendered to our own and other lands in early times; but in the 16th century it was more a curse than a blessing, and its removal was every way a gain. Still, all that I have come across on its side in the way of MS Ballads I have put into this volume: some hearty abuse of Luther and his English followers will be found on pages 281–290, laments over the overthrow of the Abbeys are on pages 292–300, and a call to the Northern Rebels "to suppresse the heretykes," these Protestants, can be read on pages 304–309.

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[1] "This Curseide Cornwell" is also abused with great zest on pages 307–8 below.

[2] Compare Andrew Boorde, a Romanist, as well as Luther, &c, &c.

The first Part of the volume was intended to include all the ballads and poems on general subjects, and to end with Arthur Golding's translation of Dr. Haddon's Exhortation to England to repent, in the year of the Great Sweat, 1551; but in the interval between the issue of Part I, in Feb. 1869, and the laying-down of Part II in the summer of 1871 because the Society had no money, Mr. C. W. Ashbee sent me one of his facsimiles of Wynkyn de Worde's *Treatise of this Galaunt*[1]; and as this not only echoed the general complaints of *Now a Dayes &c*, but also introduced a contemporary account of the Tudor dandy's ways and dress, I could not let pass the opportunity of putting-in so apposite a tract, and I have therefore set it at the end of the second Part of this book, after the Personal Poems.

These Personal Poems include, besides four on Wolsey,—of which I have already alluded to the two worthy of notice,—two New Year's Gifts of verses to the Duke of Somerset, once Lord Protector, and a pair of pathetic Ballads, "Anne Boleyn's Fortune," and "Lady Jane Grey's Lamentation:" Anne's written soon after her Fortune's close, Lady Jane's longer after she 'lost her head.' Sad ends both; both ill-deserved, as I believe, little as Henry's wife can be compared with Suffolk's daughter, who suffered wholly for others' faults. In commenting on the former Ballad, I have had to contend with Mr. Froude's mistaken estimate of the value of the evidence against Anne Boleyn; and I have also prefixt to the Ballad on her death, the verses by Leland and Udall on her triumphant procession through the City of London, and the Chronicler Hall's account of it and of her Coronation. It is impossible to turn from the gladness and hope of one picture to the gloom of the other, without a feeling of pity for her who is the central figure of both.

To those critics who have objected to the length of my Introductions to *Now a Dayes* &c, I have only to say that I believe I understand my own business better than they do. The complaint of one reviewer in this particular, is to be

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[1] Wynkyn de Worde printed from 1504 to 1534.

interpreted as, "I scamp my books; how absurd it is of you not to scamp yours too! What's the good of bothering yourself or us with a lot of extracts?" The question of illustrations to a ballad depends on the accessibility of books and MSS relating to its subjects. How difficult it was, when I set to work, even to get the names of the books likely to yield information on the social state of England in Henry VIII's time, I can answer for[1]; and how little accessible they were, I can answer for too. The case is somewhat altered now, and will alter more as the work of the Record Office, Early English Text Society &c goes on. But in 1868 the books which proved the assertions of the contemporary ballads, as against Mr. Froude, could be got at only in the British Museum, Lambeth Library, &c., and I was bound to lay the evidence before our Members, in this book. It is not for their jingle that historical Ballads are to be sought, but for the light they throw on the sufferings, the sympathies, the hopes, the fears, the life, of Englishmen in former days; and these must be illustrated from contemporary documents.

To all the friends who have helpt me in this volume, and whose names are mentioned on the pages where their information is recorded, I give hearty thanks. The one stranger whose interest in the first Part led him to make me an Index to it, Mr. J. H. Backhouse of Darlington, has since passt to where thanks cannot reach him.

3, St. George's Square, Primrose Hill, N.W.
9 *February*, 1872.

P.S. As to the general state of the country, see the letters in Ellis's Third Series, vols. 1 & 2, on the difficulties of attempting to collect the "Amicable and Loving Grant" as Wolsey called it, or a forced payment of one sixth of every man's substance, for Henry's expedition to France in 1525. Sir Thomas Boleyn says, "In good faith I thinke ther is a great povertie in Kent, and lacke of money, as hath been seen

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[1] See my list in the Early English Text Society's Report, January 1869, pages 18, 19.

many yeres, or els theis men be too untrewe. For they allegid before me (as I thinke they have don befor you) many mervelous decayes, as well in gooddes as in catalles; and some in brennyng of their barnes and other howses with stuff therin; and some by shrewd debtors be defrauded bi reason of protections; and some saith that in paying this demaund, they should not be able to fynde thair wifes and childre, but shuld be dreven to send theym a begging, and so to geve up their fermes." i. 363 "Item I have been in this Shire twentie yeres and above, and as yet I have not seen men but wold be comformable to reason, and wold be enduced to good ordre tyll this tyme. And what shuld cause theym now to fall into this wilfull and indiscrete wey I cannot tell, excepte *povertie and decaye of substaunce bee cause of it.* For povertie causeth moche myschefe, some to robbe, some to murdre, some to oppresse other; and hard it is to enduce a wilfull and indiscrete multitude to any reason, which will folwe their wittes, and no wisedome ne yet good counsell." i. 365. Again, Archbp Wareham says at p. 371

"It hathe been shewed me in secrete maner of my frends, that the people sore grudgethe and murmureth, and spekith cursidly emong theymselves as far as they dare; seying that they shall neuer haue rest of payments as long as some levithe, and that they hadd lever die than to be thus contynually handled; rekonyng themselues, theyr childrene, and wyfes, as desperats, and not greately caring what they doo, or what become of thayme." This money was raised without any authority of Parliament, and before a former loan was repaid, so that the people were not afraid 'to speke that they be contynually begyled, and no promise is kepte unto thayme' III. Ellis i. 372. The interference of these large exactions with trade, and the injury done by them to artisans, may be judged from the representations of the Norwich Mayor and manufacturers to the Duke of Norfolk, III. Ellis i. 379, which he thus reports to Wolsey: "they said . . that assuredly noone of theim had somoche reddy money as I desired of them . . they wold bee contentid to make shifte with [giving up] all the plate they haue" but "that the living of theim of the Citie was moste by worsted and stamen [linsey-woolsey] making, which was wrought by thands of many a thousand, and must be paied euery weeke; and if they shuld delyuer out all their redy money, they could not haue the said worsted and stamen made; and so consequentely the Towne shuld fall to extreme ruyne, and the contry in like wyse, for lacke of occupac*i*on."

That decay and distress were in the towns as well as in the country we know from Starkey. He makes both speakers in his Dialogue—the defender of the things as they were, as well as the objector to them unite in the confession:—

"hyt ys not hard to see the mysordurys here in our cu*n*trey, nor to spye the grete dekey of such a co*m*myn wele wych you haue so manyfestely descrybyd;—hyt ys so open to eu*er*y ma*n*nys ye. For who ca*n* be so blynd or obstynate to deny the grete dekey, fautys, & mysordurys, he[re] of our co*m*myn wele; other when he lokyth apon our cytes, castellys, & townys, of late days ruynate & fallen downe, wyth such pore i*n*habyta*n*s dwellyng therin; or when he lokyth upon the ground, so rude & so wast, wych, by dylyge*n*ce of pepul, hath byn before tyme occupyd & tyllyd, & myght be yet agayn brought to some bettur p*r*ofyt & vse; or yet, aboue al, when he lokyth vnto the mane*r*ys

of our pepul & ordur of lyuyng, whych ys as ferre dystant from gud & perfayt cyuylyte, as gud from yl, & vyce from vertu & al honesty? Thys ys as cler as the lyght of the day." p. 70.

"fyrst, yf you loke to the cytes & townys throughout thys reame, you schal fynd that in tyme past they haue byn much bettur inhabytyd, & much more replenyschyd wyth pepul then they be now; for many housys ther you schal se playn ruynat & dekeyd, & many yet stondyng wythout any tenantys & inhabytantys of the same. Wherby playnly ys perceyuyd, after myn opynyon, the grete lake of pepul & skarsenes of men. And, ferther, yf you loke to the vyllagys of the cuntrey throughout thys lond, of them you schal fynd no smal nombur vtturly dekeyd; & ther, wher as befor-tyme hath byn nuryschyd much gud & Chrystyan pepul, now you schal fynd no thyng maynteynyd but wyld & brute bestys; & ther, wher hath byn many housys & churchys, to the honowre of God, now you schal fynd no thyng but schypcotys & stabullys, to the ruyne of man; & thys ys not in one place or ij, but generally throughout thys reame. Wherfor hyt ys not to bo dowtyd, but that thys dekey, both of cytes & townys, & also of vyllagys, in the hole cuntrey, declaryth playnly a lake of pepul & skarsenes of men. Besyd this, the dekey of craftys in cytes & townys (which we se manyfestely in euery place) schowyth also, as me semyth, a plain lake of pepul," p. 72–3.

Starkey notices also the effect of French imports in throwing artisans out of work:—"me semyth hyt ys a grete hurt to the clothyarys of Englond, thys bryngyng in of French clothe (p. 94) . . For now you se ther ys almost no man content to were cloth here made at home in our owne cuntrey, nother lynyn nor wolen, but euery man wyl were such as ys made beyond the see, as chamlet, says, fustyanys, & sylkys; by the reson whereof dyuers craftys here fal in dekey, as clothyers, weuerys, worstyd-makyrs, tukkarys, & fullarys, wyth dyuerse other of the same sort." p. 95.

Times of change in trade *must* be hard ones to working-men.

Ballad Society.

FIRST REPORT, JANUARY, 1869.

PRINTED FOR

The Ballad Society,

BY TAYLOR AND CO., LITTLE QUEEN STREET,
LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS, LONDON.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE BALLAD SOCIETY.

No. 1. **Ballads from Manuscripts. Vol. I, Part 1,** contains: Now a Dayes, ab. 1520 A.D.; Vox Populi Vox Dei, A.D. 1547–8; The Ruyn' of a Ream'; The Image of Ypocresye, A.D. 1553; Against the Blaspheming English Lutherans and the Poisonous Dragon Luther; The Spoiling of the Abbeys; The Overthrowe of the Abbyes, a Tale of Robin Hoode; De Monasteriis Dirutis.

No. 2. **Ballads from Manuscripts. Vol. I, Part 2:** is in the Press, and will contain Ballads on Wolsey, and Anne Boleyn, with an Index, Glossary, and Preface to the whole Volume. Edited by F. J. FURNIVALL, M.A.

No. 3. **Ballads from Manuscripts. Volume II, Part 1: The Poore Mans Pittance,** by RICHARD WILLIAMS, contayninge three severall subiects:—(1.) The firste, the fall and complaynte of Anthonie Babington, whoe, with others, weare executed for highe treason in the feildes nere lyncolns Inne, in the yeare of *our* lorde—1586. (2.) The seconde contaynes the life and Deathe of Roberte, lorde Deverox: Earle of Essex: whoe was beheaded in the towre of london on ashwensdaye mornynge, A*nno*—1601. (3.) The laste, Intituled "acclamatio patrie," contayninge the horrib[l]e treason that weare pretended agaynste y*our* Ma*iestie*, to be donne on the parliament howse The seconde yeare of y*our* Ma*iestis* Raygne [1604]. Edited by F. J. FURNIVALL, M.A. (*The Introduction and Index will be issued shortly.*)

No. 4. **Ballads from Manuscripts, Vol. II, Part 2,** is in the Press, and will contain Ballads on Queen Elizabeth, Essex, Campion, Drake, etc. Edited by F. J. FURNIVALL, M.A.

No. 5. **Captain Cox, his Ballads and Books,** or, ROBERT LANEHAM'S Letter: Whearin part of the entertainment untoo the Queenz Majesty at Killingworth Castl, in Warwik Sheer in this Soomerz Progress .1575. is signified; from a freend officer attendant in the Court, unto hiz freend, a Citizen and Merchaunt of London. Re-edited by F. J. FURNIVALL, M.A.

In Preparation.

The Roxburghe Ballads. Edited by W. CHAPPELL, Esq.
The Civil War and Protectorate Ballads. Edited by E. F. RIMBAULT, Esq., Mus. Doc.

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The Ballad Society.

First Report

(BY MR. FURNIVALL.)

JANUARY, 1869.

The Society's first year's issue will be a far different one from that which I had hoped. When starting the Society, on the conclusion of the Percy Folio in May 1868, I announced that the subscriptions would date from the 1st of January, 1869; that the Roxburghe and Civil-War Collections would be the first issued; and that the Manuscript Ballads would be begun whenever I, or whoever their Editor might be, had had time to collect them. I made sure that after more than eighteen months' work at the Percy Folio, at least three years' rest from Ballads would be vouchsafed to me. But it was not so to be. Professor Child of Harvard, for whom the print of the Percy Folio had been undertaken, for whom the Chaucer Society had been established, at once said that printed Ballads first, and Manuscript ones afterwards, would not do for him; he wanted his horse before his cart, not after it. So, very reluctantly, I resolved to get together a small volume of Manuscript Ballads as soon as I could. Meantime, copiers and artist had been set to work on the Roxburghe and Civil-War Ballads, and they made such rapid progress that, after consulting Dr. Rimbault, I settled with him that his first volume of the Civil-War Ballads, and mine of the MS ones, should be the first publications of the Society, and that both should be produced in or for 1868. The change in the date of subscription was accordingly announced. But as the year wore on, it became clear that Dr. Rimbault's professional and other engage-

ments would not allow of his sending any of the Civil-War Ballads to press; and it was also clear that the necessary preliminaries for Mr. Chappell's work—the indexing and copying of the 4 Roxburghe volumes, the indexing of the Bodleian and Bagford Ballads (some 9 volumes folio,) and the copying of the Indexes to the five Pepys volumes—could not be finished till well on in 1869. Under these circumstances the wisest plan would have been to recur to the original date of subscription, and see what 1869 would produce. But I was unwilling to make this second change, and fancied that a second volume of MS Ballads might without much trouble be added to the proposed first one. The attempt, however, has proved a failure. Though I have for more than four months set aside the whole of my paid work for that of the Ballad and Chaucer Societies, I have only succeeded in producing 300 pages, or Part I, of one volume of Ballads and Poems, and 50 pages of another, for the Ballad Society: (but the text of Part II, and of another small volume, is in type.[1]) The cause of this was the newness and difficulty of the subject to me. That subject was fixed by a Ballad of Henry VIII's time, which the Rev. F. W. Russell, the historian of Kett's Rebellion in Norfolk in 1548, had sent me some years ago, *Now a Dayes*. Its complaints seemed to contradict flatly the pleasant view of Henry VIII's time taken in the brilliant sketch in Mr. Froude's first Chapter. So I had to pass from the 14th century to the 16th, and try to find out whether *Now a Dayes* and its mates were right, or Mr. Froude. To a beginner the task was a difficult and laborious one, especially as it had to be done against time. I cannot say that its outcome has been to invalidate any of Mr. Froude's conclusions, but the evidence that I got at and have produced, does certainly give a different view of Henry's time to that shown by Mr. Froude, or at least does complete that view, does justify the words of our original Prospectus with regard to Ballads:

> These light hand-glasses reflect for us many a feature of the times that is lost in the crowded scenes which larger mirrors,

[1] I am aware that the substitution of these volumes for the Roxburghe, etc., will be a disappointment to many. To get a historical ballad, when you expected a woodcut of a devil with a nice curly tail, or a man with two odd eyes, two left legs, and a dog with his mouth split up to his ears, must be a shock to any well-regulated mind. But by starting the Society in 1868, the appearance of the woodcuts and devils is not delayed for a day, while some solid gain has been, and will be, obtained for the historian of Henry VIII's and the following reigns.

hung at other angles, present to our view ; and without the sight of the Ballad pictures, as well as the larger and more formal ones of professed Histories, State-Papers, Memoirs, and Treatises, we cannot know faithfully,—or, at least, we cannot know as faithfully as we have the means of knowing,—the lineaments of the ages that have preceded us.

In our Tudor Ballads accordingly, we see the wailing faces of Henry VIII's and Edward VI's days, we see the poor men's hands stretched out to threaten nobles, King, and clergy, for ceasing to seek the commons' weal, for turning from the path of Duty and of Right. The results of the work of Papistry on the English home and the English state are also reflected in detail ; and the view leaves no doubt on the beholder's mind as to the necessity of a Reformation of some kind, however unworthy he may think the chief motive and instrument in the changes after actually made.

Both sides of the time the Ballads show. In them the Papist denounces Luther and his blaspheming English followers as fiercely as the Reformer inveighs against the Pope and his train. The fallen Abbeys are lamented over as pathetically as the burnt books and bodies of the Protestants.

The Second Part of this volume will contain only three or four Ballads (one good) on Wolsey, and one on Anne Boleyn. It is kept back for the Index to the whole volume, which I shall be glad if some Member will volunteer to make. The Elizabethan Ballads originally intended for this volume will now form another small volume by themselves : and these too I desire to hand over to some Editor well-read in the time. The Essex Ballads among these, first led to the joining with them of *The Life and Death of Essex* in a short MS. by Richard Williams,—a poor subject of James the First, who petitioned him for relief,—and then to the printing of the whole of the MS separately. It is issued with this Report, though without any Introduction, which must follow when I have time to write it. *Laneham's Letter* is ready for press, and will (I hope) be printed next month. Its Captain Cox is the chief of early Ballad-owners, and yet no separate account of him is to be had, except in the modernised reprint of Laneham in 1821, which is now extremely scarce. With his list of Ballads will be printed that in the *Complaynt of Scotland*, about 1548 A.D., and the two will be compared and commented on.

I hope that the Texts above-named will be all included in the 1868 issue, but am unable as yet to say that they will, as the establishment-charges of the Society have more than exceeded its first year's income. That income, when all paid, will be £171. 3*s*.,—of which £144. 5*s*. have been received,—while the money already paid to copiers, artist, and engraver, has been £184. 5*s*., and the necessary preliminary work is still far from being finished. I say *necessary*, because, in the editing of large collections of Ballads like those of the Civil War and Protectorate, and Roxburghe, as the editors were not able to work at them for any length of time in the British Museum, it was necessary both to have the whole of the Collections copied before any part could be printed, and also to have Indexes made of all other accessible Collections, so that a late copy of any Ballad might not be printed when an earlier (and probably correcter) copy was known to exist, and that a Ballad occurring in five Collections might not be copied five times over. The Civil-War and Protectorate Ballads were accordingly copied (at a cost of £23), the Roxburghe Ballads were indexed, the first volume copied, the 2nd, 3rd and 4th more than half copied (at a cost of £87), the Bodleian Collections were indexed (at a cost of £11); the Bagford Ballads are nearly indexed, and the copy of the Pepys indexes is in hand. Moreover the artist has drawn on wood above 120 of the Roxburghe and Civil-War Ballads' woodcuts, and these have been all engraved, though not all paid for (£55 paid, £15 due).

Now as this work, when finished, will provide the Society with 10 or more years' material for printing, it would be manifestly unfair to the Members of the first year to charge them with the whole outlay, and give them no Texts for their guinea.[1] The preliminary expenses ought to be distributed over 3 or 5 years at least; but this can only be done by Members advancing their subscriptions for that time, as I am quite unable to give any continued help in this way myself; and it is the business of non-editing Members to find the money for the work to which Editors give time, trouble, and thought. When Mr. Richard Johnson of Langton Oaks, Fallowfield, near Manchester, joined the Ballad Society and the Chaucer and Early English Text Societies, I put the case to him as above-stated, and he answered my note in the

[1] For this reason I put off printing the Society's Cash account till next year.

practical Manchester way by sending back a cheque of £51. 9*s*.—£15. 15*s*. for the Ballad Society, £12. 12*s*. for the Chaucer, £23. 2*s*. for the Early English Text Society's two Series. In the same spirit the majority of our Members sent in advance their first year's subscription—all that was asked of them by the second Circular;—and I trust that all Members will see the reasonableness of the request that, in their interest, is made for further payments in advance now. In a Society like ours, the view sometimes taken of a Member's duty—that he should pay his subscription only when he gets his books—is manifestly the wrong one. The Society is not a publisher's or an Editor's speculation for his own profit: and when money is required in advance for the doing of work necessary for the proper production of the Society's volumes, every Member will feel that he is bound to bear his share in providing it.

I hope, then, that subscriptions will be forthcoming, and that speedily, to enable the debts of 1868 to be paid, and to provide for the issue of at least one or two volumes of the *Roxburghe Ballads* and the *Civil-War Ballads*, with their woodcuts,[1] in 1869 and every subsequent year. The first volume of the Roxburghes will go to press as soon as the copy of the Pepys Indexes is completed and Mr. William Chappell has collated with the Roxburghe copies such Ballads of that Collection as are in the Pepys Library.

With regard to future Ballads from Manuscripts, I can only say that some are in hand, others in contemplation—including a faithful print, from the MSS, of the Ballads in old faithless editions,—and that one of our late members, Mr. Adam Sim of Coulter, of whose lamented death[2] I hear as this is passing through the press, had, during his life, most kindly promised to allow the Society to print such parts of his three volumes of MS Scotch Ballads as might be thought adviseable. These volumes have been used, but not exhausted, by former Editors.

Finally, I ask every Member to try and get new ones to join the Society; for if we are to make any sensible impres-

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[1] Those owners of a print of the Percy Folio who would like to paste into a volume of it a photograph of the old house in which Percy was born, can get one by sending 18*d*. to Mr. Metcalf, Photographer, East Castle Street, Bridgnorth.

[2] Mr. Sim was a zealous antiquary and book-hunter. Many men of letters, besides those of our own Society, will miss his always-ready sympathy and aid.

sion yearly on the big Collections like the Roxburghe, our Society ought to be doubled in number this year.

To its Local Secretaries in Glasgow and Manchester, Mr. Barclay Murdoch and Mr. John Leigh, the whole Society is indebted, for their efforts to increase its number of Members. The List of Subscribers bears witness to the result of those efforts. Mr. James Richardson of Glasgow has also secured 8 Subscribers.

P.S. On account of the delay in the First issue of Texts, these are posted to such Members as have not stated how their Texts are to be sent to them. But no future Texts will be sent by post unless a special extra payment of 2*s.* a year is made for the purpose. Those Members who have not yet told the Hon. Sec. or the printers, to what London agent of their country booksellers their Texts are to be delivered, should do so at once.

The Ballad Society's books are printed in demy 8vo, like those of the Early English Text Society, and the Percy Folio (but on toned paper for the sake of the woodcuts), and also in super-royal 8vo, on Whatman's eighty-shilling ribbed paper, tinted expressly for the Society. The subscription for the demy 8vos is *One Guinea* a year; that for the super-royal ribbed papers *Three Guineas*. The subscriptions date from January 1, 1868, and immediate payment of them is asked, as considerable expense has already been incurred for the copiers and artist. The Society's books can be had only by subscribers. The Society's printers are Messrs. Taylor and Co., Little Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London, W.C., and to them all notices of change of address should be given, and all complaints as to non-delivery of Texts made.

Local Secretaries are wanted.

Subscriptions should be paid either to the account of *The Ballad Society* at the Chancery Lane Branch of the Union Bank, or to—

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The Ballad Society.

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DOCTOR DO-GOOD'S INSTRUCTIONS.

BALLADS FROM MANUSCRIPTS.

Now A Dayes.

INTRODUCTION.

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§ 1. THIS is another of those laments over the evils of the writer's time,—of those appeals to his countrymen to rise to a purer and higher life, and to God to grant them grace to do so,—on the succession of which in Early English Literature I commented in the introduction to 'Conscience' in the Percy Folio ('Ballads,' ii. 174), and on account of which I followed Prof. Morley in claiming honour for that Literature,—a Literature worthy of the noble band of Reformers in Church and State who have brought England to what she is, who are striving to lift her to what she should be. Cædmon, Bede, Ælfric, the Anglo-Saxon Homilists, the early writers of political poems, Robert of Brunne,

Dan Michel, Longlande, William of Nassyngton, Wyclif, Gower, Chaucer, Lydgate, Occleve, Skelton, More, Dunbar,—these are the leaders of the movement which the philanthropists and liberals of our day, wherever English is spoken, carry on. We reap the benefit of their work; let us duly honour them for it.

§ 2. But the credit to be attached by us, at the distance of ten, or three, hundred years, to the earlier complaints as to the social and political grievances under which the several writers and their countrymen were suffering when they wrote, is a matter for consideration. It has been brought very closely home to me by the notorious 'Saturday Review' article on "The Girl of the Period." I read that article with an intensity of disgust which I find has been felt by every man but one[1] to whom I have had an opportunity of speaking on the subject; and I said to myself, Suppose a quiet student of the Victorian time some three hundred years hence, desiring only to find out the truth about us, were to come across this article, and take *it*,—which I believe and know, as far as the experience of myself and my friends goes, to be an utterly false and lying libel,—as a true description of the English girl of 1868, the girl of the Victorian time, what a catastrophe it would be! how completely the student would be misled! When one called up in one's mind the pictures of the girls one knew, fair (more or less), sweet (more or less), the lights of so many eyes, the suns of so many homes, their class the first of the glories of our land, one's indignation at the falseness of the article to the real representative girl of our period, almost gave way to a smile at the ludicrous absurdity of it.[2] Still, one could not avoid the question, Did our old writers pen flagrant falsities of this kind,—write the sensation articles of their respective periods for the then reviewers' pay? But as one thought of the words they have left us, and the spirit in which these tell us they were spoken, one was almost ashamed to have harboured for a moment the suspicion that the words and the spirit were not true, the evils which they denounced real. Granted that our old men spoke only of the dark side of the life around them, granted that they used somewhat of the "legitimate exaggeration," that prophet, Christ, and Apostle, had used before them, one could not doubt that, as a rule, they spoke from their hearts, of wrongs and evils deeply felt, in the way that a Clarkson, a Wilberforce, a Garrison, a Brown, spoke of the curse of slavery; a Cobden, a Bright of the

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[1] He, a somewhat ill-mannered stranger, thought the article was true for this reason (if so it may be called), that he had seen at the Crystal Palace a girl dressed like a lady, call a dog, in order, as he assumed, that the dog's supposed owner might look at her.

[2] It was almost as if a writer had attributed to all men the extraordinary swearing power of the late Editor of the 'Review,' and, exaggerating it *ad libitum*, had written an article against the habit of "The Gentleman of the Period" never opening his mouth without an oath.

Corn Laws and need of Reform; a Gladstone of the prisons at Naples; and as many a lesser man speaks of the crying evils about and within us now.

§ 3. If this be so,—and I appeal to every student of our early literature to bear witness that it is,—then we must insist that the bright picture drawn by Mr. Froude in the Introduction to his History of Henry VIII.'s reign must be darkened with many a shadow. Only to-day did I put to the man who in England has (as I believe) most studied Henry's reign, the question, "Do you believe Froude's account of the well-offness of the people—the working people specially—in Henry VIII.'s time to be true, to represent the real state of the case?" and he answered, "No, certainly not." This is also my own strong impression; and, though thankful to Mr. Froude for his animated sketch, and grateful to him for his sympathy with workingmen; though anxious to insist strongly on the rise in the condition of the middle and labouring classes since Edward III.'s time, I submit that there is evidence to show that Mr. Froude's statements must be taken with large qualifications. Only a small portion of that evidence, hastily got together, can be produced here. Let it be enough that the subject is opened.

§ 4. The MS. of the following Ballad belongs to the middle of Henry VIII.'s reign, and its themes are judged by Prof. Brewer to suit that time. Its lines 33–40, 114–20[1], and 100–4[2], 157–60[3], 166–8[4], are so well illustrated by that passage in Sir Thomas More's 'Utopia,' in which he speaks of some of the evils in England in his time, evils which, though complained of before 1500, existed up to and beyond 1518, when More's work was first published, that I extract it here, common though the translation be:—

I was then much obliged to that reverend prelate, John Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury, Cardinal, and Chancellor of England [died September

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[1] Alas! Alas! yt ys gret pitee
That Rych men be so blind,
Which, for their gret pride & fulsome fare
They pluck & pull ther neybors bare.

[2] Which causeth many a goodly manne
ffor to begg his bredd.
Yff he stele ffor necessite,
ther ys none other remedye
But the law will shortlye
Hange him all save the hedd.

[3] The townes go down, the land decayes;
Off cornefeyldès, playnè layes;
Gret men makith now a dayes
A shepecott in the churche.

[4] Poor folk for bred cry & wepe,
Townes pulled downe to pasture shepe:
this is the new gyse!

15, 1500]; a man .... that was not less venerable for his wisdom and virtues than for the high character he bore..... He was eminently skilled in the law, and had a vast understanding and a prodigious memory, and those excellent talents with which nature had furnished him were improved by study and experience. When I was in England, the King [Henry VII.] depended much on his councils, and the government seemed to be chiefly supported by him; for, from his youth up, he had been all along practised in affairs; and, having passed through many traverses of fortune, he had acquired, to his great cost, a vast stock of wisdom, which is not soon lost when it is purchased so dear. One day, when I was dining with him, there happened to be at table one of the English lawyers, who took occasion to run out in a high commendation of the severe execution of justice upon thieves, who, as he said, were then hanged so fast, that there were sometimes twenty on one gibbet; and upon that, he said, he could not wonder enough how it came to pass that, since so few escaped, there were yet so many thieves left who were still robbing in all places. Upon this, I, who took the boldness to speak freely before the Cardinal, said there was no reason to wonder at the matter, since this way of punishing thieves was neither just in itself nor good for the public; for, as the severity was too great, so the remedy was not effectual; simple theft not being so great a crime that it ought to cost a man his life; and no punishment, how severe soever, being able to restrain those from robbing who can find out no other way of livelihood; and in this, said I, not only you in England, but a great part of the world imitate some ill masters, that are readier to chastise their scholars than to teach them. There are dreadful punishments enacted against thieves; but it were much better to make such good provisions by which every man might be put in a method how to live, and so be preserved from *the fatal necessity of stealing*, and of dying for it. "There has been care enough taken for that," said he; "there are many handicrafts, and there is husbandry, by which they may make a shift to live, unless they have a greater mind to follow ill courses." "That will not serve our turn," said I; "for many lose their limbs in civil or foreign wars, as lately in the Cornish rebellion, and some time ago in your wars with France, who being thus mutilated in the service of their king and country, can no more follow their old trades, and are too old to learn new ones: but since wars are only accidental things, and have intervals, let us consider those things that fall out every day. There is a great number of noblemen among you that live not only idle themselves as *drones, subsisting by other men's labours, who are their tenants, and whom they pare to the quick, and thereby raise their revenues;* this being the only instance of their frugality, for in all other things they are prodigal, even to the beggaring of themselves: but besides this, they carry about with them a huge number of idle fellows, who never learned any art by which they may gain their living; and these, as soon as either their lord dies, or they themselves fall sick, are turned out of doors; for your lords are readier to feed idle people than to take care of the sick; and oftener the heir is not able to keep together so great a family as the predecessor did. Now when the stomachs of those that are thus turned out of doors grow keen, they rob no less keenly; and what else can they do? for, after that, by wandering about, they have worn out both their health and their clothes, and are tattered and look ghastly, men of quality will not entertain them, and poor men dare not do it; knowing that one who had been bred up to idleness and pleasure, and who was used to walk about with his sword and buckler, despising all the neighbourhood with an insolent scorn, as far below him, is not fit for the spade and mattock: nor will he serve a poor man for so small a hire and in so low a diet as he can afford. .... But I do not think that this necessity of stealing arises only from hence, there is another cause of it that is more peculiar to England." "What is that?" said the Cardinal. "*The increase of pasture*," said I, "*by which your sheep*, that are naturally mild, and easily kept in order, *may be said now to devour men, and unpeople not only villages, but towns;* for wherever it is found

that the sheep of any soil yield a softer and richer wool than ordinary, there the nobility and gentry, and even those holy men the abbots, not contented with the old rents which their farms yielded, nor thinking it enough that they, living at their ease, do no good to the public, resolve to do it hurt instead of good. *They stop the course of agriculture, inclose grounds, and destroy houses and towns, reserving only the churches, that they may lodge their sheep in them;* and as if forests and parks had swallowed up too little soil, those worthy countrymen turn the best inhabited places into solitudes; for when any unsatiable wretch, who is a plague to his country, *resolves to inclose many thousand acres of ground, the owners, as well as tenants, are turned out of their possessions* by tricks, or by main force, or being wearied out with ill usage, they are forced to sell them. So those miserable people, both men and women, married, unmarried, old and young, with their poor but numerous families (since country business requires many hands), *are all forced to change their seats, not knowing whither to go;* and they must sell, for almost nothing, their household-stuff, which could not bring them much money, even though they might stay for a buyer. When that little money is at an end, for it will be soon spent, *what is left for them to do, but either to steal and so be hanged* (God knows how justly), *or to go about and beg?* And if they do this, they are put in prison as idle vagabonds; whereas they would willingly work, but can find none that will hire them; for there is no more occasion for country labour, to which they have been bred, when *there is no arable ground left. One shepherd can look after a flock, which will stock an extent of ground that would require many hands, if it were to be ploughed and reaped.* This likewise raises the price of corn in many places. The price of wool is also risen, that the poor people, who were wont to make cloth, are no more able to buy it; and this likewise makes many of them idle; for, since the increase of pasture, God has punished the avarice of the owners by a rot among the sheep, which has destroyed vast numbers of them, but had been more justly laid upon the owners themselves. But suppose the sheep should increase ever so much, their price is not like to fall; since, though they cannot be called a monopoly, because they are not engrossed by one person, yet they are in so few hands, and these are so rich, that, as they are not pressed to sell them sooner than they have a mind to it, so they never do till they have raised the price as high as is possible. And on the same account it is that the other kinds of cattle are so dear, and so much the more, because that *many villages being pulled down, and all country labour being much neglected*, there are none that look after the breeding of them. The rich do not breed cattle as they do sheep, but buy them lean and at low prices, and after they have fattened them on their grounds, they sell them again at high rates. And I do not think that all the inconveniences that this will produce are yet observed; for as they sell the cattle dear, so, if they are consumed faster than the breeding countries from which they are brought can afford them, then the stock must decrease, and this must needs end in a great scarcity; and by these means this your island, that seemed, as to this particular, the happiest in the world, will suffer much by the cursed avarice of a few persons; besides that, the raising of corn makes all people lessen their families as much as they can; and what can those who are dismissed by them do but either beg or rob? And to this last, a man of a great mind is much sooner drawn than to the former. Luxury likewise breaks in apace upon you, to set forward your poverty and misery; *there is an excessive vanity in apparel, and great cost in diet;* and that not only in noblemen's families, but even among tradesmen, and among the farmers themselves, and among all ranks of persons. You have also many infamous houses, and besides those that are known, the taverns and ale-houses are no better; add to these dice, cards, tables, foot-ball, tennis, and quoits, in which money runs fast away, and those that are initiated into them must in conclusion betake themselves to robbing for a supply. Banish those plagues, and give order that these who have dispeopled so much soil may either rebuild the villages that they have pulled

down, or let out their grounds to such as will do it; restrain those engrossings of the rich that are as bad almost as monopolies; leave fewer occasions to idleness; let agriculture be set up again, and the manufacture of the wool be regulated, that so there may be work found for these companies of idle people, whom want forces to be thieves, or who now being idle vagabonds, or useless servants, will certainly grow thieves at last. If you do not find a remedy to these evils, it is a vain thing to boast of your severity of punishing theft, which, though it may have the appearance of justice, yet in itself it is neither just nor convenient; for if you suffer your people to be ill educated, and their manners to be corrupted from their infancy, and then punish them for those crimes to which their first education disposed them, what else is to be concluded from this but that you first make thieves and then punish them?"

§ 5. I hope the reader has had patience to go through the whole of this extract from More, and that he will now turn to the Petition of 1514 A.D., at the end of the "Now a dayes" ballad, p. 101, and read that, and the King's proclamation in pursuance of it, which confirm the complaints of More and the Ballad as to the conversion of tillage into pasture, the turning out of men by sheep, the hanging of men forced by want to steal, and the decay of towns.

§ 6. Having done this, let him read the following extract from the Act of 7 Henry VIII.[1] cap. 1, the year following that of the Petition and Proclamation last-named:—

Preamble and Section I. of 7 Hen. VIII. Cap. 1.

Evils resulting from Decay of Towns, etc.

The Kyng our Sov*er*aigne Lord, callyng to his most blessid remembraunce that where greate ynconvenyent*es* be, and dayly encrease, by desolac*i*on, pollyng downe, & destrucc*i*on of houses and townes wythin this realme, and leyng to pasture, lond*es* which customably have bene manured, & occupyed wyth tyllage and husbandry, wherby Idelnes doth encrease; for where in som*m*e oon towne CC p*er*sons, men and women and childern, and their auncestours oute of tyme of mynde, were daylye occupied, and lyved by sowyng of corne and greynes, bredyng of catall, and other encreace necessarye for manys sustena*u*nce, and now the seid p*er*sons and their p*ro*genyes be mynysshed and decreasyd, wherby the husbandry—which is the greatyst co*m*modite of this realme for sustena*u*nce of man—ys greatly decayed, Churches destrued, the s*er*vyce of God wythdrawen, Chrysten people their buryed, nott prayed for, the Patrons and Curat*es* wronged, Cities Markett Townes brought to greate ruyne and decaie, Necessaries for mannys sustena*u*nce made scarce and dere, the people sore mynysshed in the realme, wherby the poure & defence therof ys febled and enpayrid, to the high dyspleasure of God, and agenst his lawes, and to the subv*er*cyon of the co*m*mon Weale of this realme, and desolac*i*on of the same, yf substancyall and spedy remedy be nott therof p*ro*-

Towns, etc., decayed shall be re-edified, etc., within one year.

vided; Wherfore the Kyng our Sov*er*aigne Lord, by thadvyse and assent of the Lord*es* Spi*rit*uall & Temporall, and the Co*m*mons in this p*re*sent parliament assembled, and by thauctoritie of the same, ordeynyth, stablyssheth, and enacteth, that all suche townes, villages, borowes & hamlett*es*, tythyng houses, and other enhabitac*i*ons, in any paryshe or parysshes wythin this realme, wherof the more part, the first daye of this p*re*sent parliament, was or were used and occupied to tillage & husbandrye by the owner or owners therof, for their synguler p*ro*fit, availe, & lucre, wylfully syth the seid first daye be,

[1] The seventh year of Henry VIII. was from April 22, 1515, to April 21, 1516.

or hereafter shalbe, suffred or caused to fall downe and decaye,—wherby the husbondry of the seid townes, vyllages, boroughes, hamlettes, tythyng-houses, and other enhabitacions & parysshes wythin this realme bene, or hereafter shalbe, decaied, & tourned frome the seid use and occupacyon of husbandry and tyllage into pasture,—shalbe by the seid owner or owners, their heires, successours or assignes, or other for theym, within oon yere next after suche wylfull decaie, re-edified, & made ageyn mete & convenyent for people to dwelle, and enhabite in the same and to have, use, and therin to exercyse, husbondry and tyllage, as att the seid fyrst day of this present parliament, or sythyn, was there used, occupied, and hadde, after the maner and usage of the countrey where the seid lond lyeth, at the costes and charges of the same owner or owners, their heires, successours or assignes. And

All Tillage Lands turned to Pasture shall be restored again to Tillage.

yf sythyn the seid first day of this present parliament, any landes which att the same first day, or sythyn, were commonly used in tyllage, bene enclosed, or frome hensforth shalbe enclosed, and tourned only to pasture,—wherby any house of husbondry wythin this Realme ys or shalbe hereafter decayed, —that then all suche landes shalbe by the same owner or owners, their heires, successours or assignes, or other for them, wythin oon yere nexte ensueng the same decaye, putt in tyllage, and exercysed, used, and occupied in husbandry and tyllage, as they were the said first day of this present parliament, or any any tyme sythen, after the maner and usage of the countrey where suche land lyeth; And yf any person or persons do contrarye to the premysses or any of them, that then ytt be leafull to the Kyng—

Half the value of Lands and Houses neglected shall be forfeited to the King or Lord of the Fee, until re-edified, when the Owner may re-enter.

yf any suche landes or houses be holden of hym immediatlye, —after office or inquisicion founden therof, comprehendyng the same mater of recorde, or to the Lordes of the fees—yf any suche landes or houses byn holden of theym immediatlie,— withoute office or inquisicion therof hadde, to receye yerely half the valewe of the yssues and profittes of any such landes, wherof the house or houses of husbandry be nott so mayntenyd and sustayned, and the same half dele of the yssues and profites to have, hold, and kepe, to his or their own use, wythoute any thyng therof to be payed or yevyn, to suche tyme as the same house or houses be sufficiently re-edefied, bylded, or repayred ageyn, for the exersyseng and occupyeng of husbandry; and immediately after that, aswell the entresse & tytle yevyn by this acte to our Soveraigne Lorde the Kyng, as to the Lordes of the Fee, to sease, and no lenger to endure; And that ytt shalbe lefull to the owner & owners of suche landes, house or houses, holdyn immediatly of our seid Soveraigne Lord the Kyng, to have and injoye the same, & to take thissues and profittes thereof, as yf no suche offyce or Inquisycion had never bene had ne made.

§ 7. It is clear from this Act that the King's Proclamation of 1514 did not stop the evils it was aimed to cure. Let us go on eighteen years, and see how the Act of 1515 had worked in the interval:—

PREAMBLE AND SECTION I. OF 25 HEN. VIII. CAP. 13.

Evils of the Excess of Land employed in Pasture instead of Tillage.

For asmoche as dyvers and sundry of the Kynges Subjectes of this Realme, to whome God of hys goodnes hath disposed greate plentie & abundaunce of movable substance, nowe of late within fewe yeres have dayly studyed, practised, and invented, ways and meanes how they myght accumulate and gather together into few handes, aswell great multitude of fermes, as great plentie of catall, and in especiall shepe, puttyng suche londes as they can gett to pasture and not to tyllage, wherby they have not only pulled downe churches and

townes, and inhansed the olde ratis of the rentis of the possessions of this Realme, or els brought it to suche excessyve fynes that no poure man is able to medell with it, but also have raysed and enhaunsed the prises of all maner of corne, catall, woll, pygges, geese, hennes, chekyns, egges, and suche other, almoste doble above the prices which hath byn accustomed; by reason wherof a mervaylous multitude and nombre of the people of this Realme be not able to *pro*vyde meate, drynke, and clothes, necessary for theym-selfes, theire wyfes, and childern, *but be so discoraged with myserye and povertie that they fall dayly to thefte, robberye, and other inconvenience, or pitifully dye for hunger and colde;* And as it is thought by the Kynges most humble and lovyng subjectes that one of the gretest occasions that moveth and provoketh those gredy and covetous people so to accumulate and kepe in theire handes suche greate porcions and parties of the groundes and landis of this Realme frome the occupying of the poure husbondmen, and so to use it in pasture and not in tyllage, is only the greate *pro*fette that co*m*myth of shepe, which now be co*m*myn to a few *per*sons handes of this Realme, in respecte of the holle nomber of the Kynges Subjectes, that so*m*me have xxiiij thousand, so*m*me xx thousande, some x thousand, some vj thousande, so*m*me v thousand, and so*m*me more, and so*m*me lesse, by the which a good shepe for vytall, that was accustomed to be solde for ij*s*. iiij*d*., or iii*s*. at the moste, is now solde for vj*s*., or v*s*., or iiij*s*. at the leaste, And a stone of clothyng wolle that in so*m*me shire of this Realme was accustomed to be sold for xviij*d*. or xx*d*. is nowe solde for iiij*s*. or ij*s*. iiij*d*. at the lest, & in so*m*me countreis where it hath byn solde for ij*s*. iiij*d*. or ij*s*. viiij*d*. or ij*s*. at the most, it is now sold for v*s*., or iiij*s*. viij*d*. [at] the leste, And so arreysed in ev*er*y parte of this Realme; whiche thynges thus used, be pryncypally to the high displeasure of Almyghtie God, to the decay of the Hospitalitie of this Realme, to the dymynysshyng of the Kynges people, and to the lett of the clothmakyng, wherby many poure people hath byn accustomed to be sett on worke; and in conclusion, yf remedy be not founde, it may turne to the utter distruccion and desolacion of this Realme, which God defende; It may therfore please the Kynges Highnes, of hys most gracious and godly disposicion, and the Lordes spirituall and temporall of theire goodnes and charitie, with the assent of the co*m*mons in this *pre*sent parliament assembled, to ordeyne and enacte by auctoritie of the same, that no person nor

No man shall keep above 2000 sheep. Penalty, 3*s*. 4*d*. per sheep.

p*er*sones from the feast of Seynt Michell the archaungell which shalbe in the yere of our Lorde God M^{l}D.xxxv., shall kepe, occupie, or have in hys possession in hys owne p*ro*pre londys, nor in the possession, londes, or groundes, of any other which he shall have or occupie in ferme, nor other-wyse have of his owne propre catall in use, possession, or propertie, by any maner of meanes fraude, craft, or covyn, above the nomber of two thousande shepe at one tyme, within any parte of this Realme, of all sortes and kyndes, uppon payne to losse and forfeyte for ev*er*y shepe that any p*er*son or p*er*sons shall have or kepe above the nomber lymytted by this acte, iij*s*. iiij*d*. The one half to the Kynge our Soveraigne Lorde, and the other half to suche p*er*son as wyll sue for the same by orygynall wrytt of dett, byll, playnt, or informacion, in any Court of Recorde in which the defendaunt shall not wage hys lawe, nor have any essoyne or p*ro*teccion allowed.

§ 8. I tax the reader's patience with yet another extract from another Act of Parliament, two years later in date than the one last given, because it refers to earlier legislation, under Henry VII., in 1488–9, against some of the evils we are considering; because it states that, of the lands held immediately of the King, the old tilled lands had been brought back again to tillage, and the decayed houses had been rebuilt; and because it enacts that,

as these cures had not been wrought on the lands and houses held of nobles and others, the King himself shall have the power, given by Henry VII to the nobles and other landlords—see also p. 7—to take half the rents and profits of the lands, till their condition is set right. But I do not believe that this power was ever generally acted on, if it was at all, as the evils went on growing.

PREAMBLE AND SECTION I. OF 27 HEN. VIII. CAP. 22.

Recital of Statute 4 Hen. VII., c. 19, for keeping in Repair of Houses on Farms.

Where as in the fourth yere of the reigne of the noble King of famous memorie, Henry the seventh, father to the Kinges Highnes our Souv*er*aigne Lorde that nowe is, it was ordeyned, establisshed, and enacted (amonges other thinges,) that ev*er*y owner of any Mese[1], which, within thre yeres nexte before the same fourth yere, was, or after that tyme shuld be, letten to ferme with xx. acres of Land at the lest, lieng in tillage and husbondrye, shuld be bounde to kepe and susteyne the housing and building of the same Mese conveniently for the mayntena*un*ce of husbandry and tillage, And if any Owner of the same shuld fortune to occupie any suche mese or land in his owne handes, he shulde be bounde to uphold and susteyne the same as it is before rehersed, and if any p*er*sonne happened to do the contrary, then it shuld be lefull unto the King, or unto the Lordes of whome any suche Mese or Landes is holden immediatlie, to take yerely the oon halff of thissues and p*ro*ffittez of all and ev*er*y suche tenement, without payeng any thing for the same, untill suche tyme as the housing shuld be buylded or reedified agayn, and the Landes therof conv*er*ted into tillage; and that no p*er*sonne shuld have, clayme, or chalenge, any freehold in the same Londes or Tenementes by takyng of any such p*ro*fittes, but onely that it shuld be lefull unto the King and other Lordes to distrayne for the payment of the moytie of the yerely issues, revenues, and p*ro*fittes of the same, like as in the said acte more at lengh[t] is conteyned: By reason of which said Statute and Ordynaunce, divers and many meases, whiche be holden immediatlye of the Kinges Highnes, within late yeres have ben buylded and reedified, and the Londes therunto belonging converted ayen into thir firste nature of tillage and husbondrye, according to the tenour and purporte of the said good and gracious acte, And all other suche Measez and Landes as be holden immediatt of any other Lordes, be and remayne unto this p*re*sent daye p*ro*strate, unbuylded, and the landes therof conv*er*ted and imployed oonly into pasture, and to none other purpose, to the greate decaye of all man*er* of Victualles within this Realme, and to the derogacion and hinderaunce of the Co*m*mon Weall of the same, many waies: And forasmoche as in the said acte was noo other remedie p*ro*vided for and agaynst all those p*er*sonnes that do, or shuld, hold any Manours, Meses, Landes, or Tenementes of other Lordes, for not repayring and reedifieng of the Houses, and conv*er*ting the said Landes into Tillage and Husbondrye, according to the trewe and vertuous meanyng of the same good Acte, but oonly ev*er*y Lorde immediate mought have, and distreyne for, the moytie of the p*ro*ffittez of all and ev*er*y such mese and landes decayed in fourme aforesaid, as in the same Acte amonge other thinges more at lenght it is declared; And also for that the Lordes immediate, and thoder meane Lordes, have nott putt the said

The said Act enforced only on lands holden of the King, but neglected by other Lords.

[1] French, *mais-on*, a house; Old French, *mas de terre*, an ox-gang, plow-land, or hide of land, containing about twenty acres (and having a house belonging to it). *Max*, m. a plow-land and tenement thereto belonging. (Cotgrave.) "*Messuage* (in common law), a dwelling-house, with some adjoining land, a garden, curtilage, orchard, and all other conveniences belonging to it." (Kersey's Phillips.)

good acte in due and playne execucion, according to the tenour therof, as they ought and mought have don, a greate nombre of the Houses, Meses, Tenementes, and acres of Lande, whiche at the makyng of the said good acte were in ruyne and decaye, and the Londes therof conv*er*ted from tillage into pasture, dos yet remayne unbuylded, unreedified, and all the Londes to theym belonging hitherto be kepte and used into pasture, and not conv*er*ted ayene into tillage, according to the purporte, true meanyng, and intent of the said acte, And so by this meanes dyvers and sondry p*er*sonnes which hold not thir Landes and Tenementes immediate of the Kinges Highnes have, and dayly do, frome tyme to tyme decaye and lett fall downe noo small nombre of Meses and houses of husbandrye, And also do conv*er*te the Landes of the same frome tillage and husbandrye into pasture, to the moost perillous example of all other beyng in like case, and to the greatist abuse and disordre of the naturall soile of the grounde, that by any maner of invencion could be practised or imagined: Be it therfore enacted, ordeyned, and establisshed, by the King our Sovereygne Lorde, and by the Lordes sp*irit*uall and temporall, and the Co*m*mons in this p*re*sent parliament assembled, and by thauctoritie of the same, that the Kyng our Sov*er*eygne Lorde, his Heires and Successours, frome and after the feast of Seinte Michell tharchaungell which shalbe in the yere of oure Lorde God M[1].D.xxxviij, shall take and have the one moitie of all issues, revenues, rentes, and p*ro*fittes, co*m*myng and growing of all and singuler Meses, Landes, and Tenementes, nowe and then remaynyng inclosed, decaied, or conv*er*ted frome tillage into pasture, contrary to the tenour and trewe meanyng of the said acte made in the said fourthe yere of King Henry the seventh, and beyng at this p*re*sent day so founde alredie by office and verdicte of xij men, or whiche hereafter at any tyme by like office and verdite shalbe founde, of whom so ev*er* they be holden, which have ben decayed and conv*er*ted frome tillage into pasture sithe thre yeres nexte before the forsaid fourth yere of the reigne of the said noble King Henry the vij, untill suche tyme as the said owners of the said Meses, Landes, and Tenementes, shalhave builded and reedified ageyne, in and uppon convenyent places of the said Meses, Landes, and Ten*ement*es, for ev*er*y fiftie acres, xl acres, or thirtie acres of Land, one sufficient Tenement mete for an honest Man to dwell in, and also untill suche tyme as the same owners have conv*er*ted, or cause all the said Landes so mysused to be conv*er*ted, from pasture into tillage agayn, according to the nature of the soyl and cou[r]se of Husbandrye used in the Countrey where any such Landes do lie, and according to the true entent and meanyng of the said acte.

The King shall have the moiety of the profits of Lands converted from Tillage to Pasture since 4 Hen. VII. until a proper House is built and the Land returned to Tillage.

That this Statute was no more effectual than its precursors in stopping the grievances it was intended to stop, is shown by the attempts of the people to take the law on this matter into their own hands in 1549 A.D., below (*Vox Pop. Introd.*), and by the extract in the next section here. With Latimer, in his first sermon before Edward VI. in 1549, the people had to say, "We have good statutes made for the Commonwealth, as touching commoners and inclosers; many meetings and sessions; but in the end of the matter *there cometh nothing forth.*" (p. 101, ed. 1844.)

§ 9. Leaving now the Statute Book, which has so fully confirmed our Ballad on the points on which we appealed to it, let the reader turn to the second Ballad in this volume, "Vox Populi Vox Dei," about 1547 A.D., which sums up the evils of Henry VIII's

reign, and hear—discounting the words to the extent he thinks proper—

> "... why the poore men wepe
> For storyng of such shepe;"

why

> "... the voyce doth multyplye
> Amonge your graces commonaltye:
> Thei are in suche greate penury
> That thei can nother sell nor bye,
> Such is their extreame povertye."
>
> (Dyce's 'Skelton,' ii. 401, col. 2.)

Let him also recur to the passage quoted from Fitzherbert in my essay on "Bondman" in the Percy Folio ('Ballads,' vol. ii. p. lv.), of the date of 1523, or thereabouts:—

> "In some places the bonde men contynue as yet / the whiche me semeth is the grettest inconuenyen*t* that nowe is suffred by the lawe. That is, to haue any christen man bonden to another / and to haue the rule of his body / landes and goodes / that his wife, chyldren, and seruauntes have laboured for all their lyfe tyme / to be so taken / lyke as and it were extorcion or bribery. And many tymes by colour therof / there be many fre men taken as bonde men / and their landes and goodes taken fro them / so that they shall not be able to sue for remedy / to prove them selfe fre of blode."

Now, as a very able and learned reviewer in the 'Spectator' of October 3, 1868, has characterized this statement of Fitzherbert's as an allusion "to an exceptional evil, which was already condemned by public opinion," it will be well to print here a most curious and interesting document which Prof. Brewer has been kind enough to point out to me, and the like of which I have never seen in print[1], namely, the Answer and Interrogatories of the Duchess of Buckingham, in 1527 A.D., in pursuit of her claim to two of her bondmen's services, the Depositions of the witnesses, stating the Awards of the former Inquests or Juries on claims against the same men by the Duke during his lifetime;

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[1] Mr. Riley, in his 'Memorials of London,' (from 1276 to 1419, A.D.), notices a claim of the kind by the Earl of Cornwall on two of his *nativi*, A.D. 1288, but without a decision on it; and also that in 1305 A.D. four freemen of the City were adjudged to lose their freedom because they held lands at Stepney in villenage of the Bishop of London. In the Year Books of Richard II. to Henry VIII. I find nothing bearing exactly on the point; but it is clear that a man had a right to a trial whether he was bond or not:—

> Action sur le cas fuit tiel. Le def[endant] veut bargainer ove le pl[aintif] a vendr*e* a luy t*er*r*es*, & q*ue* il avoit enfeffe aut*er*s. Et il trav*er*se le feoffem*en*t fait a's auters. ¶ Wood. Semble que il covient trav*er*ser la vendition & bargaine, car *ceo est* l'effect; & nemy le feffem*en*t. Car si on port*e* action q*ue* le def[endant] avoit dit que le pl[aintif] fuit son villein, & que il voil*oit* prend*re* & inp*r*eson*er*, & que il jacuit in insidiis a luy p*r*end*re*, &c., ou il fuit franc & frée de condition; & il voil*oit* trav*er*ser q*ue* ne dit onques issint; ceo n'est suffisant, eins il covient respond*re* al gesir a luy prend*re*. ¶ Townsend dit, que il fuit bon trav*er*s: car il dit q*ue* il fuit l'effect de s'action, car aut*er*m*en*t son act*e* ne poit estre mainten*u*; & issint le trav*er*s bon[2]. Et Brian agrée a *ceo*. Quod nota bene. De Termino Hillarii Anno secundo Henrici VII.—*Year Books*, vol. x. p. 12. See also *The Rolls of Parliament*.

and lastly, recording that the bondmen gave way, and consented to perform their old services.

[Record Office, A.D. 1527, No. 1195.]

Thawnswer of the Duches of Bokyngh*a*m to the Complaynt of Richard Mors and Others.

[Th]e sayd Duches saythe that, the playntiffes beyng her villayns Regardant, and Com[o]ners, she ought nott by the lawe to aunswer to ther bille[1] / And For asmoche as towchith the kynges interest, and in the kynges right, after the Decesse of this Defend[ant] she prayith in Ayde of this honerable Court, on[o] the kynges behalf, For the Defence off the same, Considerynge that she at this tyme is[2] Destytute of lerned Counsayle, And that suche presidentes and Recordes as shalle make for profe of the mater be in the kynges possession[o]; howe be yt, Alle Avauntage resonable to her Reseruyd, For Declaracion[o] of the truth by Protestacion[o], she sayth that the Playntiffes, And ther Auncestours by the name of Moors, tyme oute of mans Remembrans, haue ben[o] boundemen[o] to the late Duk of Bokynham And his Auncestours, hertofore lordes of the maner of Rompney[3]; In so moche [whe]n[o]] the seide plentiffes And others, in the late Dukes Days, were Chalengid And Callyd to Do suche seruice [as] to them[o] belongyd, thay affyrmed then[o] as thay nowe doo / And wolde denye the sayde seruice / And Desyryde for there Declaracions to haue a trialle off the Contrey; wherevppon[o] the most Substancialste men[o] of the Contrey were Impanelled to try the same / which found them Bondmen[o]/ Ande the sayde Playntiffes, fyndyng them therwith grevyd, Requyred An other trialle of the same Contrey, whiche eftsones founde them[o] Bondmen[o], And nott only that / But also were the thirde tyme founde Bondmen[o] by theire next neighburs, as shalbe provide by substancialle men[o] nowe present, that were sworn[o] vppon[o] the saide Enquestes, And sum that were officers, And seaside the saide Playnt[iff]es goodes, And toke Inventories therof; wherof she praith to be Dismyssid, And to haue the orderyng of her seide Bondmen[o] Accordyng As the lawe in suche cases, with owt that / That she otherwise vsid the seide plentiffes / but As she laufully myghth Do by the lawe: Alle which materis &c /

Interrogatories to examyn[o] wittnesses brought by the Duches of Bokyngh*a*m, Defend[ant].

ffyrste, to Examyn[o] them[o] whether thay knowe that Edwarde, late Duke of Bokyngh*a*m, claymyd the complayn*a*ntes his Bondmen belongyn[o] to his Mannour of Rompney: ye, or nay.

Item, whether thay, or Any of them, vppon[o] the Refuselle of the plentiffes to be so bounde, were sworn[o] And Chargid to enquere betwixt the seide Duke And plentiffes in that behalff: ye, or naye.

Item, whether thay, or any of them, beyng so Chargide, *and* other theire fellowes, founde the pleyntiffes bondmen[o] accordyngly.

Item, to examyn[o] them, *and* euery of them[o], howe ofte they knewe the Plentiffes to be so founde by Inquysicion[o].

Item, if thay, or any of them, were officers in the Dukis tyme, and seaside the plentiffis goodes, for knowlige of there Bondshipe, and toke an Invitory therof /

Item, whether thay knowe of any seruice of Bondage Don[o] by the plentiffes.

Apud Bewdeley xxij[o] die Septembris Anno *regni regis* Henrici octaui xix[o]. Deposicions of witnesses sworn[o], and examy[ne]d vppon[o] the Interrogatories here vnto annexid./

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[1] 'Littleton Translated,' sect. 189, fol. 123 *b*, "Also, every villein is able and free to sue all manner of actions against everie person, *except against his lord, to whom he is villeine.*"

[2] MS. "in."

[3] Near Cardiff, a very remote part of England in 1527. *Pearson.*

John ap howell kemys, of the towne of Kerdif, of the Age of lviij yer*es*, sworn[2], *and* examyned appon[2] the enterrogatories herevnto annexed, Deposith, and sayth by the othe that he hathe made, as ensuyth:

j, ij, iij. He saith to the Fyrst article / the secund / and the iij[de] / That Edward, late Duke of Bokyngh*a*m, in his liff tyme Challengid the plentiff*es*, And there bloode, to be bondmen[2] to the maner of Rompney; And the plentiff*es and* others, ther bloode, Refusyng to submytt them selff*es*, Requyred to haue a triall*e* for ther Declarac*i*on[2]; And this Deponent was oon[2] that passed appon the same trialle, fyndyng the sayd plentiff*es*, and there blode, to be bondmen[2] to the seide man*er* of Rompney aforesayde /

iiij. He sayth thervnto, that he was at ij seu*er*all*e* tymes Impanellyd to trie the seide pleynt[iff]*es*; and both tymes founde the seide plentiff*es* boundmen[2] in maner aforesayde / And also knowe-with that they[1] were at a nother tyme founde Bondemen[2], by there neighburgs Impanelled att ther Request.

v. He sayth to the v[th] article, that he was no officer to sease any suche good*es*, but he knowith that oon[2] Willi*a*m Smyth was an officer, And in the late Duk*is* Dais seaside the good*es* of Thomas Mors, *and* William[2] Mors, *and* Richard Mors / And William Mors, an[d] toke an Invitory therof.

vj. He saith to the vj article, that he Doithe remembre and know, that the pleyntiff*es*, and others ther bloode And Auncesto*ur*s, haue vside to Do sarvice at the Co*m*maundment of the late Duke and his Auncesto*ur*s, in Caryng of woode, and other Busynes about*e* the sayde Duk*es* house; and were notyd and reputyd as Boundmen[2] to his seide lorde, *and* nott otherwise. /

Morgan[2] ap Howell*e* ap Iankyn[2] of weullong, of thage of lx yeris, or ther about*es*, in lykewise sworn[2], *and* examyned in lykewise, saythe by the othe that he hath made to the iij Fyrst Articles, that he know*i*th that the seide Edward late Duke of Bokynh*a*m, fyndyng certen[2] of the blode of the plentiff*es* in his[2] p*re*sident*es* as[3] bondmen[2], chalengid the plentiff*es*, *and* others of ther bloode; whervppon[2] this Deponent was oon[2] of ther Inquest, that, vppon[2] sight of the seyd p*re*sident*es*, founde *and* p*re*sentid the seid plentiff*es*, And ther bloode co*m*myng of the body *and* sequyle of William[2] Mors, grauntfader vnto the plentiff*es*, bondmen[2].

And also knowith that thay were in lykewise founden[2] and p*re*sentyd by other Inquest*es*, there Impanellyd for the Declarac*i*on[2] of the seide plentiff*es*. Also he saith to the v[th] *and* vj Articles, that he knowith that oon' William[2] Smyth was an officer in the Dais of the late Duke of Bokyngh*a*m, and did sese the good*es* of the plentiff*e* is bloode, That is to say, William mors, Thomas Mors, John William[2] Mors, And Wenllean[2] Mors, for knowlige of ther bondshipe, And toke an Invytory therof; And sayth that thay were Alwais reputyd *and* taken[2] As bondmen[2] to the seide late Duke, *and* his Auncesto*ur*s, lord*es* of the man*er* of Rompney, And nott knowen[2] otherwise / How be-it, he sayth that he Did nott se the seyde plentiff*es* Doo Anny bonde s*er*uice / How-be-it, he sayth, thay ought so to haue Don[2] if thay hadd ben[2] requyred therto.

John Roger of the lordship of Wentloke foresayd, in lykewise sworn[2], And examyned to All*e* the seide Articles, sayth by the oth that he hath made / That he know*i*th that the late Duke before namyd, Chalengid s*er*tyn[2] of the Auncesto*ur*s of the plentiff*es* for his bondmen[2], And this Deponent was oon[2] of them that was of ther quest, that found William Mors, Graundfather to the plentiff*es*, A bondman[2] to the seide Duke, as hit apperith in the seide Duke is p*re*sident*es*; And knowith that other ij quest*es* passid in lyke Case. / And also Doithe knowe that William[2] Smyth did sease the good*es* of Thomas Mors / William[2] Mors, And therof made an Inventory, lyke as the Formest Deponent hath seide / And Also saith that he neu*er* herde nor knewe but that the seide plentiff*es* be bondmen[2] to the lorde of Rompney foresaide, and so were taken[2] *and* reputyd / At whiche Day willi*a*m Mors *and* Richard Mors, plentiff*es*, And

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[1] MS. "there." [2] MS. "hie." [3] MS. "or."

Thomas Wotton², Clerke, for the Defend[ant] Apperid At Beawdley before the prencesse¹ Counsayle; where the seide plentiffes were contentyd; And promysed to go vnto the Defend[ant], submyttyng them vnto her to Do suche seruice As ther Auncestours Afore them Did / Or of right ought to Do / wherevnto the seide Thomas Wotton, Clerk, is aggreable. And hervppon² the seide parties be lycenssyd to Departe for this tyme /

And furthermore, vppon² sight of the Deposicions of the wittnesses brought by the Defend[ant] herevnto Annexed / It is Orderyd that a letter be Directyd vnto the persons subscribed, which, as is affyrmyd, be of the bloode *and* sequele of the plentiffes And ther Auncestours, compelleable to do suche seruice lyke as the same plentiffes, Comaundyng them to Conferme them self ther vnto, Accordyngly to appere the viij[th] day of Nouembre next commyng, to Aunswer in that partie.

John William Mors, Thomas Mors, Wenlean² Mors,
John Burnelle / Edward Crofte / Richard Hassalle.

[*Bond to secure the performance of the Bondmen's Services, and the payment of the Duchess's costs.*]

Nouerint vniuersi per presentes, nos, Iohannem Roger, Thomam Yong, & Willelmum Smyth, de Comitatu Wentlok, teneri et firmiter obligari thoma Wotton² Clerico, in quadraginta libris sterling², soluendis eidem thome Wotton², Aut suo certo Attornato, Ad festum omnium Sanctorum proxime futurum post Datum presencium: Ad quam quidem solucionem, bene et fideliter faciendam, obligamus nos, et quemlibet nostrum per se, pro toto & in solido, heredes et executores nostros, Ac omnia bona et Catalla nostra, mobilia seu immobilia, vbicunque fuerint inventa, per presentes. In Cuius rei testimonium, huic presenti Scripto nostro, Sigilla nostra Apposuimus. Datum xxiiij° Die mensis septembris. Anno regni regis henrici octaui post conquestum Anglie xix°.

The Condicion² of this obligacion² is such: that if Johan William² mors / Richard William Mors, Thomas mors, Wentlean Mors, personally Do appere before the noble lady, Alienor, Duches of Bokyngham, before the feast of alle Sayntes next approchyng the Date of this presente, *and* abide, stond, *and* pay, to the saide Duches, or to her assignes, alle such money as the seide Duches shalle taxe vppon² them² for such expensis *and* chargis As the seide Duchis was before the prencesse¹ counsayle, *and* otherwise, at such Dayes as shalbe to them² appoynted, *and* to be of good aberyng from² hensforth to the seide Duches, her counsaile *and* seruantes, And also to Do such seruice as ther Auncestours haue Don² to the late Duke of Bokyngham *and* to his auntecessours, *and* the abooue namyd persons shal take no replevyn² in the Shere of wentlok till the mater be tried in the seide duches court of Rompney or Duyles.

Had the Duchess and her bondmen been Scotch, in earlier days, she could have led them back by the nose—with their tails between their legs:—"*Potest Dominus ipsum per nasum suum redigere in pristinam servitutem.*" Quoniam Attachiamenta, cap. 56, cited in (Dalyell's) 'Fragments of Scotish History,' 1798, p. 27.[2] Kett and the Norfolk Rebels in 1549 ask 'thatt all

¹ ? MS. "premesse."

² As it may interest some readers to see a Licence to a Scotch bondman to work for another master for a time, in A.D. 1222, I subjoin here the document engraved in Dalyell, opposite the title-page, as extended and translated by Mr. Brock. One cannot imagine that bondmen were usually parted with on such easy terms. This one was doubtless a reward to Lord Mar's son for some service rendered to the Convent by him or his father.

[Licence.]

Anno ab incarnatione dominj . M° . cc° . xxij° . facta est hec conuentio inter

bonde men may be made ffre, for god made all ffre w^t^ his precious blode sheddyng.' Mr. Toulmin Smith reminds me that Sir Thomas Smith, in his *Common-wealth of England* (written in Latin, 28th March, 1565), chapter X., "Of Bondage and Bondmen," says:—

"All those kind of Bondmen bee called in our Law villains in grosse, as ye would say immediately bond to the person and his heires. Another they had (as appeareth in *Justinian's* time) which they called *adscriptitij glebæ* or *agri censiti*. These were not bond to the person, but to the Manour or place, and did follow him who had the Manour, [and] in our Law are called Villaines regardants, for because they bee as members, or belonging to the Manour or place. Neither of the one sort nor of the other haue we any number in England. And of the first I never knew any in the Realme in my time. Of the second, so few there be, that it is not almost worth the speaking; but our Law doth acknowledge them in both those sorts." p. 123, ed. 1621.

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d*omi*n*u*m . S. p*r*ior*em* s*anc*ti Andr*ei* & Conuent*um* eiusd*em* loci ex parte una . & Gillemor seoloo de Tarualont hominem eor*um* ligium & natiuum ex alt*er*a : videl*icet* q*uo*d id*em* . G. tanq*uam* eor*um* natiuus & ligi*us* h*omo* de eor*um* licentia erit c*um* d*omi*no . I. filio bone memorie . M. q*uo*ndam comitis de Mar q*uam* diu ip*s*i p*r*iori & conuentuj placuerit . ita q*uo*d id*em* . G. & ei*us* libe*r*i c*um* tota eor*um* substantia s*i*ne alic*uius contra*dictio*n*e u*e*l aliq*uo* inpedimento c*um* d*ic*tis p*r*iori & conuentuj placuerit Ad ipsos tanq*uam* natiuj ho*mi*n*es* suj reuerten*tur* . q*ui*b*us* loc*um* *con*gruum ad habitandum bona fide assignab*un*t . & si id*em* . G. u*e*l ei*us* lib*e*ri p*er* annum u*e*l amplius c*um* d*ic*to d*omi*no . I. mora*m* feceri*n*t . annuati*m* solue*n*t id*em* . G. u*e*l ei*us* libe*r*i i*n* recognitio*n*em homagij sui memoratis p*r*iori & conuentuj . una*m* lib*r*am cere i*n* assu*m*ptio*n*e b*eat*e Marie . & q*ui*a idem . G. sigillu*m* p*r*op*r*ium n*on* habuit . conuentio*n*em istam sigillo d*ic*ti d*omi*nj . I. fil*ij* . M. comitis de Mar fecit signari . Ad maiorem etia*m* securitatem p*r*efatus . G. tactis sac*r*os*anc*tis iurauit se *con*uentio*n*em istam bona fide & s*i*ne *contra*dictione aliq*ua* fidel*iter* seruaturu*m* . hijs testib*us* . D*omi*no . D. fil*io* . M. q*uo*ndam com*itis* de M^a^r. D*omi*no . I. *fratr*e ei*us* . D*omi*no . P. de Maleuill*a* uicecom*ite* Abirdon*ie* . D*omi*no . R. de scradhehin . b*r*icldin iudice de ferne . Will*elmus* cap*ell**anus* de Tarualont . Adam de Cussenin . Maldouenin Mac killedered . killeserf de Rotheuen.

[Translation.]

In the year from the incarnation of the Lord 1222, was made this covenant, between Sir S., prior of St. Andrews, and the convent of the same place, of the one part, and Gillemor Seoloo of Tarvalont, their liegeman and bondman, of the other part, to wit, that the same G., as their bondman and liegeman, shall, by their licence, be with Sir I., son of M. of good memory, sometime Earl of Mar, so long as it shall please the same prior and convent; likewise, that the same G. and his children, with all their substance, shall revert, without contradiction of any man or any hindrance, when it shall please the said prior and convent, to them as their bondmen, to whom they shall in good faith assign a fit place to dwell in; and if the same G. or his children shall remain with the said Sir I. for a year or more, the same G. or his children shall pay yearly, in acknowledgment of their bondship to the forementioned prior and convent, one pound of wax at the assumption of the blessed Mary: and because the same G. had no seal of his own, he caused this covenant to be signed with the seal of the said Sir I., son of M., Earl of Mar; also, for greater security, the foresaid G., having touched the holy things, swore that he would in good faith, and without any contradiction, faithfully keep this covenant. These being witnesses, Sir D., son of M., sometime Earl of Mar, Sir I., his brother, Sir P. de Malleville, Viscount of Aberdeen, Sir R. of Scradhehin, Bricldin, Judge of Ferne, William the Chaplain [?] of Tarvalont, Adam of Cussenin, Maldovenin Mackilledered, Killeserf of Rotheven.

Still, a London man like Sir Thomas Smith may not have known what went on in the country. See p. 112, note,[1] here. I do not look on his testimony as weakening Fitzherbert's and Kett's in any degree.[1]

1527 or 1528. William Roy in his *Satire against Wolsey*, or *Rede me and be nott wrothe*, Part II, p. 109–11 of Pickering's reprint, thus complains of the raising of rents by the Abbots, etc., the decay of farm-houses, and the throwing of several farms into one. He also notices the shepherds' food, which certainly is not worse now:—

JEF. The abbeys then full of covetyse /
Whom possessions coulde not suffyse /
Ever more and more encroachynge.

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[1] The latest entry relating to a Bondman that the Index shows in *The Rolls of Parliament*, occurs under 1467-8, and is given below, but the *Rolls* extend only to 1503:—

In 1447, 25 Hen. VI, is a Petition from 'the Constablez, Maier, Aldermen, Baillifs and Burgeyses, of the Englysh Castelles and Townes in the parties of North Wales,' that the King and his Parliament should ordein "that all Boundmen to oure Souverain Lord the Kyng within Northwales, be bounden and arted to do such labours and servises of right, as thei have used to do of olde tyme, notwithstandyng eny Graunte made unto theim, or eny usage used by theyme of late tyme to the contrarie; and that such officers have power to compell theym to do such labours and services, as have used to compell theim afore tyme lawfully.

Responsio. Le Roy le voet." (*Rolls of Parliament* V. 139, col. 1.)

In 1464 and 1467–8 (*Rolls* v. 535, col. 2, 610, col. 2) are contained provisoes in Acts of Resumptions that these Acts shall not "extend in eny wyse or be prejudiciall unto Thomas Dixon, Squier, of or for a Graunte to hym by us made by oure L*et*tres Patentes under oure Seall of oure Duchie of Lancastr*e*, beryng date at Westm*inster* the xxvth day of Juyn, the III^{de} yere of oure reigne of all the Londes, Tenementez, Rentes, Reversions, Services and Possessions whatsoever, with th'appurtenauncez, that som*m*e tyme were John Capons, bondman to oure Maner of Kyngeston Lacy in the Counte of Dors*et* perteinyng, in the same Kyngeston Lacy, Wymbourn Mynst*re*, and Holt, in the same Counte of Dors*et*, with Milles and all other Profittes and Commoditeez to the saide Londes and Tenementes, and eny of theym, in eny wise longyng or perteinyng."

John Capon must have been as rich as John de Reeve.

I add a passage from a Petition of 1391 in illustration of the quotations in *The Babees Book*, p. xlv, from *Piers Plowman's Crede* of 1392, about 'ich a beggeres brol' being set to school to learn on the book, and becoming a writer or a bishop:—

In 1391 Richard II's Commons pray him, not only that no Neif or Vileyn of any Archbishop, Bishop, Abbot, Prior, or other Religious whatsoever, be allowed to buy lands or tenements in fee, because such purchases pass out of the hands of the Temporalty into the hands of the Spiritualty, but "auxi de ordeiner & comander, q*ue* null Neif ou Vileyn mette ses Enfantz de cy en avant a Escoles pur eux avancer par Clergie, & ce en maintenance & salvation de toutz Frankes du Roialme.

Responsio. Le Roi s'Avisera." (Rolls of Parliament III. 294, col. 1.)

To my great regret, I did not know of these "Rolls of Parliament" when writing my sketch of Early English Education in the *Babees Book*, and 'Bondman' Essay in the Percy Folio. Mr. Duffus Hardy told me of them only a week ago—old as they are. They are cram full of materials for the student of the life of former times.

After they had spoyled gentill men /
They vndermyned husbande men /
In this ma*n*ner theym robbynge.
Wheare a farme for xx. li. was sett /
Under .xxx. they wolde not it lett /
Raysynge it vp on so hye a some.
That many a good husholder /
Constrayned to geve his farme over /
To extreme beggary did come.

WAT. ¶ I have hearde saye of myne elders /
That in Englonde many fermers /
Kept gaye housholdes in tymes passed.

JEF. Ye, that they did with liberalite /
Sheawynge to povre people charite /
But nowe all together is dasshed.
Of ryche farme places and halles /
Thou seist nothynge but bare walles /
The rofes fallen to the grownde /
To tourne fayre houses into pasture /
They do their diligent cure /
The co*m*men well to confownde.

WAT. ¶ Howe have the abbeys their payment?

JEF. ¶ A newe waye they do invent /
Lettynge a dosen farmes vnder one.
Which one or two ryche francklyng*es* /
Occupyinge a dosen mens lyvyng*es* /
Take all in their owne hondes a lone.

WAT. The wother in paiynge their rent /
Be lycklyhod were negligent /
And wolde not do their duty.

JEF. They payde their duty and more /
But their farmes are heythed so sore /
That they are brought vnto beggery.

WAT. Have the francklyng*es* therby no gayne?

JEF. Yes / but fyrst they have moche payne /
Yer they can gett it substancially.
Payinge more for the entrynge in /
Then they shalbe able to wyn*n*e /
A goode whyle after certeynly.
For to gett the abbott*es* consent /
Under the seale of the covent /
It is a thynge very costly.
Where-of the charges to recover /
Lest they shulde theym selves enpover /
And be brought into decaye
Pover cilly shepperd*es* they gett /
Whome into their farmes they sett /
Lyvynge on mylke / whyg / and whey.

I wonder what the shepherds wore. ?Sheepskin coats and calf-skin breeches, like the boy Whythead in March 1604–5, serving the Shuttleworths of Gawthorpe: "in Clitheroe, for ij calfskines, to be the boyes, ether of theym, one p*air*e of briches, ij^{s} viij^{d}; one shippe skyne to be the boye Whythead a dublet, viij^{d}." (*Accounts*, i. 160, Chetham Society, 1856. There are several other like entries.)

We may take next an interesting Paper in the Record Office, which Professor Brewer kindly pointed out to me, and which contains an argument in favour of sheep and pastures, while admitting great dearth in the country in the years before its date. That date Prof. Brewer fixes at 1529 A.D., on account of the mention of the "kynges warres outwarde, with ij or iij yeres contynuaunce of the same," the French Wars of 1523,–4,–5, and the dearth which prevailed in 1527, and part of 1528:—

"CONCYDERACIONS FFOLOWYNG, WHERFORE ALLE MANERE OF VYTTELLE HATH BEEN^{e} SO DERE.

"ffyrst, the kynges warres owtwarde, with ij or iij yeres contynuaunce of the same, hath been^{e} oon^{e} Occasyon^{e} of Derthe; for yt was neuer seen^{e} butt in tyme [of o]wtwarde warre, Darthe alweys hath ensued.

"Item, the same selff yere thatt the warre ended, there ffelle as greatt a generalle Rott and Morreyn^{e} amongst Cattelle as euer was seen^{e} eny tyme xl^{ty} yeres beffore . . . . . norysshed & kepte; ffor in pasture there is very lytylle Moren^{e} seen^{e} or non^{e}.

"Item, syth thatt tyme hath ensued iij or iiij mervelousse drye Sommers, So thatt for Scastye of Gresse, & lack of haye and watere both / greatt bestes & Shyppe coude nott ffede in Somer; butt by reason^{e} of the same Drowte, all maner of Cattelle to be greatt Surffettes, So thatt in the wynters ffolowyng, which werre very Soore and herde, by reason^{e} of the seyd Scastye of meyte & watere in the Sommers, And for lack of haye and ffogge,[1] they dyed in wyntereȝ ffolowyng, & specyally in the last wyntere, ffor many & Sundry partys of Englond werre constreyned of necessyte to dryve theire Cattelle in the seyd Sommers v or vj Mylys to the watere, which hath nott been^{e} seen^{e} by no Man^{e} thatt nowe lyffeth / And by reason^{e} of theys vnseasonable yeres, there coude be noo pleyntyth of ffatt beffe & Mutton^{e}, for Scastye of gresse, haye, & ffogge, to ffede and kepe them^{e} withalle.

"Item, in all seasonable yeres past, yt hath been^{e} seen^{e} thatt oons in the yere, viȝ ffrom^{e} Mychelmas to Martylmas, Men^{e} shuld haue hadd in dyuers Comon^{e} ffeldes some ffatt Cattelle, where nowe, in theys vnseasonable yeres, there hath been^{e} lyttylle or non^{e}.

"Allsso theys vnseasonable yeres haue been^{e} a greatt dystruccion to brede of lammes & Calveȝ, ffor in the open^{e} ffeldes the husbondes, for lack of Stuffe, bredd ffewe or non^{e} / And those thatt werre bredd, werre hunggur-bytten^{e} & lyttylle worth, except suche as werre bredd in pasture.

"Item, yt hath been^{e} seen^{e} in tymes past, thatt after warreȝ or Morens of Cattelle, there hath been^{e} a Restreynt thatt no Man^{e} shuld kylle nothere lamme nor Calffeȝ of a certen^{e} tyme aftere, where nowe, synȝ the darthe beganne, there hath been^{e} non^{e} suche restreynt."

"THE SCASTYE OF FFYSSHE AND FFOWLE.

"Item, the seyd vnseasonable yereȝ haue nott oonly been^{e} the Cause of Derthe of beffe & Mutton^{e}, butt allsso the dystruccion of ffresshe-watere ffysshe & ffowles, in the ffennys and in othere places, by reason^{e} of greatt Droughteȝ in Sommere, & greatt ffrostes in wyntere, So thatt ffysshe & ffowle is vtterly dystroyed, and be att the treble pryce thatt they werre wount to be att.

"Item, the Darthe of Porke was by reason^{e} thatt of Scacety of Beynes and Peys, & allsso ffor lack of Maste, ffor Men^{e} werre constreyned in theys herde yereȝ to gyffe theire horsses & bestes, Peyason^{e} in Ryse,[2] for lack of haye, yett

[1] *Fog*, *Feg*, grass not eaten down in summer, that grows in tufts over the winter. *Fogagium*, winter pasture in the forests. (*Wedgwood.*)

[2] A.S. *hris*, a branch. ? The whole pea-plant.

thatt notw*ith*stondyng many horsse⁊, Mares, & ffooles, dyed ffor lack of Meyte; wherfore there was butt lyttylle Porke bredd nor yett ffedde.

"Item, the darth and Scacety of this Cattelle afforseyd, hath been⁹ the Cause why alle Pultree ware, and whit meyte, hath been⁹ so dere."

"REGRATOUR⁊ AND FFORSTALLERS OF CATTELLE HATH BEEN⁹ AN⁹ OTHERE CAUSE OF[1] DARTHE OF VYTTELLE.

"Item, the Cuntree⁊, videlicet, wales, Chesshyre, lankeshyre, & the North ppartye⁊, where bestes be bredd att this daye,—there is neuer a Gresyere in Englond thatt byeth eny bestes bredd in those Cuntree⁊, in ffeyre and Markytt, leyne, butt he byeth them⁹ att the iij^de & iiij^th hand att the lest / And in lyke maner suche Regratyng is vsed ffrom⁹ the Gresyere of ffatt Cattelle.

"yett Notw*ith*stondyng alle the p*re*mysse⁊, videlicet, the kynges warre⁊, vnseasonable yere⁊, regratyng, and fforstallyng, And greatt Morren⁹ of Cattelle, & the pasture⁊ yett standyng,—thanked be god,—alle thyng is pleyntyffulle att this daye as euer yt was, and lyke to be, yf god send seasonable wedders, allsso yf the pasture⁊ at this daye maye contynue, And then⁹ can⁹ Darthe neuer long contynue, as by good Reason⁹ and [experyence maye be proved][2]

. . . . . .

which Pleynty hath been⁹ and is by reason⁹ of Pasture⁊; ffor alweys when⁹ a generalle Mooren⁹ of Shyppe and alle othere Cattelle is in common⁹ ffeldes, then⁹ very lytylle or non⁹ in Pasture⁊. And so in pasture⁊ is then⁹ bredd & kepte moche Cattelle, and as often⁹ as the Comon⁹ Moren⁹ hath ffallen⁹ in the common⁹ ffelde⁊, the pasture⁊ haue releved the seyd Common⁹ ffeldes ayen⁹ with theire brede of theire Cattelle, to the increasyng of the husbondes, & to the composyng of theire lond, which is the chefe Cause of the pleyntyffe of Corne; ffor yt hath nott been⁹ seen⁹ thatt in the tyme of pleynty of Shyppe thatt eny Darthe of Corne hath been⁹ & contynued, nor neuer shalle be as long as ye haue pleynty of Shyppe, which pleynty is & hath been⁹ by reason⁹ of pasture⁊, as by reason⁹ & experyence maye be proved, the kynges grace & his most honorable Councelle nott offended. More ouer, when⁹ the Scacynesse of the yere doeth comme for vyttelle, which is between⁹ Seynt andrewes tyde and Mydsomer, then⁹ alle beffe, Mutton⁹, & lammys, commeth owte of Pasture⁊ & Mersshes, except very lyttylle, which is Reke ffedd & Stalle ffedd; and yf pasture⁊ werre nott, thatt nowe be with⁹n⁹ xl or l Mylys of the Cytye of london⁹, the botchere⁊ of the seyd Cytye coude neuer selle so good a penyworth as they doe, ffor they doe euer ffetche them⁹ as they doe occupye them⁹, and putt them⁹ to no Charge of gresse / And by cause of theire shorte dryftte, they doe lese butt lyttylle of theire fflesshe, And Cost them⁹ lyttylle money ffor theire [3]charge of conveyaunce to the seid Scite."[3]

To check the high prices of meat, caused (no doubt) by the bad seasons, etc., spoken of in this Paper, the statute of 24 Hen. VIII, cap. 3, was passed, fixing the prices at which meat should be sold by the pound,—$\frac{1}{2}d.$ for beef, $\frac{5}{8}d.$ for mutton. The Act was, however, not duly observed; and, by the 25 Hen. VIII, cap. 1, additional powers were given to enforce its provisions; but both Acts were soon suspended, in $153\frac{6}{7}$, by the 27 Hen. VIII, cap. 9, on account of "the great darth of al maner of vitayles, which be nowe, and syns the makyng of the seid estatutes hath fallen and happened within this .. Realme, as well by morreyne &

[1] MS. "or."
[2] Partly cut off; then about two lines appear to be cut off.
[3] Substituted for "bryngyng vppe," which is struck out. (Scite = citie.)

deathe of such cattelles, as by great waters and unsesonable wethers, whereby the breed and increse of the same is mych enpayred and mynyshid." (See p. 43–4 below.)

1530. The grievance now is the gentleman's, the accumulation of land in the hands of the Clergy (as including the Monks and Friars).

In *A Proper Dyaloge betwene a Gentillman and a Husbandman, eche complaynynge to other their miserable Calamite through the Ambicion of Clergye*, A.D. 1530[1] (reproduced in facsimile by Mr. Fry in 1863, who quotes parallelisms from Roy, as the possible author of the tract), the Gentillman says of his Ancestors:—

"Their chefe lordshippes and londes principall,
With commodytes of their possessyon,
Vnto the clergye they gaue forthe with all,
Dysheretinge their right successyon;
Which to receiue, without excepcion,
The couetous clergy made no denay,
Sayenge that they wold for their soules pray.

By the meanes wherof / I and suche other,
Suffrynge the extremyte of indigence,
Are occasioned to theft or mourder,
Fallynge in-to moche inconuenience
Because the clergye (agaynst conscience)
Deuoureth oure possessiones nighte and daye,
Sayeng *that* for oure frendes soules they praye.

I haue wife and childern vpon my hande,
Wantinge substaunce / their lifes to sustayne.
Wherfore to the clergy that haue my lande,
Sometyme I come, and pituously complayne,
Whos statelines / to helpe me hauyng disdayne,
With-out any comforte to me they saye,
That for my frendes soules they dayly praye.

Shuld I and my houshold for houngre dye,
They wold not an halfe peny with vs parte;
So that they lyue in welthe aboundantly,
Full litle they regarde oure woofull smerte.
To waste oure goodes they nothinge aduerte,
In vicious lustes and pompous araye,
Sayenge *that* for our frendes soules they praye." [back of folio 3.]

* * * * * * * * *

¶ The Husbandman.

Syr / god geue you good morowe!
I perceiue the cause of youre sorowe
And most lamentable calamyte,
Is for the oppression intollerable
Of thes monstres so vncharitable,
Whom men call the spiritualte.

---

[1] A copy is in the British Museum. Mr. Fry knew only Lord Arthur Hervey's.

Trouthe it is / ye poore gentillmen are
By their craftynes made nedy and bare,
  Your landes with-holdinge by violence.
How be it we husbandmen euery where
Are nowe in worsse condicion ferre,
  As it may be marked by experience.

¶ Gentillman.

In worse caas? nay / that can not be so!
For loke ouer the hoole worlde to and fro,
  Namely here in oure owne region;
And thou shalt fynde, that in their handes
Remayneth the chefe lordeshippes and landes
  Of poore gentillmens possession.
They haue oure aunceters lyuelood and rentes,
Their principall fearmes and teneamentes,
  With temporall fredomes and libertees;
They haue gotten vnto their kingdomes
Many noble baronries and erldomes,
  With esquyres landes, and knightes fees." [back of folio 4.]

In the same poem the husbandman complains of the Monastic bodies raising their rents and throwing two, three, even six farms, into one. In the old times he fancies it was not so. Then:—

[folios 6, 6 bk. and 7.]

We husbandmen lyke wise prosperously,
Occupyenge the feates of husbandry,
  Hyerd fearmes of pryce competent,
Wherby oure lyuinge honestly we wanne,
And had ynough to paye euery manne,
  Helpinge other that were indigent
Tyll at the last the rauenous clergye,
Through their craftynes and hypocrisye
  Gate to them worldly dominacion.
Than were we ouercharged very sore,
Oure fearmes set vp dayly more and more
  With shamefull pryce, in soche a fasshyon
That we paye more nowe by halfe the sume
Than aforetymes we dyd of custome,
  Holdinge ought of their possession.
Besyde this / other contentes of brybery,
As payenge of tythes / open and preuy,
  And for herynge of confession;
Also prestes dueties, and clerkes wages,
Byenge of perdones, and freres quarterages,
  With churches and aultares reparacion.
All oure charges can not be nombred,[1]
Wherwith we are greatly acombred,
Ouer whelmyd with desolacion.

---

[1] Compare those above with the ones enumerated in the interesting *God spede the Plough* in Mr. Skeat's edition of *Pierce the Ploughmans Crede*, E. E. Text Soc. 1867.

We tourmoyle oure selfes nyght and daye,
And are fayne to dryncke whygge and whaye,[1]
For to maynteyne the clargyes facciones.

¶ Gentillman.

This were a great shame to be knowen,
Seynge halfe the realme is their owne,
That they charge you with soche exaccions.
Me thyncketh so to do is no small cryme,
For they kepte as good houses a foretyme
Whiles theyr fearme-hyers was ferre lesse.

¶ Husbandman.

Ye / more plentuous houses a great deale,
How be yt, in hyndrynge the comone weale
They vse also this practyse doutles,
Where as poore husband men afore season—
Accordinge vnto equite and reason— [fol. 6, bk.]
House or lande to fearme dyd desyre,
Without any difficulte they might it get,
And yet no hygher price was ther vp set
Than good conscience did require.
But nowe their ambicious suttlete
Maketh one fearme of two or thre;
Ye, some tyme they bringe .vi. to one,
Which to gentillmen they let in farmage,
Or elles to ryche marchauntes for avauntage,
To the vndoynge of husbandeman echone;
Wherby the comones sufferinge damage,
The hole land is brought in to rerage,
As by experience ye may well see.
Thus is the wealth of village and towne,
With the fame of honorable renowne,
Fallen in to myserable pouerte.
Plentuous housholdes hereby ar dekayde,
Relefe of poore people is awaye strayde,
Allmes exyled with hospitalyte:
By soche meanes / all thinge waxeth dere,
Complaynte of subiectes cryenge ferre and nere,
Oppressed with greuous calamyte.

¶ Gentillman.

Truely thou shewest the very abuse:
Neuerthelesse, concernynge oure excuse,
Why we gentillmen fearmes occupye;
The principall occasion is onely this,
That oure patrimony geuen awaye is
Vnto thes wolffes of the clergye,

---

[1] Mr. Fry quotes at p. 11 of his reproduction, the parallel passage from Roy's Satire given at length above, p. 17:—

Pover cilly shepperds they gett,
Whome into their farmes they sett,
Lyvynge on mylke, whygg, and whey

Whig is buttermilk (*Lincoln.*), or sour whey (*Brockett*). (Halliwell's Gloss.)

By whos oppression we are so beggeryd,
That necessite hath vs compellyd
With fearmes soche shyft to make. [fol. 7.]
For, as ye husbandmen can well vnderstande,
Touchinge expences and charges of the lande,
They disdayne any parte with vs to take."

We pass next to a dateless tract in the Lambeth Library, 'Certayne causes gathered together, wherin is shewed the decaye of Engla*n*d, onely by the great multytude of shepe, to the vtter decay of housholde kepyng, mayntenau*n*ce of men, dearth of corne, and other notable dyscommodityes, approued by syxe olde Prouerbes.' The writer speakes for Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, and Northamptonshire; and his six Proverbs are:—

The more shepe, the dearer is the wol.
The more shepe, the dearer is the motton.
The more shepe, the dearer is the beffe.
The more shepe, the dearer is the corne.
The more shepe, the skanter is the whit meate (flesh of cattle).
The more shepe, the fewer egges for a peny.

"The fyrst losse, as we do thinke, there is not so many plowes vsed, occupyed, and maintained within Oxforth shyre, as was in Kynge Henry the seuenth tyme, and sens hys fyrste comming there lacketh xl. plowes, euery plough was able to kepe .vi. perso*n*s, doune lyinge and vprysynge in hys house, the whych draweth to twelfscore persons in Oxfordshyre.

"And where *tha*t the sayde twelfscore persons were wo*n*t to haue meate, dryncke, rayment and wages, payinge skot and lot to God, and to oure Kynge, now there is nothing kept there, but onlye shepe. Now these twelfscore persons had nede to haue liuing: whether shal they go? into Northamptonshyre? and there is also the lyuynge of twelf score persons loste: whether shall then they go? forthe from shyre to shyre, and to be scatered thus abroade, within the Kynges Maiestyes Reaulme, where it shal please almyghty God; and for lacke of maystres, by compulsyon dryuen, some of them to begge, and some to steale.

"The seconde losse, as we do thinke, that there is neuer a plough of the .xl. plowes, but he is able to tyl and plowe to certyfye syx persons, and euery plough to sell .xxx. quarters of grayne by the yeare, or els he can full yll paye, syx, seuen, eyght pounds by the yeare . . . And yf it be as we do think, *tha*t there be iiij score plowes in euery one of these shires les the*n* there was, then is there the lyuyng lost of a thousand & four score persons in euery one of these foresayde shyres. Thys is the seconde losse as we do thyncke, and call for remedy for it.

"The thirde losse, as we do thincke: we do lose in the said thre shyres kepynge of housholde, and hospitalytie, and maintaynyng of tyllage and houshold kepynge; we do lacke corne, and also lese oure catell; for where anye housholde is kept, there is kept kyne and calues; & of oure kyne there commeth mylcke, butter and chease; and all this doeth sustayne the Kynges Mayesties subiectes; and for thys we haue nothinge but shepe.

"And furthermore, where housholdes be kepte, there is hogges, pygges, and bakon, capons, he*n*nes, duckes, Egges, frute, and many other co*m*modityes, that is necessary and nedefull to be had for *the* maintenaunce and lyuinge of the Kynges maiesties poore subiectes to lyue by; and for that we haue nothyng but shepe. This is the thyrde losse."

? Before 1545 A.D., Robert Crowley, the printer of the first

edition of the *Vision of Piers Flowman*, afterwards a clergyman, and a writer of very many controversial and other tracts, put forth—

"An informacion and Peticion agaynst the oppressours of the pore Commons of this Realme, compiled and Imprinted for this onely purpose that amongest them that haue to doe in the Parliamente, from godlye mynded men, may hereat take occacion to speake more in the matter then the Authoure was able to write."

From the copy of this in the British Museum we may take two extracts; the first on the possessioner or engrosser of farms; the second on the breaking up of families through landlords' exactions, the daughters being driven to prostitution, etc. :—

[Back of leaf 5.]

"He lyeth in wayte wyth the richemen of the villages or graynges, in secrete corners, to the intent to flea y^e^ innocent. Hys eyes are fyexed vpon the pore, he layeth awayete euen as a lyon in his denne. He layeth a wayte to take the pore man by force, and when he hath gotten him within hys reache, then wyll he take hym violentlye. In hys net will he ouerthrowe the pore, and through hys strength shall the multitude of the oppressed be ouer charged and fall. For in his herte he sayeth, God hath forgotten, God turneth a waye hys face, and wyll neuer regarde the oppression of the pore .etc. to the ende of the same psalme.* * * * * * Wo be vnto you therfore, that do ioyne house vnto house, & couple one fielde to an other, so longe as there is any grounde to be had. Thinke you that you shal dwel vpon the earth alone? The Lorde of hostes (sayth the prophete) hath spoken these wordes vnto me. Manye large and goodlye houses, shall be deserte, & without inhabitantes .x. acres of wynes shall yelde but one quarte of wine, and .xxx. bushelles of sede shal yelde but .x. bushelles agayne. Beholde you engrossers of fermes, and teynements beholde I saye, the terible threatnynges of God whose wrath you can not escape. The voyce of the pore (who*m* you haue with money thruste out of house and whome,) is well accepted in the eares of the Lorde, and hath steared vp hys wrath agaynste you. He threateneth you most horrible plages. Ten acres of vynes shal yelde but one quarte of wyne, and .xxx. bushelles of sede but .x. bushelles agayne. The sede of goddes worde sowen in your hertes, shalbe barrayne and not bringe-fourth fruite."

[Leaf 8.]

"The lande lordes for theyr partes, suruey and make y^e^ vttermost peny of al their growndes, bysydes the vnreasonable fynes and incomes; and he that wyll not or can not geue all that they demaunde, shall not enter, be he neuer so honest, or stande he neuer so greate neede. Yea though he haue ben an honeste, true, faythfull and quiete tenant many yeres, yet at the vacatio*n* of his Copie or Indentur, he must paye welmoste as muche as woulde purchayse so much grownde or else voide in hast, though he, his wyfe and chyldrene, should perishe for lacke of harbour. What a sea of mischifes hath floued out of thys more then Turkyshe tyranie: what honeste housholders haue ben made folowers of other not so honest mens tables: what honeste matrones haue ben brought to the needy rocke and cardes: what men-chyldrene of good hope in the liberall sciences and other honeste qualities (wherof this realme hath great lacke), haue ben compelled to fal, some to handycrafts, and some to daye labour, to sustayne theyr parents decrepet age and miserable pouertie: what frowarde and stoubourn children haue herby shaken of the yoke of godly chastisement, rennyng hedlonge into all kyndes of wickednes, and finaly garnyshed galowe trees: what modeste, chaste and

womanly virgins, haue for lacke of dourie ben co*m*pelled either to passe ouer y^e^ days of theyr youth in vngrate seruitude, or else to marye to perpetuall miserable pouertie: what immodeste and wanton gyrles haue hereby be*n* made sisters of the Banck[1] (the stumbling stock of all frayle youth), and

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[1] The stews or brothels on Bankside, Southwark, which were then farmed of the City, were destroyed in A.D. 1381, by the insurgents under Wat Tyler, when they took possession of Southwark, and broke open the prisons and released the prisoners (*Penny Cyclopædia*, art. "Southwark.") The stews were put down by Edward VI's Government in 1545 A.D., but the name lasted longer. In Randolph's *Poems with the Mvses Looking Glasse*, 1638, quoted by Nares, the writer says:—

> "Come, I will send for a whole coach or two
> Of *Bank-side* ladies, and we will be jovial."
> *Old Plays*, ix. 206.

Mr. Haweis (*Sketches of the Reformation*, p. 135) quotes from a sermon of Chedsey's, in 1545, in which he exposes the enormities of the Bank stews; and also from a sermon of Latimer's, in which he says, "You have put down the stews; but, I pray you, what is the matter amended? What availeth that? ye have but changed the place, and not taken the whoredom away . . . I hear say there is now more whoredom in London than ever there was on the *Bank* . . . There is more open whoredom, more stewed whoredom than ever was before. The *Bank*, when it stood, was never so common." (Sermons, ed. 1844, p. 133–4.) And again (*ib.* p. 196) "O Lord, what whoredom is used now-a-days . . how God is dishonoured by whoredom in this city of London; yea, the *Bank* when it stood, was never so common . . . There is some place in London [the precinct of St. Martin-le-Grand, originally a sanctuary, and which retained its extra-civic immunity], as they say, "Immunity, impunity:" what should I call it? A privileged place for whoredom. The lord mayor hath nothing to do there, the sheriffs they cannot meddle with it; and the quest they do not inquire of it: and there men do bring their whores, yea, other men's wives, and there is no reformation of it." In the Search for suspected persons, ordered by Henry VIII. on July 10, 1517, '& afterwards set over till the 17th of the same month,' we find that these Bankside brothels contributed more than any other place: "Persons taken at the stewhouses within the liberty of the bishop of Winchester . . . 54 men and women, including Jo. Willyams, footman to the King, at the signs of the Castle, the Bull, the Hart, the "Olyfant," the Unicorn, the Bear's Head, and other houses designated by their owners' names. (*Brewer's Calendar*, iii. 127.)

The subject is further illustrated by a Petition to Henry VI's Parliament in 1443:—

(*Rolls of Parliament*, vol. 4. p. 447, 11 & 12 Hen. VI.)

"42. Please hit to the Wysdome and high discretion of the worshipfull Communes in this present Parliament assemblid, to consider a grete myschief in late dayes begonne amonge untrewe lyvers, and poeple withoute conscience, and yet duellyng in a suspect and wycked place called the Stewys, in the Burgh of Southewerke, in the Shire of Surr*ey*. That ys to wete, howe *th*at withinne fewe dayes diverse persones of right grete poverte, and right disolute governance, withinne a fewe yeres duellyng in the saide suspect place, as well by recettyng of comon women, thefes, mansleers, and avoutoures, as by murdererys, and prive roberyes, done ther by hem self and other many, withoute petie, trouth and goode conscience, ther prevyly logid, have sodenly comyn to grett rychesse, and therwith purchasyd grett lyvelod of Londes and Tenementes, to right grete value yerly; and by cause of sufficeaunt of frehold so purchased, have been ofte retourned by the Shereve of the Shire, and o*th*ere Baillifs, and sworen in Enquestes, as well for felonies and trespasses betweene

finaly, moste miserable creatures lyeinge and dieynge in the stretes, ful of all plages and penurie: what vniuersall destruction chau*n*ceth to this noble realme by this outragious and vnsaciable desyr of the surueiers of landes: I reporte me to you (most christian counsayellours) which ar here assembled from all partes of this noble realme, to co*n*sulte for the welth of all the membres of the same. On the other syde, ther bee certayne tenauntes, not able to be lande lordes, and yet after a sorte they conterfayte landelordes, by obtaynynge[1] leases in and vpon groundes and tenementes, and so reyse fynes, incomes, and rentes: and by suche pyllage pyke out a porcion to mayntayne a proud porte, and all by pylynge and pollynge of the poore commons, that must of necessitie seke habitations at their ha*n*des. That this is true, I report me to my lorde the maire, and other the hed officers of the Citie of London, whoe (if they be not ignorant of the state of the Citie) can witnes with me that the moste parte, yea I thinke ix. of the .x. partes, of the houses in London, bee set and let by them that haue them by lease: and not by the owners. Howe thei polle the pore tena*n*tes, would sone be tryed, if theyr leases were conferred w*ith* theyr rentrolles. It is not to be thought contrary but that the greate leasmu*n*gers haue greate gains by their leases, for the litleons that hold but a piece of houseing of .xx. or .xxx. s. by yere, can fynde the meanes to holde, and dwell vpon the chiefe parte therof rent fre, by letynge out the residue for the whole yerely rent. I thinke not contrary, but these thinges do appeare in the syght of many to bee but verey trifles, and not worthy to be spoke*n* of in so noble an assemble as this most honorable parliament. For they are no mattiers concerneyng the welth of the nobilitie; yea, it is rather hyndrance to many of them, to haue these thynges redressed, then any encrease of theyr welth. Yea euen you (moste christian counsaylours) whych are here assembled, to debate the weightie mattiers of thys realme;

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the Kyng and partie, and partie and partie, as in assises, and other plees of lond, afore diverses Jugges of oure Liege Lord in his Courtes, and afore the Steward and Marshall of his houshold; thorugh whiche causes, many and diverses disheretaunces and wrongfull condempnations of many trewe liege men of oure sovereigne Lord have been hadde, and many murdererys of men, and notarye theves, have been savyd, and gret murdererys and robberies coneseled and passed unponischid: and howe the said suspecte poeple, enhabyte hem in comune Hostries and Tavernys in the high strete of the said Burgh, there recettyng Theves, commune women, and other mysdoers, in lyke wyse as they deden at the said suspect place of the Stewys. Lyke hit to youre high discretions, these premisses considered, and that suche poeple withoute Conscience, mowe not of Reason be undirstouden worthi of trouth, nor to bere witnesse of trouth in any cause where right is to be enquered; to praye the Kyng oure sovereigne Lord, that by the assent of the Lordes Espirituelx an Temporelx, and by auctoritie of this present Parliament, to ordeyne, that yef any suche persone be retorned by any Sheref, Baillif, or other Ministres of oure sovereigne Lord the Kyng, in the said Shire of Sur*rey*, or by any Minister afore the Steward and Marshall of the Kynges houshold, that as well for the Kyng as for any partie, he maye in all tymes here after be chalanged, and the Chalenge in this partie allowed in this partie, for the cause aforesaid. And also that non suche that have so duellyd at the seid Stewys, be sufferid to hold any commune Hostrie nor Tavern, in any other place withinne the said Southwerk, sauf onely atte the said Stewys, in escheuyng of murdererys, robberie3 and avoutries, that ellys been likly to ben hadde. And that the Justices of the Pees in the said Shire of Sur*rey*, have power to enquere of all suche holders of Hostries and Tavernes, and to punysche hem that suche been, by fyn and raunson, and inprisoyng of here bodies, aftre the discretion of the said Justices; for the love of God, and in wey of charitee."

[1] Orig.: "obtaynydge."

are not all so free from this kynde of oppression, but that you coulde be well contented to wyncke at it. And therfor, for asmuche as the inordinate loue of men towarde them selues is such, that eyther they can not se theyr owne fauts, or else if they do se them, or be tolde of them, they take them not to be so great as they are in dede: I thinke it no meruayle, though such of you (most worthy counsaylours) as haue any profite by this oppression, do wythin them selues deride and laugh to scorn my fole hardines and rashe enterpryse herein, knoweynge that it is not the vse of them that bee assembled, to the intent to establish such thynges as shall be for the welth of a whole realme, to condescende and agree to those thynges whych shallbe disprofitable vnto the chiefe membres of the same."

But to return to the Sheep and the Enclosures. Polydore Vergil notices the preponderance of grasiers over tillers:—

The grownde is marvelous fruitefull, and aboundantlie replenished with cattayle, wherebie it commethe to passe that, of Englishe men, moe are grasiers and masters of cattayle then howsbande men or laborers in tilling of the fielde, so that allmoste the third parte of the grownde is lefte unmanured, either for their hertes, or falowe deere, or their conies, or their gotes (for of them allso are in the northe partes no small number); for allmoste everie where a man maye se clausures and parckes paled and enclosed, fraughte with suche venerie, which, as they minister greate cause of huntinge, so the nobilitie is muche delited and exercised therein.—*Polidore Vergil's English History* (written between 1509 and 1555) *translated.* Bk. i. p. 5, Camden Soc.

In 1549 the people's irritation and discontent broke out into open disorder, which soon turned to rebellion. The immediate cause of the outbreaks, says Holinshed, was the Protector Somerset's Proclamation against the enclosure of commons. The reader will find the passage quoted in the Introduction to 'Vox Populi,' further on in this volume.

A.D. 1549. Latimer, in his First Sermon preached before King Edward VI., says:—

"If the king's honour, as some men say, standeth in the great multitude of people; then these graziers, inclosers, and rent-rearers, are hinderers of the king's honour. For where as have been a great many housholders and inhabitants, there is now but a shepherd and his dog: so they hinder the king's honour most of all. (*Sermons*, ed. 1844, p. 100.) Thou which raisest the rents so greedily, as though thou shouldst never have enough . . learn first the use of money and riches . . lest God, before whom thou shalt appear one day, to render a strait account for the deeds done in the flesh, burden and charge thee with the unmerciful handling of thy tenant, but yet notwithstanding thy Brother, whom with new incomes, fines, enhancing of rents, and such like unreasonable exactions, thou pillest, pollest, and miserably oppressest" ('To the Reader,' *ib.* p. 107) "to extort and take away the right of the poor, is against the honour of the king . . . for I fully certifie you, extortioners, violent oppressors, ingrossers of tenements and lands, through whose covetousness villages decay and fall down, the king's liege people for lack of sustenance are famished and decayed,—they be those which speak against the honour of the king" (*ib.* p. 94).

A.D. 1550. Robert Crowley, (the author of the *Informacion* above quoted) in "*The way to wealth, wherein is plainly taught a most present remedy for Sedicion.* Wrytten and imprinted by Robert Crowley the .viii. Of Februarye in the yere of our LORDE

A thousand fiue hu*n*derd & fiftie," states the poor man's grievances in his own words, thus:—

"If I shuld demaunde of the pore man of the contrey, what thinge he thinketh to be the cause of Sedition: I know his answere. He woulde tel me that the great fermares, the grasiers, the riche but[c]hares, the men of lawe, the marchauntes, the gentlemen, the knightes, the lordes, and I can not tel who,—Men that haue no name because they are doares in al thinges that ani gaine hangeth vpon, Men without conscience, Men vtterly voide of goddes feare; Yea, men that liue as though there were no God at all,[1] Men *that* would haue all in their owne handes, men that would leaue nothyng for others, men that would be alone on the earth, men that bee neuer satisfied, Cormerauntes, gredye gulles, yea men that would eate vp menne, women, & chyldren,—are the causes of Sedition. They take our houses ouer our headdes, they bye our growndes out of our handes, they reyse our rentes, they leauie great (yea, vnreasonable) fines, they enclose oure commens. No custome, no lawe or statute, can kepe them from oppressyng vs, in such sorte, that we knowe not whyche waye to turne vs to lyue. Very nede therefore constrayneth vs to stand vp agaynst them. In the countrey we can not tarye, but we must be theyr slaues, and laboure tyll our hertes brast, and then they must haue al. And to go to the cities we haue no hope, for there we heare that these vnsaciable beastes haue all in theyr handes. Some haue purchased, and some taken by leases, whole allyes, whole rentes, whole rowes, yea, whole streats and lanes, so that the rentes be reysed, some double, some triple, and some four fould to that they were wythin these .xii. yeres last past. Yea, ther is not so much as a garde*n* grownd fre from them. No remedye therfore, we must nedes fight it out, or else be brought to the lyke slauery that the french men are in. These Idle bealies wil deuour al *tha*t we shal get by our sore labour in our youth; and whe*n* we shal be old and impotent, the*n* shal we be driuen to begge and craue of them that wyl not geue vs so muche as the crowmes that fall from their tables: Such is the pytie we se in them. Better it were, therefore, for vs to dye lyke men, then after so great misery in youth to dye more miserably in age." (*leaves* A 3 & 4.)

Take, too, Crowley's version of the answer of the Engrossers, as showing the temper in which they dealt with the poor:—

"Nowe if I should demau*n*d of the gredie cormerauntes what thei thinke shuld be the cause of Seditio*n*: they would saie, 'the paisa*n*t knaues be to welthy; proue*n*der pricketh the*m*. They knowe not the*m* selues, they knowe no obedie*n*ce, they regard no lawes, thei would haue no gentlemen, thei wold haue al me*n* like the*m* selues, they would haue al thinges commune. Thei would not haue vs maisters of that which is our owne. They wil appoint vs what re*n*t we shal take for our groundes. We must not make the beste of oure owne. These are ioly felowes. Thei wil caste doune our parckes, & laie our pastures ope*n*, thei wil haue the law in their own ha*n*des. They wil play the kinges. They wyll compel the kinge to grau*n*t theyr requestes. But as they like their fare at *the* breakefaste they had this laste somer,[2] so let the*m* do againe. They haue ben metely well coled, and shalbe yet better coled if they quiet not the*m* selues. We wyll tech the*m* to know theyr betters. And because they wold haue al co*m*mone, we wil leaue the*m* nothing. And if they once stirre againe, or do but once cluster togither, we wil hang the*m* at

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[1] "The world and the devil have so bewitched us, that we in our deeds, I fear me, too many of us, deny God to be God, whatsoever we pittle-pattle with our tongues." (1549. *Latimer's Sermons*, ed. 1844, p. 106.)

[2] Lord Russell's routing of the western rebels at Launceston, and Warwick's routing of the Norfolk rebels, both in August 1549. Two thousand insurgents perished in the action and pursuit by Warwick. (*Macintosh.*)

their own dores. Shal we suffer *the* vilaines to disproue our doynges? No, we wil be lordes of our own, & vse it as we shal thinke good.' Oh good maisters, what shuld I cal you? you *that* haue no name, you *that* haue so many occupacio*n*s & trads *that* ther is no on name mete for you. You vnge*n*tle gentlemen. You churles chikens, I say. Geue me leue to make answere for the pore Ideotes ouer whom ye triumphe in this sorte."[1] (sign. B. ij. back, & B. iij.)

A.D. 1577. Harrison, in his Description of Britain (Holinshed,

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[1] An interesting passage on the Reformed clergymen and their wives and daughters, occurs in this Tract on A 8 back, and B i. :—"I se you busied . . with purchaisinge landes for youre heires & finde fingered ladies, whose woma*n*like behauiour and motherlike housewifry ought to be a lighte to al wome*n* that dwell aboute you, but is so fare otherwise, that vnlesse ye leaue them landes to Marye them wythall, no man wyll set a pinne by them whe*n* you be gone. Wel loke to this geare be tyme, leaste perhappes it brede a scabbe emonge you. I woulde not your wiues shoulde be taken from you: but I wold you shoulde kepe them to the furtheraunce of goddes trueth, wherof ye professe to be teacheres. Let youre wiues therefore put of theire fine frockes and frenche hoodes, & furnishe them selues with al pointes of honest housewifery, and so let the*m* be an helpe to youre studie, and not a lette. S. Paul (i. Timo. iii.) teacheth you not to make them ladies or gentlewomen. Neither doeth he teache you to be so gredie vpon liueings, that for the liueinge sake ye will take vpon you the dueties of twentie men, and yet do not the duetie of one; no, some of you be not able to do anye part of one dutie. If goddes worde do alow it that one of you shulde be a deane in one place, a canone in an other, a parsone here, and a parsone there, a maister of an house in Oxforde or Cambridge, and an officer in the kinges house, and yet to do none of the duities herof thorowly: the*n* set your pennes to the paper, and satisfie vs bi goddes word, and we wil also helpe you to oure power to satisfie the consciences of them that be offended at youre doinges herin. If you can not do so: then geue ouer youre pluralities and make your vnsaciable desires geue place to goddes trueth. Content your selfe with one competent liueinge, and faile not to be diligente in doinge the duetie therof. But if ye wyll do neither of boeth: truste to it, ye shall heare more of it. Youre checkinge of one or two in a corner can not stop euerye ma*n*nes mouth in a matter of trueth, beynge so great an infamie to *the* gospel of god which ye professe. And if ye wil nedes hold stil your pluralities for your lordlike liueinge sake, doubt ye not ye wyll be charged with that whiche ye woulde seme to be cleare of. ffor a great numbre of youre vnworthye curates haue bene the stirrars vp of the simple people in the late tumultes that haue bene, whereas if you had not robbed the*m* of that which thei paye yearely to haue a learned and Godly teachar, they had bene better enstructed; as appeared by the quietnes that was emonge them that had such shepeherdes." Latimer, in his last Sermon before Edward VI, speaks of the French hoods: "Paul saith that 'a woman ought to have a power on her head' . . this 'power' that some of them have, is disguised gear and strange fashions. They must wear French hoods, and I cannot tell you, I, what to call it. And when they make them ready, and come to the covering of their head, they will say, "Give me my French hood, and give me my bonnet or my cap," and so forth, now here is a vengeance devil: we must have our power from Turkey, of velvet, and gay it must be; far fetched, dear bought; and when it cometh, it is a false sign." He goes on to reprove them for their tufts and tussocks of hair laid out for show, etc. (*Sermons*, ed. 1844, p. 253–4.) See also Stubs on the French hoods: *Anat.* p. 62.

Nota bene how prystes wyves ought [t]o behaue them selfes &c &c [*Written in an early hand at the side.*]

p. 221, col. 1), takes an easier view of the matter. He says of sheep :—

"Certes this kind of cattell is more cherished in England, than standeth well with the commoditie of the commons, or prosperitie of diuerse townes, whereof some are wholie conuerted to their feeding: yet such a profitable sweetnesse is their fleece, such necessitie in their flesh, and so great a benefit in the manuring of barren soile with their doong and pisse, that their superfluous numbers are the better borne with. And there is never an husbandman (for now I speake not of our great sheepe-masters, of whom some one man hath 20,000), but hath more or lesse of this cattell feeding on his fallowes and short grounds, which yeild the finer fleece."

A.D. 1581. In William Stafford's 'Compendious or briefe Examination of Certayne Ordinary Complaints,' etc.,[1] he makes the Husbandman say :—

"These Inclosures doe vndoe vs all, for they make vs to pay dearer for our lande that we occupy, & causes that we can haue no lande in manner for our money to put to Tyllage, all is taken vp for Pasture: for Pasture eyther for Sheepe, or for Grasinge of Cattell, in so much that I haue knowne of late a dozen ploughes within lesse compasse then sixe Myles about mee, layde downe within this seuen yeares: and where three score persons or vpward had their liuings, now one man with his Cattell hath all, which thinge is not the least cause of former vprores: for by these Inclosures many doe lacke lyuings, and be ydle, & therefore for very necessity they are desirous of a chaunge, beinge in hope to come thereby to somewhat, and well assured that, howe so euer it befall with them, it can bee no harder with them than it was before: more ouer all things are so deere, that by their day wages they are not able to lyue." (Leaf 3, back.)

On leaf 5 we have the Knight stating his grievances, and telling us why he and his class are obliged to raise their rents as much as they can, but are still badly off. After which, the husbandman again chimes in with "those sheepe is the cause of all these mischieues."

KNIGHT. "Syr, as I knowe it is true that yee complayne not without cause, so it is as true that I and my sorte, I meane all Gentlemen, haue as greate, yea and farre greater, cause to complayne then any of you haue, for (as I sayd,) nowe that the pryces of thinges are so rysen of all handes, you may better lyue after your degree then wee; for you may, and do, rayse the pryce of your wares, as the prises of vittayles, & other your necessaries doe ryse; and so cannot we so much; for though it bee true, that of such landes as come to our handes, eyther by purchase, or by determination and ending of such termes of yeares, or other Estates, that I or mine auncestors had graunted them in time past, I doe eyther receyue a better fine than of olde was vsed, or enhaunse the rent thereof, being forced thereto for the charge of my housholde that is so encreased ouer that it was, yet in all my lyfe time I looke not that the thyrde parte of my lande shall come to my disposition, that I may enhaunce the rent of the same, but it shalbe in mens holding, either by leases or by copy graunted before my time, and still continuing, and yet like to continue in the same state for the most part during my life, and percase my Sonnes: so as we cannot rayse all our wares, as you may yours, and as me thinketh it were reason we did; and by reason that we cannot, so many of vs (as yee know) that haue departed out of the countrey of late, haue bene driuen

[1] Reprinted in 'The Harleian Miscellany,' vol. ix. p. 139.

to giue ouer our houshoulds, and to keepe either a chamber in London, or to wayte on the Court vncalled, with a man, and a Lackey after him, where he was wonte to keepe halfe a score of cleane men in his house, and xx. or xxiiii. other persons besides, euery day in the weeke; and such of vs as doe abide in the countrey still, cannot with two hundreth li. a yeare, keepe that house *that* we might haue don with CC. markes but xvi. yeares past. And thearefore we are forced either to minishe the third part of our household, or to raise the thirde part of our reuenewes; and for that wee cannot so doe of our owne landes that is allreadye in the hands of other men, many of vs are enforced either to keepe peeces of our owne Landes when they fall in our owne possession, or to purchase some Farme of other mens landes, and to store it with sheepe, or some other catell, to help to make vp the decay of our reuenewes, and to mainetayne our oulde estate with-all; and yet all is litle ynough."

HUSBAND. "Yea, those sheepe is the cause of all these mischieues, for they haue driuen husbandry out of the cou*n*trey, by *the* which was increased, before, all kinde of victuals, & now all togeether sheepe, sheepe, sheepe. It was farre better when there were not onely sheepe ynough, but allso Oxen, Kine, swyn, Pig, Goose, & Capon, Egges, Butter & Cheese: yea, and breade Corne, and Malte corne ynough besides, reared alltogether vpon the same lande."

But when we get to leaf 22, the Husbandman has become more reconciled to his sheep, and says:—

"Many of vs sawe well longe agoe, that our profite was but small by the Plough, & therefore diuerse of my Neighbours that had in time past, some two, some three, some four Ploughs of their owne, haue layde downe some of them part, and some of them all their Teemes, and turned either part or all their erable ground to Pasture, and thereby haue waxed very riche men. And euery day some of vs incloseth some part of his ground to Pasture; and were it not that our grounde lyeth in *the* common fieldes, entermingled one with another, I thinke also our fieldes had bene enclosed of common agreement of all the towneship longe or this time. And to say *the* very truth, I that haue enclosed litle or nothing of my grounde, coulde neuer be able to make vp my Lords rent, were it not for a litle herd that I haue of Neate, sheepe, swyne, geese, and Hennes, that I do reare vpon my grounde. Whereof, because *the* price is somewhat round, I make more cleare profit then I doe of all my corne; & yet I haue but a very bare liuing, by reason that many thinges doe belong to husbandry which bee now exeedinge chargeable ouer they were in time past."

1583 A.D. PHILLIP STVBS, in his wonderful picture of the abuses and excesses of his time, *The Anatomie of Abuses*, gives us the following sketch of the Landlords raising rents and inclosing commons, the London poor, the early marriages of the poor, the food of the workmen, and the prisoners for debt:—

Landlordes racke their tenantes.

"landlordes make marchaundize of their poore tenants, racking their rentes, raising their fines and incomes, and settyng them so straight vpon the tenter hookes, as no man can liue on them. Besides that, as though this pillage and pollage were not rapacious enough, they take in and inclose commons, moores, heathes, and other common pastures, where-out the poore commonaltie were wont to haue all their forrage and feedyng for their cattell, and (whiche is more) corne for themselues to liue vpon; all which are now in most places taken from them, by these greedie puttockes, to the great impouerishyng and vtter beggeryng of many whole townes and parishes, whose tragicall cryes and incessant clamors haue long since pearced the skies, and presented themselues before the maiestie of God, crying, How long, Lord, how long wilt thou deferre to reuenge this

Inclosyng of commons from the poore.

villanie doen to thy poore sainctes and seelie members vppon the earth? Take heede, therefore, you riche men, that poll and pill the poore; for the bloud of as many as miscarie any maner of waie, through your inurious exactions, sinister oppressions, and indirecte dealynges, shall be powred vpon your heddes at the great daie of the Lorde!

"Cursed is he (saieth our Sauiour Christ) that offendeth one of these little ones: it were better that a milstone were hanged aboute his necke, and he caste into the middest of the sea. Christe so entirely looueth his poore members vppon earth, that he imputeth the contumely whiche is doen to any one of them to bee doen to hym self, and will reuenge it as doen to hym self: wherefore God giue them grace to laye open their inclosures againe, to let fall their rentes, fines, incommes, and other impositions wherby God is offended, the poore brethren beggered, and, I feare mee, the whole realme will bee brought to vtter ruine and decay if this mischief bee not mette withall, and incountered with, verie shortely. For these inclosures bee the causes why riche men eate vpp poore men, as beastes dooe eate grasse. These, I saye are the caterpillers and deuouryng locustes that massacre the poore, and eate vp the whole realme to the destruction of the same. The Lorde amende them!" (*Third edition*, 1585, *reprint* 1836, p. 126–7.)

Iniurie to Christ his members, is iniurie to Christ.

Inclosures.

"There is a certayne citie in Ailgna [= Anglia], called Munidnol [= Londinum], where as the poore lye in the streetes, vpon pallets of strawe, and wel if they haue that too, or els in the mire and dirt, as commonly it is seene, hauing neither house to put in their heades, couering to keepe them from the colde, nor yet to hyde their shame withall, pennie to buy them sustenaunce, nor any thing els, but are suffered to dye in the streetes like dogges or beastes, without any mercy or compassion shewed to them at all. And if anye be sicke of the plague (as they call it), or any other mortall disease, their maisters and mistresses are so impudent (hauing made, it should seeme, a league with Sathan, a couenant with hell, and an obligation with the deuill, neuer to haue to doe with the workes of mercie) as straight way they throwe them out of their doores; and so being caried forth, either in cartes or otherwise, or laied downe eyther in the streetes, or els conueied to some olde house in the fieldes or gardens, where, for want of due sustentation, they ende their liues most miserably. Truely, brother, if I had not seene it, I would scarsly haue thought that the like Turkishe crueltie had bene vsed in all the world. But they say, *vnus testis oculatus, plus valet quam mille auriti*,—one eye witnesse is better to be beleeued than a thousand eare witnesses besides." (*Stubs's Anatomie*, ed. 1836, p. 50–1.)

Cold charitie to the poore.

The Turkishe impietie of some towards the poore diseased.

"And besides this, you shal haue euery saucie boye, of tenne, fourteene, sixteene, or twentie yeares of age, catch vp a woman and marrie her, without any feare of God at all, or respecte hadde, eyther to her religion, wisedome, integritie of lyfe, or any other vertue: or, whiche is more, without any respect how they may liue together, with sufficient mayntenance for their callinges and estate. No, no! it maketh no matter for these thinges, so he haue his prettie pussie to huggle withall, for that is the onely thing he desireth. Then build they vpp a cottage, though but of elder poales, in euery lane ende almost, where they liue as beggers all their lyfe after. This filleth the lande with suche store of mendicants,[1] or,

Euery boye snatcheth vp a woman to wife.

Cottages in euery lane end.

[1] This passage should be compared with Mr. Froude's statements, in his *History*, i. 4–5, on the increase of population between 1500 and 1588, and his contrast of the freedom of marriage now, with the restraint on it, the want of opportunity for it, then. He saves himself in the latter passage by the words 'before the Reformation,' but his argument seems to apply up to 1588.

to speak plainlyer, of beggers, as we call them, that in short time (excepte some caution be prouided to preuent the same) it is like to grow to great pouertie and scarcenesse, which God forbid." (*Stubs's Anatomie*, p. 100.)

[Food of the poor.] "Doe we not see the poore man that eateth browne bread (whereof some is made of rye, barlie, peason, beanes, oates, and suche other grosse graines), and drinketh small drinke, yea, sometimes water, feedeth vpon milke, butter, and cheese, (I say), doe wee not see suche a one healthfuller, stronger, fayrer complectioned, and longer liuing then the other [rich men], that fare daintelie euery day? And how shoulde it be otherwise? for wil not the eating of diuers and sundry kindes of meates of contrary operations and qualities (at one meale), engender distemperaunce in the bodie? And, the body distempered, will it not fall into sundry diseases?" (*Stubs's Anatomie*, p. 112.)

The pitifull crying of prisoners in prison for debt. "Beleue me, it greeueth me to heare (walking in the streetes) the pittifull cryes and miserable complayntes of poore prisoners in duraunce for debte, and like so to continue all their life, destitute of libertie, meate, drink (though of the meanest sorte), and clothing to their backes, lying in filthie straw and lothsome dung, worse than anie dogge, voyde of all charitable consolation and brotherly comforte in this worlde, wishing and thirsting after deathe to set them at libertie, and loose them from their shackles, giues, and iron bandes. Notwithstanding, these mercilesse tygers [the usurers] are growne to such barbarous crueltie, that they blush not to say, 'tush, he shall eyther pay me the whole, or els lye there till his heeles rotte from his buttocks; and, before I wil release him, I will make dice of his bones.' But, take heed, thou deuill (for I dare not call thee a Christian), least the Lord say to thee, as hee sayd to that wicked seruaunt (who, hauing great sommes forgeuen him, would not forgeue his brother his small debt, but, catching him by the throate, sayd, Paie that thou owest), Binde him handes and feete, and cast him into vtter darkenesse, where shall bee weeping and gnashing of teeth." (*Stubs's Anatomie*, p. 141–2, of reprint 1836.)

A tygerlike tyrannicall saying.

The old grievances appear again in the following extract, quoted by Mr. Haweis (*Sketches*, p. 279) from 'A godly and fruitful sermon preached at Grantham, A.D. 1592, by Francis Trigge:'—

"All towns are almost decayed and undone, their common things and lands whereby the common stocks of their town hath been wont to be maintained, be by some means or other taken from them . . . now-a-days men will buy houses to pull them down that they may have a prospect, that they may have a garden, or suchlike pleasure. And so now where Christ his family hath been maintained, grow trees or nettles. It would pity one to hear how that many towns are now almost turned to granges,[1] all the livings of a great many being annexed to one new great house, whose chimneys perchance smoke not once in a twelvemonth. What aid can the prince have of so many families decayed: or what relief can the poor have, when so many hands that should be and were able to give are quite cut off? Surely now this one thing weakens the realm, and makes so many beggars in most towns, either by this pulling down of houses and farms, or else by covetous joining of two farms into one. What should I speak of the decay of our tillage, which cannot choose but breed a weakness in the whole body. Verily will the Lord one day call to account those . . that have decayed townships, have made a wilderness where were houses like flocks of sheep."

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[1] *Grange*, a Building that has Granaries, Barns, Stables, Stalls, and other Places necessary; a Farm-house. (*Kersey's Phillips*, 1706.)

Take also this epigram, from Bastard's 'Chrestoleros' A.D. 1598, lib. iv. Epigr. 20, to which Mr. W. C. Hazlitt referred me :—

Sheepe have eate vp our medows and our downes,
Our corne, our wood, whole villages and townes,
Yea, they haue eate vp many wealthy men,
Besides widowes and orphane childeren,
Besides our statutes and our iron lawes,
Which they haue swallowed down into their maws.
Till now I thought the prouerbe did but iest,
Which said 'a blacke sheepe was a biting beast.'

That the practice of enclosing went on into James II.'s time, and that the complaints of the evils arising from it were still kept up, we may judge from the following extracts from Trigge's *Petition* in 1604, entitled :—

"To the Kings most excellent Maiestie. The Hvmble Petition of two Sisters ; the Chvrch and Common-wealth : For the restoring of their ancient Commons and liberties, which late Inclosure with depopulation, vncharitably hath taken away: Containing seuen reasons as euidences for the same. [By Francis Trigge[1]]. Londini, Impensis Georgii Bishop. 1604."

"That saying of Queene *Hester* to the most famous King *Ahashuerosh*, (most dread Soueraigne,) doth, as it were, enforce me, to make this my humble

Hest. vii. 4. verse 3.

Petition to your Highnesse : *If we were sold to bee bondslaues, or handmaides* (saith shee) *I would haue held my tongue, although the aduersary could neuer recompence the King this losse : But let my life be giuen me at my request, and my peoples.* There is a mightie Thorne sprung vp of late, in diuers places of this Realme, like to that cruell *Haman ;* which doeth not onely goe about to impouerish your Maiesties Subiects, but quite to roote them out : I meane Inclosure of Fields and Commons ; whereas the Lords of Manours and Freeholders will haue all their landes, which haue heeretofore lien open and in Common, (so that the poore might enter Common with them) now laid together in seuerall. And hereby the poore cannot enioy their ancient Commons and liberties. And this cankred

Psal. ii. 8.

Thorne also deuoureth Gods people, which is his inheritance, as the Psalme teacheth vs, *Aske of me,* (saith God) *& I will giue thee the people for thine inheritance, &c. and the vttermost parts of the earth for thy possession.* Inclosers to maintaine their owne inheritances, doe make no conscience to impaire this inheritance. Where God hath beene

2 Cor. i. 11.

praised with many mouthes, there now shreeking Owles, and other vncleane birds make their nestes." (From the Dedicatory Epistle, sign. A 3.)

" Out of that little village or poore cottage which he hath decaied (whosoeuer hée is) might haue come one as good as himselfe. what may I say then of great husband townes, where many rich farmers and cottages are decaied? Would any of vs willingly haue the little finger of his hand cut off? no more no doubt, will Jesus Christ suffer one poore cottage, (which is as it were his little finger) to bée cut off, vnpunished without repentance. There was a statute made of late, for the maintenance of tillage, and reedifying farmes decaied : It is to bée feared that God hath obserued how diligent some were to sée the poore whipped, by a statute made at the same time : and how slacke in the execution of that other act of reedifying & plowing. Another stumbling blocke is, that some will say they must néedes maintaine their states. And this cloake couers all their pride, and couetousnes. But let all such know that reason thus; Must they impare the Lords inheritance

[1] The author's name appears at the end of the dedicatory Epistle.

to maintaine their estates, euen they whom the Lord himselfe hath ad-
Luk. xvi. 20. uanced? they had better to be as poore as *Lazarus* in state and condition; nay, they had better neuer haue béene borne, then to exault themselues to impare his inheritance. Oh let these men of all others take héede of this ingratitude. Let the example of King *Saul* terrifie them, who being made of a poore acorne, a mightie oake, *and of a*
1 Sam. xix. 26. *seeker of his fathers asses, the first King of Israel*, yet afterwards for
2 Sam. xvi. 18. his vnthankefulnes and disobedience, *he and all his posteritie was quite reiected of God for euer from the kingdome.*" (Sign. C 2. bk.)

"In *England* we haue euer had thrée States, *Lords Spirituall, Temporall, and the Commons.* And these *Commons* are diuided againe into *Gentlemen, Yeomen,* and *Husbandmen.* But in other Countreyes there is no *Yeomanrie*, but only in *England.* In *France* all are *Gentlemen*, or *Pesants:* In *Denmarke* all are *Noblemen*, or *Rustici*, as they tearme them: And in *High & Lowe Germanie* there are the *Nobilitie*, and the *Boores.* So that, Gentlemen which are Inclosers, ouerthrowing the Yeomanrie, and decaying the Communalty, doe blotte out the ancient glory of *England:* for, no doubt, by the strength and hands of these two, haue béen heretofore euer obtained, our admirable conquests, and our most famous victories throughout all Christendome. So that now these Inclosers doe goe about to make *England* as barbarous, and as weake in this respect, as other nations. Nay let them take héed that they prooue not themselues Egyptians: for not the countrey, but the conditions & maners, are wont
Esa. i. 10. to giue names. As we may learne out of the Prophet *Esay*, whereas he calles the Noblemen of *Iewrie* Princes of *Sodome;* & the people, the people of *Gomorah:* though neither they nor their ancestors were borne there. So I feare we haue some Landlords of *Ægypt* in *England:* for (*Mitsraijm*) the name of *Ægypt*, in our language is as much as to say, as an *Afflicter*, or one that makes another sorrowfull: and are not these Inclosers Egyptians then, which pinch, and vexe their brethren? Let them take héede; the name agrées vnto them: let them feare the punishment; God is the same
Psal. cii. 27. Exod. iii. 7, 8. God still. He that heard the grones, and sighes of his people in *Ægypt*, and came downe to deliuer them, will no doubt doe the same in *England.* I haue heard of an olde prophesie, that *Horne and thorne shall make England forlorne.* Inclosers verifie this by their shéepe and hedges at this day. They kill poore mens hearts, by taking from them their auncient commons, to make shéepe pasture of; and by imposing vpon them great rents, and by decaying tillage; so that now they are forlorne, hauing no ioy to liue in the world." (Sign. D 4.)

Lib. i. Vtopiæ. "Sir *Thomas Moore* a great common-wealths man, and very expert in the lawes of *England*, writes thus of Inclosure.[1] 'Your sheepe I say which were wont to be milde and gentle, and to be fed with so small cost, now as it is reported haue begun to be so wild & rauenous of late, that they eate vp euen men, and that they make waste and depopulate townes. For, in what parts of your Realme growes finer wooll, and therefore of better price, there Noblemen and Gentlemen, yea and some Abbots (holy men I assure you) not being content with the yearely rents and commodities, which were wont to be payed out of farmes vnto their ancestors; and not content, themselves to liue idlely and pleasantly, and to doe no good to the common wealth, vnlesse also that they should hinder and hurt it; that they may leaue nothing but reape all commodities into their owne hands: They inclose all their pastures, they pull downe houses, they ouerthrow townes, leauing the Church onely for to croowe vp their sheepe in. And as though your forrests and parkes had not spoyled ground enough amongst you, these holy men turne into a wildernes all dwelling houses, and whatsoeuer heretofore had beene tilled. And therefore one insatiable glutton and most pestilent plague to his Countrey, ioyneth fields together, that he may inclose within one hedge some

[1] See the full passage above, p. 3–6.

thousand acres. The husbandmen are either thrust out of their inheritances, or else being by craft beguiled, or by force oppressed, or depriued of them, or else wearied with iniuries, and compelled to sell them. Therefore howsoeuer these wretches doe flit, men, women, husbands, wiues, blinde men, and widowes, fathers with their young children, with a greater, than a rich family (for husbandrie stands in neede of many) they flit I say from their knowne and accustomed dwellings, and they can finde no place where to put in their heades; They sell all their stuffe when as they must needes be thrust out, (which is not worth much if that they could tarry and get a good chapman for it) they sell it, I say, almost for nothing. And when as by wandring a while they haue spent that, what must they needs doe then, but either steale, and iustly be hanged for their labours, or else wander vp and downe and begge, and then also are cast into prison as vagrant persons, seeing no man will set them a worke, when as they doe most willingly offer their seruices? For now there is nothing to be done about husbandrie, wherein they haue beene brought vp all their liues, when as there is nothing sowen. For now one Sheepeheard, and one Neat-heard is sufficient to looke to that ground with cattell, to the tillage whereof, that it might beare corne, many mens hands and labours were required. And by this meanes it commeth to passe, that in many places Corne waxeth very deare.' We may note here first, how that Sir *Thomas More*, being a Papist, yet touched this sinne, euen in Abbots, and that in the darkenes of Poperie: and shall not we condemne it in the light of the Gospell? Secondly, he affirmes that it makes beggers, and that it makes théeues, and causeth a dearth of corne in our land; nay, it pulleth downe Townes. If in his daies it wrought these mischiefes, when as it began but to set in foote into this Common-wealth: what hath it done since, which hath growne to the very heart thereof? nay, what will it doe in the ende, if it procéede as it hath begun, if some stay and remedie be not had? It will no doubt begger and quite decay the Common-wealth of *England*. How many farmes now stand emptie since Inclosers began; or onely with some seruants in them; which dare giue nothing, not knowing their maisters pleasure? so hospitalitie is quite thereby decayed. How many poore men lacke worke, as threshers; and poore women, as spinners; and doe complaine for lacke of their accustomed workes? and how many poore mens children are inforced to begge, or else liue idely, which heretofore, where tillage was maintained, were taken into seruice, to driue the plough, or to kéepe cattell, & thereby in time grew to be good members in the Common-wealth, which Inclosers néed not." (Sign. F 7, bk.)

"Wherefore if Inclosers and depopulators of townes, meane to be saued at the day of iudgement: let them willingly cast open their closes againe, and reedifie the farmes they haue decayed. It makes no matter for the charge of hedging (which they shall loose) that they haue béene at. And let them banish their shéepe out of their pastures, and let them fill the Lords townes and shéepefolds, *with his sheepe againe*, and that spéedily, least the Lord coming to Iudgement doe condemne them, *as cruell and couetous tyrants*. And[1] let them now preferre euen one man, before a wedge of gold, least hereafter God doe teach them this lesson in hell, when it shall be too late for them to learne." (Sign. H 2, bk.)

Joh. x. 27.

In his edition of *Wit and Wisdom* for the Shakspere Society, 1846, Mr. Halliwell printed the following document on the destruction of towns for sheep, pasture, the enclosure of commons, and the conversion of arable into pasture. He says, p. 140, "The following curious paper appears to have been written [that is, copied, not necessarily composed] early in the reign of

[1] "Fnd" in the book.

James I., and seems worthy of preservation in connection with a subject in which our great dramatist is supposed, with great probability, to have interested himself.[1]"

1 *Pet.* "Mine is, an't please your Grace, against I*ohn Goodman*, my Lord Cardinals Man, for keeping my House, and Lands, and Wife and all from me."

Suff. "Thy Wife too? that's some Wrong indeede. What's yours? What's heere? against the Duke of Suffolke, for enclosing the Commons of Melforde. How now, Sir Knave?"

[Harl. MS. 487, leaf 9, back.]

"THE DIGGERS OF WARWICKSHIRE TO ALL OTHER DIGGERS.

"Louing Freinds & Subjects, all under one renowned Prince, for whom we pray longe to continue in his most Royall estate, to the subuerting of all those Subjects, of what degree soeuer, *that* haue or would depriue his most true harted Com*m*unalty both from life and lyuinge. Wee, as members of *the* whole, doe feele *the* smart of these incroaching Tirants, w*hi*ch would grinde our flesh upon *the* whetstone of pouerty, & make our loyall hearts to faint w*i*th breathing, so *that* they may dwell by themselues in *the* midst of theyr Hearde of fatt weathers. It is not unknowne unto yo*ur* selues *the* why these mercyless men doe resist w*i*th force ag*ain*st our good intents. It is not for *the* good of our most gracious Sou*er*aigne, whom we pray God *that* longe he may reygne amongst us; neyther for *the* benefitt of *the* Communalty, but onely for theyr owne priuate gaine; for there is none of *the*m but doe tast *the* sweetness of our wantes. They haue depopulated & ouerthrown whole Townes, and made thereof Sheep pastures nothing profitable for our Com*m*onwealth. For *the* com*m*on Fields being layd open would yeeld us much com*m*odity, besides *the* increase of Corne, on w*hi*ch standes our life. But if it should please God to w*i*thdrawe his blessing in not prospering *the* fruites of *the* Earth but one yeare (w*hi*ch God forbidd) there would a worse & more fearfull dearth happen then did in K*ing* Ed*ward the* seconds tyme, when people were forced to eat Catts and Doggs flesh, & women to eate theyr owne children. Much more wee could giue you to understand, but wee are perswaded *that* you your selues feele a part of our greiuances, & therfore need not open *the* matter any plainer. But if you happen to shew your force & might ag*ain*st us, wee for our partes neither respect life nor lyuinge; for better it were in such case wee manfully dye, then hereafter to be pined to death for want of *that* *whi*ch these deuouring Encroachers doe serue theyr fatt Hogges & Sheep withall. For God hath bestowed upon us most bountifull & innumerable blessings, & *the* cheifest is our most gracious & Religious Kinge, who doth and will glory in *the* flourishing estate of his Com*m*unalty. And soe wee leaue you, com*m*ending you to *the* sure hold & safeguard of *the* mighty Iehoua, both now & euermore. From Hampton field in hast:

"Wee rest as poore Deluers & Day labourers
for *the* good of *the* Com*m*onwelth till death.
"A. B. C. D. &c."

The Ballad of the Northern Beggar Boy, Pt. 2. *Roxburghe Collection*, vol. i. p. 543, printed for F. Grove (? ab. 1635), says:—

My fields lye open as the high way,
I wrong not the Country by greedy inclosing.

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[1] Mr. Halliwell tells me that Shakspere owned property in the common fields, and was interested in the enclosures proposed to be made in 1615 by Combe, at Welcombe near Stratford-on-Avon. See Mr. H.'s Folio ed. i. 219–24. We may compare "The second Part of Henry the Sixt, with the death of the Good Duke HVMFREY." *Actus Primus. Scena Prima. Enter three or foure Petitioners . . . Enter Suffolke, and Queene.*

§ 10. I now come to Mr. Froude's most telling quotation of 1515 A.D. (Hist. i. 19) in favour of the prosperity of the commons of England in Henry VIII.'s time. "What comyn folke in all this world," says a state paper in 1515,[1] "may compare with the comyns of England, in riches, in fredom, in lyberty, welfare, and in all prosperytie?" A triumphant pæan it sounded, making one's heart beat with it; the State-Papers' reference, too, calling up in one's mind notions of thorough investigation, deliberate judgment, etc. I said to myself, What a pity there's only this passage quoted from the Paper! I must see it! and accordingly went off from the Museum to the Record Office. The Paper was handed to me, and as it gave me an entirely different view of the value of the passage as evidence on the condition-of-England question, I produce the context of it here. The anonymous writer seems to be an Anglo-Irishman, suffering, in common with his loyal fellows, a number of bitter grievances and evils, which he sets forth with some power; and then, after stating the causes of them, and the remedies suggested by others, proposes his own remedies, the chief of which is the plantation of Ireland with Englishmen. Also, among the things to be done, is (State Papers, p. 20; MS. p. 210), that the Wardens and Constables of each district shall muster the valiant loyal people,

"And in asmuche as all the wylde Iryshe and Englyche Rebelles of all this lande, dothe dreade more, and fereyth the sodden shote of gonnes Muche more then[2] the Shotte of Arowes, or any other shotte of kynde of waypyn in this worlde; In consyderac*i*on wherof, hyt be ordayned by the said Wardens and counstables, that of every c p*er*sons ther be xx gonners assygnyd and chargeyd to po*ur*vaye them gonnes, powdre, and pellett*es* according, w*it*hin the sayde tyme of xv dayes."

The passage quoted by Mr. Froude occurs among the grievances, and springs—it seems to me—rather from the intense consciousness of those grievances, and a desire to heighten them, than from an intimate knowledge of the state of England. When we are in bad case ourselves, we are always ready to attribute untold prosperity to our somewhat more fortunate neighbours, though there is a skeleton in their house, and they know it. But let each reader judge for himself:—

1515. STATE OF IRELAND, AND PLAN FOR ITS REFORMATION.
'State Papers,' vol ii. p. 9–10.

[MS. p. 195.] Also ther is no folke dayly subgett to the Kyng*es* lawes, but *half*[1] the Countye of Uryell, *half*[1] the Countye of Meath, *half*[1] the Countye of Dublyn, *half*[2] the Countye of Kyldare; and ther be as many Justyces of the King*es* benche, and of the Comyn place, and as many Barons of thexheker, and as many Offycers, Ministers, and Clerk*es* in eu*er*y of the said

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[1] *State Papers* Henry VIII. vol. ii. p. 10.
[2] MS. "di" = dimidium.

Countye, as ever ther was, when all the land for the more p*ar*te were subgett to the Lawe.

Wherfor the saide subgett*es* ben[2] so greuyously vexyd dayly w*ith* the said court*es*, that they be gladde to Sell their freholdes for ever, Rather than to Suffre alwaye the vexac*i*on of the said Court*es*, lyke as the freholders of the Marches, wher the King*es* lawes be not obeyd, byn so vexyd by extorc*i*on, that they be gladde in lykewyse to sell ther land*es* and freholdes to suche p*er*sons that compellyth them, by meanes of extorc*i*on, to make Alyenc*i*on therof, rather then allwaye to bere *and* be under the said extorc*i*on.

And so, what with the extorc*i*on of Coyne and lyu*er*ye dayly, and wyth the wrongfull Exaccion of Osteing Money, and of Caryage and Cartage dayly, and what w*ith* the King*es* greate subsydye yerely, and w*ith* the said Trybute, and blak rent to the King*es* Iryshe Enymyes, and other Infynyt extorc*i*ons and dayly exacc*i*ons, all thenglyshe folke of the Countyes of Dublyn, Kyldare, Meath, and Vyrell, ben more oppressyd, then any other folke of this lande, Englyshe or Irysshe: and of worsse Condyc*i*on be they a thys syde, then[2] in the Marcheis.

What Comen[2] folke in all this worlde maye compare w*ith* the Comyns of Ingland, in Ryches, in ffredom, in lyberty, welfare, and in all p*ro*sperytie? Who Richeith the King*es* Treasor, and repayreith his cofers w*ith* Golde Sylver, and precyous stones, save the comyns? worshipeith the p*re*lat*es* and the Clergye of the Churche, save the Crafty peoplle and the Carlyshe rurall folke of the Realme of Inglande? What comyn folke in all this worlde is so power, so feble, so Ivyll besyn[2] in Town[2] and ffylde, so Bestyall, so greatly opp*re*ssid and Trodde vnder ffote, and farde so evyll, w*ith* so great Mys*er*ye, and w*ith* so wrecheid lyff, as the comen folke of Irelande? [p. 196.] Hit is a comyn tome of olde date: "as the Comen ffolke fareith, so fareith the King;" That is to saye, Riche Comen, a Riche King; Poore Comyn, Poore King; ffeble Comyn, a ffeble King; Strong Comyns, a Strong King: Ergo it ffollowyth, a Riche King and Comyns in Ingland, a poore King and Comyns in Ireland. What comen ffolke in all this worlde is soo Mighty, and soo Strong in the ffylde, as the comyns of England?

What comyn ffolke in all this worlde is so feble, and so evyll besyne in Towne & in fylde, as the Comyns of Ireland?

The King*es* Armye in Ingland is the Comyns; the King*es* Army in Ireland is all such that oppresse the Comyns, for all goode fortune and grace folowyth allways them that worship Godde, and honor the p*re*lat*es*, and supporteith the Churche. Wher is the Churche of Cryste Endowyd w*ith* so Riche and large possessions, as be the King*es* and Noble folke of England, wherin fortune, Grace, and p*ro*sperytie, encresith allwaye, above all other land*es*?

The Noble ffolke of Ireland opp*re*ssith, spoyleith the p*re*lat*es* of the Churche of Cryste of ther possessions and lyberties; and therfor they have no fortune, ne grace, in p*ro*sperytie of Body ne Soule. Who supporteith the Churche of Cryst in Ireland, saive the poore Comyns? By whom the Churche is moste supporteid Right well, be them most grace shalle growe.

As a comment on the Irishman's notion of the English worship of the bishops and clergy, we may well take an extract from a poem written a few years later, "The Image of Ipocrysy," Lansdown MS. 794, Dyce's "Skelton," ii. 413, and this book.

Suche [kites, not larks] be our pri-
mat*es*,
Our bisshopps *and* prelat*es*,
[Our parsons and curates,[1]]
With other lik estates
That were shaven pates,
As monkes white *and* blacke,
And Channons that cane chatte,

[1] Pasted over in the MS., inserted by Dyce from Martin's transcript.

Glottons ffayre and fatt,
With ffriers of the sacke,
And brothers of the bagg,
As nymble as a nagg,
That cane bothe prate *and* bragg,
To make the pulpett wagge,
With Twenty tho[usan]d lyes
Do make the blind Eate flyes,
And blere *our* symple eyes . .
[MS. leaf 3 *b*.]

. . . . . .
. . russett, gray, and white,
That sett ther hole delighte
In lust and lechery,
In thefte und trecherey,
In lowsy lewdenes,
In Synne and shre[w]denes,
In crokednes acurst;
Of all people the worste,
Marmosettes *and* apes,
That w*i*th yo*ur* pild pates
Mock vs w*i*th yo*ur* iapes:
Ye holy caterpillers . . [leaf 146 *b*.]

. . . . .
Ye[1] say we must youe call
Fathers Seraphicall
And angelicall,
That be fantasticall,
Brute and bestiall,
Yea, Diabolicall,
The babes of beliall,
The Sacrifise of b[a]all,
The dregges of all durte,
Fast bounde and girte
Vnder the devils skyrte.
[leaf 148 *b*.]

. . . . .
The wurst kind of Edders,
And stronge sturdy beggers.
[leaf 150 *b*.]

. . . . .
. . no man can[9] matche them,
Till the Devill fatche them,
And so to go together
Vnto their denne for ever,
Wherhens as they never
Hereafter shall dissever,
But dy Eternally,
That lyve so carnally;
For that wilbe ther ende,
But yf God them sende
His Grace here to amend:
And thus I make an[9] Ende.
[leaf 153.]

I cannot help believing that these lines are a good deal nearer to the "crafty people's" real feeling about the prelates and clergy in Henry VIII.'s time than the "worship" attributed to them by the Irishman. I think it more than possible that the latter did not know much about the social condition of the other peoples of the world; and though he may have been right in his assertion as to the relative prosperity of the English commons then, I cannot accept him as an authority for their positive prosperity in Henry's time, or for their superior prosperity to that of our commons or our workmen now.

Mr. Froude's argument from the prices of meat as fixed by the Act 24 Henry VIII, chapter 3, still remains. I have not found any evidence as to the prices of meat in the printed and manuscript Household Books of Henry VIII that I have seen, or in the ballads and tracts,[2] except in 'Vox Populi.' That exhibits the

[1] MS. "We." Dyce reads rightly "Ye."

[2] The House and Farm Accounts of the Shuttleworths of Gawthorpe Hall vol. i. (Chetham Soc. 1856) show these different prices for an ox:—

	£	*s.*	*d.*		£	*s.*	*d.*
February, 1583	10	6	8	Nov. 1582	3	6	8
„ „ (fat) . . .	5	2	6	Oct. 1587 (? store) . . .	2	18	7
March „ (? store) . .	2	12	10	April 1599 (lean) . . .	4	2	6
Novr. 1582	3	9	4				

In February 160$\frac{0}{1}$ the price of 'onne gray nag which shalbe fyve years old at Mydsomer nexte' was £3. 6*s*. 8*d*. [P.S. For some Henry VIII prices, see *Notes*.]

extraordinary discrepancies of £4 as the price of an ox,—or £5 in the time of the second version of the Ballad, that printed below, —against the 26*s.* 8*d.*, of Stowe, or the beef at ½*d.* a pound, of the statute; and of 12*s.* or 13*s.* 4*d.*, as the price of the carcass of a sheep (less offal and fleece), against the 3*s.* 4*d.*, of Stowe, or the mutton at ⅝*d.* a pound, of the statute[1]; and this within five years

[1] Froude, i. 21, says ¾*d.* The statute says "One halfpeny & half farthyng." I print these sections of the Act here :—

[24 Hen. VIII. c. 3.]

"AN ACTE FOR FLESHE TO BE SOLD BY WEIGHT.

High Price of Meat. "Complayneth to your moost excellent Highnes, your poore Subjectes of this your Realme, that where all maner of Vytailles before this tyme hathe ben sold to your said Subjectes at prices convenient, so that all your Subjectes, & in especiall the poore persones, myght withe there crafte or bodilie labour bye sufficient for the necessitie & sustentacion of them, there Wyffes & Childern; But now, graciouse Lorde, all vitaile, & in especiall, beoffe, mutton, porke & veale, whiche is the common fedyng of the meane & poore persons, arr so solde, at so excessyve price, that your said nedye Subjectes can not gayne withe ther labour & salarie sufficient to pay for there convenyent vitaile & sustynance; For reformacion wherof, it may please Your Highnes, that it may be enacted by your Grace, & the Lordes Spirituall & Temporall, & the Commons in this presente Parliamente assembled, & by auctoritie of the same, that every persone, whiche shall sell by hym self, or any other, the Carcases of Beoffes, Porke, Mutton, or Veale, or any parte or parcell therof, after the first day of Auguste nowe nexte ensuyng,

Meat shall be sold by Averdupois Weight, and the Seller shall have Scales, &c. shall sell the same by laufull weighte called Haberdepayes, & no otherwise; the said Flesshe to be cut out in reasonable peces, according to the requeste of the byer, in like fascion as before this tyme hathe ben used, without fraude or covyn. And that every persone, which, by hymself or ony other, shall sell any Flesshe of the said Carcases, shall have withe hym, where he shall make sale of the said flesshe, sufficient Beame Scales & Weyghtes sealed, called Haberdepayes, for true servyng of the byers.

Prices of Meat per Pound, Beef and Porke ½d. Mutton and Veal ½d. ½ q. "Section 2. And furthermore, be it enacted by [the] auctoritie aforesaid, that after that day no persone, nor persones, take nor cause to be taken, for any pounde weight of flesshe of the carcases of Beoffe or Porke by hym or them to be solde, above the price of one halfpeny; nor for any pounde weight of Flesshe of the carcases of mutton or veale, above the price of one halfpeny & half farthyng, without deceyte or covyn, upon peyne to forfaite for every pound not solde by weight, or above the said price lymyted, & for every defaute done contrary to the true meanyng of this acte, iij s. iiij d. the one moitie therof to be to the Kyng our Soveraign Lorde, & thother moytie to the partie that wyll sue for the same by byll, pleynte or informacion; in whiche Sute

Except Heads, Necks, &c. at a less Price. none Essoen, Wager of Lawe, nor protection shalbe allowed: Provyded alway that the heedys, neckes, inwardes, purtynances, legges, nor fete, shall not be counted no parte of the carcases afore said, but suche to be solde for a lower price.

Provisoes,—as to Veal; "Section 4. Provyded alwayes, that no Calf above thage of eight wekys olde, be accompted for veale, but for beoffe, and so to be solde, as is afore rehersed. Provyded alwayes, that

for Places where the Prices are less than hereby set. where the Carcases of any beoffes, muttons, veale, & porke, within any partes or countres of this Realme be uttered & solde better chepe, or after lasse prices, than in this presente Acte is lymyted, that this Acte, or any thyng therin conteyned,

of the repeal of that statute. I can therefore only say, that though I, coupling the complaints of the tracts, etc., with the £4 and 12*s.* of the Ballad, believe that it represents more nearly the real prices of 1547 than the Statute does those of 1532–6, yet I cannot call on other people to do so, though they must note that, at ½*d.* a pound, an ox must have weighed 79½ stone to fetch 26*s.* 8*d.*, and if the buyers made a better bargain by buying in the gross, they must have got an ox of 85 stone at least for their money; which produces the unexpected result, that, with all our improvements in breeding and feeding, we can only produce now an average ox of the weight of the average one in Henry VIII's time. For I am assured by two butchers and a farmer, that from 80 to 90 stone is a good average weight for an ox now, reckoning, according to the custom of the trade, 8 lbs. of meat to the stone, as equal to 14 lbs. to the stone of the entire animal; the 6 lbs. of offal, etc., being the butcher's profit. The same unexpected result comes out for the sheep: at the butcher's price of ⅝*d.* a pound, a sheep must have weighed 8 stone to fetch 3*s.* 4*d.*; and if buyers could have got a better one than that for the same money, then the average sheep of Henry VIII's time weighed more than our average one. Which, if any one can believe, I can't.

But, if it be true that the Ballad is right as to the price of oxen and sheep, then Mr. Froude's multiple 12, of what working men's wages could buy then, as compared with what they will now, must be, as regards meat, cut down to (say) 4; the workmen's comforts are, so far, thirded; and Mr. Froude's assertions that "in all points of material comfort the body of the people were better off than they have ever been in later times," and that "the working man of modern times has bought the extension of his liberty at the price of his material comfort," are entire mistakes. I cannot help thinking that even the most careless of Mr. Froude's readers must have been struck by the oddity of his basing his case mainly on a statute, which, *on his showing*, lasted only nine years, but which *in fact lasted less than four years* (having been suspended by the 27 Henry VIII. chapter 9), *including the year and a half in which it was not duly observed;* which, as Mr. Froude says, "was repealed in consequence of the complaints against it," and which was, doubtless, during its continuance, constantly evaded. Just to prove the disobedience of the Butchers to the original Act during its first year and a half, I print a bit of the second Act here:—

---

shall not extend to any suche Countie or Place, but that they shall & may sell at like Prices, & after suche rate, as they dyd & used before the makyng of this Acte, upon peyne as is afore rehersed, any thyng in the same conteyned notwithstondyng." [24 Hen. VIII was from 22 April 1532 to 21 Apr. 1533.]

25 Hen. VIII. c. 1, taking effect from 20 Febr. 153¾.

"AN ACTE CONCERNYNG GRASIERS AND BOUCHERS.

"Whereas diverse and sondry Actys and Statutes have lately byn made and established within this Realme for preservacion of the common welthe of the same, amongis whiche the Acte for sellyng of beoffe, mutton, veale and porke, by weyghte, ys so necessarie for the preservacion of the povertie of the same, that it may in nowyse be forborne, and for asmoche as sufficient auctoritie ys not gyven by the seid acte to the Justices of the Pease, maires, baillyffes, shyreffes, and other officers rehersed in the same acte, for to punyshe offenders, and suche other as wyll not sell by weyghte accordyng to the force of the seid acte; And the Bouchers and other offenders perceyvyng the same, not dredyng the violacion of the seid acte nor the punyshementys conteyned in the same acte, *have wylfully and obstinatly contempned and offended the seid acte and wolle in no wyse sell after the same*, to the highe displeasure of the Kyngis Hyghnes, in contempte of hys seid lawes, and to the detrymente of the common welthe of this Realme: Be it therfore further enactid, by auctoritie of this present parliament, that from the xx^ti^ day of Februarie in the yere of oure Lorde God M'. D. xxxiij^ti^, it shalbe lawfull to all and every maires, shireffes, constables, baylyffes, and other governours of Cities, Boroughes, and Market townes, aswell within liberties as without, to whome any compleynt shall be made of or uppon any boucher, hys wyf, servantes, or other his mynystres, refusyng to sell the seid victuals by true and lawfull weyght accordyng to the tenour of the seid acte heretofore made, not only to commytt every suche Boucher and suche other offenders to warde, there to remayne withoute bayle or maynepryse untill suche tyme as they and every of theym shall have payde all the forfettis and penalties comprised in the seid former acte, but also every of the seid maires and other officers aforseid, and theire Deputies, shall ymmediatly sell and utter, or cause to be solde and uttered, for redy money, by true weyghte, all suche victuals so refused to be retayled and solde by true and lawfull weyght, accordyng to the effecte of the seid former Acte, delyvering allways the monay therof commyng unto the owners of the same victuals; whiche owners shalbe utterly and for ever excluded to have any accion, suyte, or demaunde, ayenst any suche maire or other officers, or theire Deputies, for sellyng or utteryng of the seid victuals by true and lawfull weyght in forme aforseid, or for any other cause or thyng concernyng the same, except only for the money receyved for the same victuals, yf it be not, uppon reasonable request therof to be made, payde or restorede without deleye."

For enforcing of St. 24 Hen. VIII. cap. 3. for selling Flesh by Weight;

Mayors, Sheriffs, &c. may commit offenders;

and also sell the Victuals by Weight, paying the Produce to the Owners.

The Suspending Act took effect from 12 April 1536. It is the 27 Henry VIII. chapter 9, and is entitled "An Acte lycensyng all Bochers for a tyme to sell vytell in grosse at theyr pleasure." After reciting the original Act, 24 Henry VIII. chapter 3, and the Act giving further powers, 25 Henry VIII. chapter 1, it says:—

On account of Dearness, &c. of Cattle, Butchers may sell Meat, as before the recited Acts; which shall be suspended for four years.

"THE KYNGES Highnes, wel considering the great darth of al maner of vitayles which be nowe, and syns the makyng of the seid estatutes hath fallen and happened within this his Realme, as well by morreyne & deathe of such cattelles as by great waters and unsesonable wethers, whereby the brede and increse of the same is myche enpayred and mynyshid, in such wyse that, if the seid former estatutes were put in execucion, the Bouchers and sellers of such vitayles were not able to lyve, nor that his commons shuld be well servid therof, the scarsite of the same con-

siderid, by his accustomyd goodnes the premysses consideryng, is contentid—by thassent of his Majestie, with the assent of his Lordes spyrituall and temporall, and of his Comons in this his present parliament assemblyd, and by auctoritie of the same,—that it be ordenned, establysshed, and enacted, that from the xij daye of Apryll in the yere of oure Lorde God a thousand fyve hundred thyrty and syx, unto the xxiiij daye of Aprell, the which shalbe in the yere of our Lorde God a thousand fyve hundred and fortie, al Bouchers, and other sellyng flesh by retayle, maye laufully kylle and sell all maner beffes, porke, mutton, and veale, being good and holsome for mannys bodie, at their plesurys and liberties, as frely and liberally as they or any of them did, or myght have done, at any tyme before the makyng of the seid estatutes made in the xxiiij and xxv yere of our seid Soveraigne Lordys reigne, without any losse, peyne, imprysonement, forfayture or penaltie, to be by them or any of them, or the successors of them or any of them, had, lost, borne, or susteynid in that behalf, durynge the tyme before lymyted; The same estatutes made in the seid xxiiij and xxv. yere, or eyther of them, or any clause, sentence, forfayture, peyn, losse or any other thyng, in them or any of them, to the contrary in any wyse notwithstonding. And the same estatutes, & either of them, & every clause, sentence, and article, in them & either of them conteynid, shalbe in suspence, and not put in execucion durynge the saide tyme."

Still, as the repealing Act, 33 Henry VIII. chap. 11, says that the Act it repeals was duly observed by the butchers during the three years and eight months it was in operation, notwithstanding the statement of 25 Hen. VIII, cap. 1, that the butchers had wilfully and obstinately contemned it, I reprint it here:—

[33 Hen. 8, cap. 11.]

An Acte for Butchers to Sell at their Pleasures by Weight or otherwise.

Recital of Stat. 24 H. 8, c. 3, regulating Butchers and the price of meat;

In moste humble wyse, showen unto your Highnes, the Wardens, Maisters, and Fellowshipp, of the Bouchers of your Cittie of London, and all other the Bowchers within this your Realme of Englande: That where, in your Parliament houlden at Westminster by prorogacion the xxiiij^ty yere of your most noble raigne, yt was enacted, ordeyned, and established, by your Majestie, the Lordes spirituall and temporall, and the Commons in the saide Parliament then assembled, and by aucthoritie of the same Parliament, that everie person whiche sholde sell, by himselfe or any other, the carkayses of beyffes, porke, mutton, or veale, or any parte or parcell thereof, after the firste daye of Auguste then next ensuyng, shoulde sell the same by lawfull weighte called haber de poys, and none otherwise, the saide fleshe to be cutt out in reasonable peces accordinge to the request of the buyer, in like fashion as afore that tyme was used, without fraude or covyn; and that everie person whiche, by himselfe or any other, sholde sell any fleshe of the saide carkases, sholde have withe him—where he sholde make sale of the saide fleshe—sufficient beame, scales, and weightes sealed, called haber de poys, for true servinge of the buyers; And that after the saide first daye of Auguste, no person nor persons sholde take, or cause to be taken, for any pounde weighte of fleshe of the carkayses of beiff, or porke, by him or them to be soulde, above the price of one halfe pennye; nor for any pounde weighte of fleshe of the carkases of mutton or veale, above the price of one halfe pennye[1] farthinge, without deceipte or covyn; upon payne to forfeyte for everie pounde not

[1] and half (*Other MS.*); and Stat. 24 Hen. 8, cap. 3.

soulde by weighte, or above the saide price lymitted, and for every defaulte done contrarie to the true meaninge of the saide acte, thre shillinges fower pence,—The one moytie thereof to be to your Highnes, and thother moytie to the partie that will sue for the same by bill, playnte, or informacion, in whiche suyte none essoigne, wager of lawe, nor proteccion shalbe allowed;—The heades, neckes, inwardes, portenaunces, legges, nor feete, to be accompted as parte of the carkayses aforesaide, but suche to be solde at a lower price; as by the saide Acte amonge other thinges more playnely appereth: Whiche acte was in all thinges by your saide Orators well, dulye, justlye, and truyle executed, accordinge to the tenor and purporte of the same, untill your Graces Parliament houlden at Westminster by prorogacion the xxvijth yere of your moste noble reigne, at whiche tyme it was then and there, for and upon diverse good causes and consideracions, enacted, ordeyned, and established, that from the twelveth daye of Aprill in the yere of our Lorde God 1536, until the xxiiijth daye of Aprill whiche sholde be, and was, in the Yere of our Lorde God 1540, all Bouchers and other, sellinge fleshe by retayle, may laufullye kill and sell all manner beiff, porke, mutton, and veale, being good and holsome for mans bodye, at their pleasures and libertyes, as freely and liberallye as they or any of them did, or myght have done, at any tyme before the saide estatute made the xxiiijth yere of your moste noble raigne, and also before an other Statute concerninge the same, made the twentye fyve yere of your moste noble raigne, without any losses, payne, ymprisonement, forfeyture, or penaltie, to be by them, or any of them, or the successours of them or any of them, had, loste, borne, or susteyned in that behalfe, duringe the tyme before rehersed, the same estatutes or any of them to the contrarie in anywise notwithstandinge; And that the same estatutes and either of them, and everie clause, sentence, and article, in them or either of them conteyned, sholde be in suspense and not put in execucion during the same terme,—as by the saide acte made the xxvijth yere of your most noble raigne (amonge other thinges) more playnlie appereth; whiche Actes before reharsed concerninge the sellinge of fleshe by weight as ys aforesaide, yf they sholde hereafter be put in execucion, and your saide Orators compelled to selle fleshe by Weighte, accordinge to the purporte, tenor, and effecte of the saide estatute made the xxiiijth yere of your most noble reigne, sholde be to the utter undoinge of your saide Orators for ever: It maye therfore please your Majestie, that it maye be by your Highnes, and by thassent of the Lordes spiritual and temporall, and the Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by thauctoritie of the same, ordeyned, established and enacted, that the saide statutes made in the xxiiijth and xxvth yere of your most noble raigne, may be repealed, adnihilated, made frustrate and voyde, agaynste your Orators and all other your subjectes; and that it may from henceforth be laufull unto all your saide subjectes to sell their victualles from tyme to tyme, by them selfes, their wyves, and servauntes, to all manner of persons that will buy the same, in like manner and fourme as they myght have done before the makinge of the saide estatutes or any of them, without any daunger, payne, penaltye or forfeyture, to be had for the same; Any thinge in saide estatutes, or any of theme, conteyned to the contrarie notwithstandinge."

27 H. 8, cap. 9, suspending the Act 24 H. 8, cap. 3, and also the Act 25 H. 8, cap. 1, in confirmation thereof;

Mischief of the recited Acts, 24 & 25 Hen. 8.

The said recited Acts repealed.

The reader will thus see that the Act of the 24th Henry VIII., which came into operation on the 1st of August, 1532, and which Mr. Froude treats as not repealed till 1541, was in fact suspended from the 12th of April, 1536, to the 24th of April, 1540, and was then evidently treated as a dead letter, though not actually repealed till the 33rd of Henry VIII. in 1541. Moreover,

it was not duly observed during nearly half of its short life, as is shown by the 25 Hen. VIII. cap. 1. Indeed, it must have been almost impossible to get this, or any Act as to prices of meat observed all over England in the sixteenth century. The difficulty is recognized in the suspending Act before quoted, and a partial remedy found for it:—

[25 Hen. VIII. c. 1. s. 4.]

The King empowered to suspend the Acts by his Proclamation.

"And for asmoche as beoffys, muttons, veales, and porkes, by many occasions fortune in so*m*me one yere, or in some one tyme of the yere, to be more scarce or more dere than at any other, by meane wherof the grasiers and bochers in suche a dere tyme shall not be able to aforde the same at such prices and ratis as when they be in more plentie and better shepe, Be it therfor further enactid by the auctorite aforeseid, that the Kynges Highnes, his heires and successours, kynges of this Realme, frome tyme to tyme, uppon any complayntis made of any Scarsitie or lacke of beoffes, muttons, veales or porkes, shall and may, from tyme to tyme, cause p*ro*clamac*i*on to be made under the greate seale, in suche p*ar*ties of this Realme as shall seme to hys Hyghnes, his heires or successours, most convenyent, that the bouchers and other whiche be compelable to sell flesshe by weight, at prices lymytted in the seide acte made for sellyng of flesshe by weight, shall and may sell, for the tyme to be lymytted in suche p*ro*clamacion, beoffes, muttons, veales & porkes, by retayle, without weight, as heretofore hath byn accustomed, or els by weight at suche reasonable pryces as shalbe lymyted by the seid p*ro*clamac*i*on, and as shall please the Kyng*es* Highnes, hys heyres or successours to lymyt and appoynt by the said p*ro*clamacion, upon suche paynes as shalbe conteyned in suche p*ro*clamacions, to be lost and levyed to the Kynges use accordyng to the tenour of ev*e*ry suche p*ro*clamac*i*on: And that as well every boucher and other, for selling of beoffe, mutton, vele or porke by retayle, by vertue of suche p*ro*clamacion within the tymes to be lymytted in the same, as ev*e*ry other p*er*son & p*er*sones being bounden by auctorytie of this acte to se the seid bouchers so to doo upon the paynes above especified, shalbe discharged and acquited, by auctoritie of ev*e*ry suche p*ro*clamacion, of all penalties, paynes, forfaytures and losses whiche they shuld have suffered and lost by vertue of the seid acte, made for sellyng of flesshe by weight, or by vertue of this p*re*sent acte, in case noo suche p*ro*clamacion had byn made; any thyng in the seid [act] made for sellyng of flesshe by weight, or in this p*re*sent acte, conteyned to the cont*r*ary hereof notwithstondyng."

But even if we may suppose from the Preamble of the 33 Hen. VIII. cap. 1, that Acts fixing prices were duly observed, and not evaded, the question next comes, Were Proclamations issued under Acts of Parliament treated in the same way? If they were, then the following Proclamations of Edward VI. in 1549 and 1550 make more for Mr. Froude's low prices than "Vox Populi's" high ones.

It will be seen that the first Proclamation not only fixes the price of oxen, steers, runts, heifers, and cows, fat and lean, small and large,—all alive, the butcher being allowed a reasonable profit on them dead,—but also empowers the Sheriffs, etc., to seize part of any grazier's or farmer's stock, if he has more than enough for his own use, and sell it at the Proclama-

tion prices, wherever and whenever the market is not properly supplied at such prices. The prices of butter and cheese are not fixed. The first Proclamation was issued on the 2nd of July, 1549, and refers to the Acts 25 Hen. VIII. chapters 1 and 2.[1]

[PROCLAMATIONS OF EDWARD VI., leaves 52–5.]

"From the daie of this Proclamacion made without delaye, all and singuler persone & persones, hauyng or kepyng any of the kyndes of victualles, mencioned in thesaied Acte, within this Realme, to the intent to sell, shall sell thesame to suche of the kynges subiectes, as will buye theim at the prices hereafter mencioned, that is to saie, from Midsommer to Hallowmas, euery Oxe, beyng primed and well striken, of the largest bone .xxxviij. s., of a meaner sorte .xxviij. s.; an Oxe fat, and of the largest bone. xlv. s., of the meaner sorte, beeyng fat .xxxviij. s., Steres and Runtes, beyng primed or wel stricken, and large of bone .xx. s., of a meaner sort xvi. s.; beyng fat, and of the largest bone xxv. s., beyng fat of a meaner sort .xxi. s. Heifurthes and Kine, beeyng primed or wel striken, and large of bone .xvi. s., of a meaner sort .xiij. s. iiij. d.; beyng fat and large of bone. xxij. s., beyng fat and of a meaner sorte .xviij. s. And from Hallowmas to Christmas, euery Oxe, beyng fat and large of bone .xlvi. s. viij. d., beyng fat of a meaner sort .xxxix. s. viij. d. Steres and Runtes within thesame tyme, beeyng fat and large of bone .xxvi. s. viij. d., beying fat of a meaner sorte xxij. s. viij. d.; heifurthes and kine within thesame tyme, beeyng fat and large of bone .xxiij. s., of a meaner sorte .xix. s. And from Christmas to Shroftide, euery Oxe beyng fat and large of bone .xlviij. s. iiij. d., of a meaner sorte .xli. s. iiij. d. Steres and Runtes, within the same tyme, beyng fat and large of bone xxviij. s. iiij. d., of a meaner sort .xxiiij. s. iiij. d. And from euery Sheryng time to Michaelmas, euery wether, beyng a shere Shepe, beyng leane and large of bone iij. s., of a meaner sorte .ii. s. iiij. d.; beyng fat and large of bone .iiij. s., beyng fat of a meaner sort .iii. s. Ewes within thesame tyme, beeyng leane and large of bone .ij. s., beyng leane of a meane sorte .xx. d.; beyng fat and large of bone .ij. s. viij. d., beyng fat of a meaner sorte .ij. s. And from Michaelmas to Shroftide, euery Wether beeyng a shere Shepe, beyng leane and large of bone. .iij. s., beyng leane of a meaner sorte .ij. s. iiij. d.; beyng fat and large of bone .iiij. s. iiij. d., beyng fatt and of a meaner sorte .iij. s. iiij. d. And from Midsomer to Michaelmas the pounde of swete Butter at,[2] From Michaelmas to Newe yeres croppe the pounde. Suffolke Butter, and the parties of Norffolke borderyng vpon Suffolke, from Midsomer to Michaelmas the pounde. From Michaelmas to the newe yeres croppe the pounde. Essex Chese and other partes, from Midsomer to Michaelmas the pounde. From Michaelmas to the new yeres croppe the pounde. Suffolke Chese, and the partes of Norffolke borderyng vpon Suffolke, from Midsomer to Michaelmas the pound. From Michaelmas to the newe yeres croppe

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[1] "It is thought by his Maiestie, for the present disorders, a greate relief to put in due execucion, diuerse good lawes and statutes, prouided heretofore, by aucthoritie of Parliament, in the reignes of the kynges maiesties moste noble progenitors, and especially twoo pollitique good estatutes, made at Westminster in the .xxv. yere of the reigne of his maiesties moste dere father late deceassed, kyng Henry the eight, ordeined, as by the same appereth, very pollitiquely, for the redresse of these like disorders of prices, whiche at any tyme thence after might happen: the effect of whiche later estatute is, that the lorde Threasorer," &c &c &c (*Proclamations*, back of Fol. 50.) See the Statute quoted in the next note.

[2] The prices are left blank in the original, with the intention, no doubt, of the Sheriffs putting different prices for their different districts.

the pounde, vpon pain of forfaicture for euery Oxe, Stere Cowe, Heckfor[1] and Bullocke, that should be sold, by vertue of thesaied acte and this Proclamacion, and shall not so bee solde, fiue poundes; & for euery shepe that should be sold by vertue of the same acte and this Proclamacion, and shall not so be sold .x. s. And for euery pou*n*de of butter and chese .xij. d.; and that for all & euery some that shalbe forfaicted, by vertue of thesame acte and this Proclamacion, the kyng our soueraigne lorde shall and maie haue his recouery and remedy, by informacion, bill, plaint, or accion of debt, in any of his highnes courtes of record: wherefore, we, considerynge the premisses to be for the welth and commoditie of this our Realme, will and commaunde you, our Shirief of our Countie of within two daies next after the receipt of this said Proclamacion, that ye with all spede shall Proclaime the premisses in all Market tounes within thesaid countie of , and that all maner our subiectes shall obey thesame, not onely vpon the paines abouesaied, but also to incurre our indignacion and displeasure. And furthermore, the kynges Maiestie, of his aucthoritie and power royall, straightly chargeth and commaundeth, all maner his Iustices of Peace, Sherifes, Maiors, and Bailifes of any tounes corporate, or any other ministers, to be assigned & appoyncted by any twoo Iustices of Peace of thesaid Countie, if any the Market or Markettes, within thesaied Countie shall lacke wherewithall to furnishe the markettes for the relief of his louyng subiectes, that then thei shall forsee & prouide, that the Owners, Grasiers, Drouers, Fermors, Broggers, or any other of any kynde of estate or degree whatsoeuer, nere adioynyng, hauyng suche store of any kynd of the aforesaied victuall, that he maie spare part of his saied store, bee it leane or fat, (ouer and besides the store necessary for the maintenaunce of his houshold, the alowa*n*ce whereof must be made, in respect of his accustomed expences, and the tyme of another vsuall prouision,) towarde the furniture of the Market, shall by the appoynctment, and order of thesaied Iustices, and other officers aboue named, bryng to the Market and Markettes, suche nomber and quantitie of thesaied victualles, and at suche tyme and times, as thei shal thinke the cause and necessitie requireth, and thesame shall sell there, according to the prices by thesaied Iustices to be rated, as for an example, where the Markettes ca*n*not be serued, with sufficie*n*t quantitie of Motton, so that in default thereof the people happe to haue ouer muche lacke, then in that and like cases, the Kynges maiesties will and commaundement is, that thesaied Iustices of euery cou*n*tie, and officers aboue named, vpo*n* the certain knowlege of that lacke, shall compell all and euery suche persone and persones, as shall haue, nigh to thesaied Market tounes, the nomber of .v. C. shere shepe, for euery hundreth of thesame fiue hundred & aboue, to send to the market so lacking at the moste ten of the best and fattest Shepe of that sorte, to bee solde from tyme to tyme, and at the prices to bee rated by thesaied Iustices and other officers; and if lesse lacke, then lesse in nomber, vpo*n* like pain aforesaid for euery shepe not so brought to the Market. Furthermore, because the prices of the beiffes and muttons hereto adioyned, bee but the prices of Beues and Muttons a liue, and sold in grosse, and not by retaile, as the Butcher vseth to do, his Maiestie, notwithstandyng the tenor of this Proclamacion, licenseth the Butcher in suche cases, wher he shall buy of those prices, so to sel aboue thesaid price, as it shalbe thought and ordered by thesaied Iustices and officers aboue named, accordyng to the Lawes and Estatutes of the Realme, mete for a conuenient gain toward his liuyng, and so in all cases thesame to bee obserued, vpon paines expressed in sondery estatutes for thesame."

The next Proclamation was issued on the 20th of October, 1550—to take effect from the 1st of November following,—by the Lord Chancellor and some of the officers appointed by the Act 25

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[1] So in original.

Hen. VIII. chapter 2,[1] to fix scales of prices from time to time for provisions, to order at what prices each quality of Wheat (white, red, and grey), Malt, Rye, Barley, Beans, Pease, Oats, and Butter (sweet, and salt or barrelled), shall be sold :—

[PROCLAMATION OF EDWARD VI., back of leaf 92.]

"And for as muche, as diuerse and sundery greate complaintes, of inhansyng of the prices of victualles necessary for mannes sustenaunce, and in especiall of Corne, Grain, Butter and Chese, bee had and made, not onely to the kynges moste excellent Maiestie, but also to his moste honorable counsailors, by reason that diuerse his subiectes, and others, vpon their vnsaciable coueteousnes, myndyng and purposyng, of their peruerse myndes, to make greate dearth and scarcitie, more then necessitie requireth, of Corne, Grain, Befes, Muttons, Veales, porkes, Butter, Chese, and other victualles, necessary for mannes sustenaunce, not onely by vnlawful ingrossyng, forstallyng and regrating of thesame, but also by vnlawfull transportyng, and conueighyng thesame victualles, and other the premisses, into sundery parties beyonde the seas, contrary to thesaied statute, and contrary to the kynges Maiestes Lawes and Proclamacions, in that behalf had and made, and to the greate hurte and perill of the common wealthe of this his Realme: Where vpon, the kynges moste excellent Maiestie, hauyng a vigilant and merciful iye, and respect towardes his louyng Subiectes, and willyng and straightly charyng his said subiectes and others, from hencefurth, to enterprise no suche offences contrary

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[1] 25 Hen. VIII. c. 2. s. 1.

AN ACTE OF *PRO*CLAMACION TO BE MADE CONC*ER*NYNG VICTUALLES.

For regulating the Prices of Cheese, Butter, Poultry, &c.

"For asmoche as derthe, scarsitie, good chepe and plentie, of chese, butter, capons, hennes, chekyns, and other victualles necessarie for mennes sustenance, happeneth, ryseth, and chaunceth, of so many and dyverse occasions, that it is very harde and difficile to put any certayne prices to any suche thingis, And yet never-the-lesse the prices of such victualles be many tymes inhaunsed and raysed by the gredy covetousnes and appitites of the owners of suche victuals, by occasion of ingrosyng and regratyng the same, more then upon any resonable or juste grounde or cause, to the greate damage and impoverishing of the Kyngis subjectis; For remedy wherof, be it enactid by the auctoritie of this *pre*sent parliament, that upon ev*er*y compleynt made of any enhaunsyng of prices of suche victuals, without grounde or cause resonable, in any parte of this Realme, or in any other the Kyngis Domynyons, the Lorde Chauncellour

they shall on Complaint be assessed by the Lords of the Council, &c.

of Englonde, the Lorde Treasourer, the Lord Presydent of the Kyng*es* most honorable Counsell, the Lorde pryvay seale, the Lorde Stuarde, the Lorde Chamberleyne, and all other Lordis of the Kyngis counsaille, the Treasourer and Comptroller of the Kyngis most honorable house, the Chauncellour of the Duche of Lancaster, the Kyngis Justices of either Benche, the Chauncellour, Chamberleyns, under Treasourer, and the Barons of the Kynges Eschequer, or vii. of theym at the lest,—wherof the Lorde Chauncellour, the Lorde Tresourer, the Lorde President of the Kyngis Counsell, or the Lorde pryvay seale, to be one,—shall have power and auctoritie from tyme to tyme, as the case shall requyre, to sett and tax resonable prices of all suche kyndes of victuals above specified, how they shalbe sold, in grosse or by retayle, for reliefe to the Kynges subjectis, And that after suche pryces set and taxed in forme aforseid, p*ro*clamacion shalbe made in the Kynges name, under the greate seale, of the seid prices, in suche parties of this Realme as shalbe convenyent for the same."

to his Lawes, Statutes, or Proclamacions, vpon the paines and forfaictures conteined in thesame, and vpon his high indignacion and displeasure, hath accordyng to the tenour of thesaied acte, willed & required his honorable counsailours, named in thesaied acte to set furthe reasonable prices, of all kynd of Corne, Grain, Butter and Chese, accordyng to the tenor of thesaied act. In co[n]sideracion wherof, the lorde Chauncellor of Englande, the lorde Threasorer of Englande, the lorde Prisident of the kynges most honorable counsaill, the lorde Priuie Seale, the lorde Cha*m*berlain, and all other limited and appoyncted by thesaied act, for the taxyng and settyng the priuces of all kynde of victualles, mencioned in thesaied acte, haue by aucthorite of thesaied acte, set and taxed reasonable prices of al kynde of Grain, mencioned in thesaied act, to be sold in forme folowyng. That is to saie, that from the feast of al Sainctes next ensuyng without delaye, all and singuler person and persones, hauyng or kepyng any of the kyndes of Grain, Butter or Chese within this realme, to the intent to sell, shall sell thesame to suche of the Kynges Subiectes, as will buye them, at the prices hereafter mencioned, or vnder, and not aboue, that is to saie, white wheat of the best sorte, cleane and swete, and not tailed, for .xiij. *s.* iiij. d. the Quarter, and not aboue; and white wheate of the seconde sort, and redde wheate of the best sort, cleane, swete, and not tailed, for .xj. s. the quarter, and not aboue; and graye wheate of the best sorte, clene, swete, and not tailed, for .x. s. the quarter, and not aboue. And all other wheat, aswell white, redde, and graye, of the meanest sort, not cleane, or tailed, for .viij. s. the quarter, and not aboue. And that malt, cleane, swete, and of the best sort, shalbe sold for .x. s. the quarter, and not aboue; and malte of the second sorte, for .viij. s. the quarter, and not aboue. And Rie of the best, cleanest, and swetest sorte, for .vij. s. the quarter, and not aboue. And Rie of the seconde sorte, for .vj. s. the Quarter, and not aboue. And barly of the best sort, cleane and swete, for .ix. s. the Quarter, and not aboue; and Barly of the second sort, for .vij. s. the quarter, and not aboue. Beanes or Pease of the best sort, cleane & swete, for .v. s. the Quarter, and not aboue. And Beanes or Pease, of the seconde sorte, for .iij. s. viij. d. the Quarter, and not aboue. Otes of the best sort, clene and swete, for .iiij. s. the Quarter, and not aboue, accomptyng .viij. bushelles to the Quarter. Prouided alwaies, that in what place or Countie soeuer, within this the Kynges realme of Englande, or other his graces Dominions, the Measure or Reisure, shall fortune to bee more or lesse, then is aboue expressed, that then the prices shalbee likewise taxed, limited, and appoyncted, accordyng to .viij. galones to euery bushell of lande measure, and not otherwise. And that from thesaied feast of all Sainctes, the pound of swete Butter, not to bee solde aboue .j. d. ob.;[1] and barrelled butter, of Essex, the pound, not to be sold to any the kynges subiectes, aboue ob. di. qr.; and barrelled Butter of any other partes, not to bee solde to the kynges subiectes aboue .ob. qr. And Chese of Essex, to be solde to the Kynges subiectes from Hallowmas next, till the new yeres croppe, for. ob. di. qr. and not aboue. And chese of other parties, not aboue .ob. qr."

I feel that it does not become me to make any positive assertions about prices in answer to Mr. Froude's, without further evidence than I now have. In the general estimate of comfort, however, the old chimneyless cottages, their clay walls and floors, the general want of drainage, and consequent liability to breed sickness,—these, as well as the want of conveniences, now thought necessaries, must be included.

§ 11. The sixteenth century is not one that I have long studied,

[1] *ob.* means *obolus*, a halfpenny; *qa.* or *qr.*, *quadranta*, a farthing.

and I therefore speak with much hesitation on the condition of the working classes during it; but I think the evidence collected above shows, that in at least Henry VIII.'s and Edward VI.'s reigns, there was a great deal of misery about. The time was one of transition from tillage to sheep-farming, from small culture to large; and though the ultimate result of that transition was to benefit the whole land, yet the immediate effect of it was a cruel gripe to the small tenants and the poor. The yeoman-class was broken up and degraded to that of labourers, its members were driven into the towns, the men to seek strange work, the women often to infamy. The poor were deprived of their common-rights, the alms (if many) of the monasteries were stopped, the coin was debased, and its purchasing-power lowered, prices were rising, dearth and sickness often prevailed, the poor-laws were savage,[1] discontent abounded, and in 1549 broke out into open insurrection,—to say nothing of minor revolts.

In the face of this, I am unable to accept Mr. Froude's comfortable view of things as the whole truth. He seems to me to have set in the heaven the sun of this masterful, brilliant, and accomplished young King, Henry VIII., and then to look on the whole land as gilded by his beams. No commons are like his commons; no workmen so well off, materially, now. But just as Mr. Froude's statement (*Hist.* i. 11[2]) that, in Henry's century, "duty to the State was at all times and in all things supposed to override private interest or inclination . . the Commonweal, in a high and remarkable degree being presumed to be the first object

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[1] The way in which people who had no fixed abode or occupation, were treated, may be seen in one of the Returns in the Search for Suspected Persons, 17 July, 1519. (*Brewer's Calendar*, iii. 127.) "4. Certificate made by Sir Henry Wyatt and Sir John Daunce 'of such vacabundes and mysdemeanerd persones as thy have made search for.' Sunday, 17 July 11 Hen. VIII, and attached according to the Cardinal's order.

In Holborne, in the house of Wm. Salcoke, at the sign of the George; One Christopher a Tyllesley lay there two nights passed. *Has no master, and is committed to Newgate.*

In Seynt Gylys in the Felde, in the house of Ric. Foteman: Geo. Chillyngworth lay there for a week. Has no service. *Is committed to the constables ward, not Newgate*, as Foteman is surety for him, and says he is a true man, and is trying to get into service in London.

In the house of Christopher Arundell, one Robert Bayly. *Has no master, and is committed to Newgate.* Says he is waiting to have attachment sealed out of Chancery at the suit of a kinswoman of his.

In Padyngton, in the house of Thos. Colts, John Clare, tailor, John Thomas, servant to Harrison, farmer of the abbot of Westminster, William (Harrison's son) and Wm. Rede, wheeler, played all night till 4 o'clock at tables, and are committed to the constables' ward, as Robt. Lewes, an honest man, undertakes to bring them to-morrow before the Cardinal."

Thus, a man who comes up to London for a few days to see about a Chancery suit, is treated as a vagabond and misdemeanored person, and put into Newgate for not staying at home. [2] I have used this quotation elsewhere.

with every honest man," needs correcting by the direct contrary of the contemporary Polydore Vergil (ab. 1550), that "notwithstandinge the Englishe nation of all thinges *dothe least make accompte of the common wealthe*, but ar to muche assoted on the bellie . . . yeat (thanckes bee to Godd) the Englishe imperie consistethe on sewer pillers (i. 280)," so Mr. Froude's statement on the well-being of the common people in Henry's time and the rest of his century, needs checking by the statements of the tracts, etc., collected above, and the extracts taken by Mr. Haweis from the contemporary sermons in his *Sketches of the Reformation*.

Speaking of the years 1515–18, Professor Brewer says (Calendar, vol. ii. p. cclxxviii.), "If any one wishes to see the real condition of Europe at this period—the arbitrary rule of its monarchs, bent on their own aggrandizement, and careless of the improvement of their people—the disputes among their councillors, agreed in one point only, to flatter and mislead their sovereigns—the wide separation between the luxury of the rich *and the hopeless misery of the poor*—the prevalence of crime—the severe execution of justice, earnest for punishment, but regardless of prevention—the frequency of capital punishment—the depopulation of villages—the engrossing by a few hands of corn and wool—the scarcity of meat—the numbers of idle gentlemen without employment—of idle serving-men and retainers turned adrift on a life of vagabondism:—in short, whoever wishes to see society full of the elements of confusion, requiring only a small spark to fan them into a flame—may read with advantage the Utopia of Sir Thomas More."

For myself, I cannot doubt that, for Henry VIII.'s time too, the touching words of the earlier *Praier and Complaynte of the Ploweman*, about the fourteenth-century poor, were still true:—

> "For soth me thinketh that pore laborers ȝeueth to these rych men more then they ȝeuen hem aȝeyn-warde. For the pore man mote gone to hys laboure in colde and in hete, and in wete and drye, and spende hys flesh and hys bloude in the rych mennes workes apon Gods ground, to fynde the rych man in ese, and in lykynge, and in good fare of mete and of drinke, and of clothinge. Here ys a gret ȝifte of the pore man, for he ȝeueth his awn body. But what ȝeueth the rych man hym aȝeynwarde? certes, febele mete, and febele drinke, and febele clothinge. What-ever they seggen, soch be her workes; and here ys litell love. And who-soever loketh well a-boute, all the worlde fareth thus as we seggen." (*Harl. Misc.* i. 176, ed. 1804.)[1]

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[1] Compare the following from *The Complaint of Scotland*, on the Scotch labourer of 1548:

"i may be comparit to the dul asse in sa far as i am compellit to bayr ane importabil byrdyng, for i am dung and broddit [=beaten and prodded] to gar me do & to thole the thing that is abuif my pouer. allace! i am the merk of the but, co*n*trar the quhilk euere man schutis arrous of tribulatione. allace! quhou is iustice sa euil trettit, quhilk is occasione that euere man vsis al extreme extorsions contrar me as far as ther pouer can exsecut. allace! i laubyr nycht and day vitht my handis to neureis lasche and inutil idil men;

So was it with the poor of 1400. How was it with those of 1547? Let Ascham answer: *Nam vita quæ nunc vivitur a plurimis, non vita sed miseria est.* How is it with the poor of 1868? Worse than in 1530, says Mr. Froude, worse than in 1500–1600. England has herein gone back. I doubt it.

So far as I can see, the direction we are to look in for the workman and the poor being better off than they are now, is forward, not backward. When, by a wider extension of the suffrage than now prevails, the holders of wealth have put within the reach of the weak and poor the powers of the national Court of Equity for enforcing the performance of the trusts on which landed and other property is held; when, by a national system of emigration, worked by men who care for the poor, the pinches of changes of trade are relieved; when, by a system of national education, there shall be no child untaught, and all possible facilities shall be given for the carrying on of adult education,—no museums shut in the evening and on Sundays then;—when, in every parish, the clergyman, as a paid officer, shall be displaced, or at least supplemented, by an official good-doer, evil-stopper, and public prosecutor of bad landlords as well as other offenders; when, by co-operation, or the system of partnerships between masters and men, the whole wage-receiving class shall be lifted into a proprietary one; when the weak are thought of before the

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and thai recompens me vitht hungyr, and vitht the sourd. i susteen ther lyif vitht trauel & vitht the suet of my body, and thai parsecut my body vitht oultrage and hayrschip, quhil i am be-cum ane begger. thai lyf trocht me, and i dee trocht them. allace, o my natural mother! thou repreifis & accusis me of the faltis that my tua brethir committis daly: my tua brethir, nobilis and clergie, quhilk suld defend me, tha ar mair cruel contrar me nor is my ald enemes of ingland. tha ar my natural brethyr, bot thai ar my mortal enemes of verray deid. Allace! quhou can i tak paciens consideranḋ that ther can na thing be eikkyt to my parsecutione bot cruel dede. i dee daly in ane transe trocht the necessite that i hef of the gudis that i van vitht my laubyrs. my cornis and my cattel are reft fra me. i am exilit fra my takkis and fra my steddyngis. the malis and fermis of the grond that i laubyr is hychtit to sic ane price, that it is fors to me & vyf and bayrns to drynk vattir. the teyndis of my cornis ar nocht alanerly hychtit abufe the fertilite that the grond maye bayr, bot as veil thai ar tane furtht of my handis be my tua tirran brethir. and quhen i laubyr be marchandres or be mecanik craftis, i am compellit to len and to fyrst it to my tua cruel brethir; and quhen i craif my dettis quhilk suld sustene my lyif, i am bostit, hurt, and oft tymis i am slane. ther for laubereris to burtht [= in towns] & land, and be see-burd, thai indure daly sic violence that it is nocht possibil that esperance of relief can be ymagynit. for ther is nay thing on the lauberaris of the grond, to burtht and land, bot arrage, carage, taxationis, violent spulze, and al vthyr sortis of aduersite, quhilk is onmercifully exsecut daly. the veyr [= war] is cryit contrar ingland; bot the actis of the veir is exsecutit contrar the lauberaris, and consumis ther miserabil lyif. O my natural mother, my complaynt is hauy to be tald, bot it is mair displeasand to susteen my piteous desolatione. i am banest fra my house. i am boistit and manniest be my frendis, and i am assailȝit be them that suld defend me." (p. 190-2.)

strong,—then may we hope for the right time for the poor, the time never yet seen, when justice shall be done them. When that time comes, I think the lookers-back over the dark past will see the shade on the Victorian age lighter than on any beyond it. Each of us can do something to make sure that this shall be so.

§ 12. In lines 165–8 our Ballad notices the enclosure of commons:—

> Commons to close and kepe,
> Poor folk for bred [to] cry and wepe,
> Towns pulled down to pasture shepe,
> this ys the new gyse!

It was the extent to which the enclosure was then carried, not the mere fact of enclosure, which constituted the newness of the fashion. With the evidence of Sir Thomas More (above, p. 5) and the Statutes, etc. (above, p. 6–10) before him, as well as the words of § 6 of "Vox Populi" (below, and Dyce's 'Skelton,' ii. 406, col. 1,) on "comons and comon ingenders, inclosyers, and extenders," and the fact of the undeniably great growth of sheep-farming, the reader will probably want no further testimony on this point; but he will join me in thanking the historian of the Early and Middle Ages of England, Mr. Charles H. Pearson, for the able sketch of the history of the matter, modestly called by him "a few notes to guide you in one or two cases to fuller sources of information," which he has been so good as to draw up for us:

"The first legislation I know of on the subject was in the Parliament of Merton (see my History, vol. ii. 177[1]), which was followed up in the second statute of Westminster (Ib. p. 338[2]). These enactments show, I think, that population was increasing, and that there was a genuine want of land to live upon.

"The assize of Merton was no dead letter. At the Hampshire assizes held before Hugh Bigod in the 43 Henry III. a number of great people, including the Bishop Elect of Winchester, were indicted for enclosing land, in which William Achard and Isabel his wife had commonage. The jurors found that sufficient waste had not been left for the Achards, and it was ordered that the

[1] Another enactment shows that the rights of the weak might sometimes be enforced to the public detriment. It was complained that the under-tenants of great lords objected to the constitution of new fees on the ground that their rights of commonage were thereby impaired. This, if maintained, would practically have kept all England in the *status quo*, the waste to remain waste to all time. It was enacted that new fees might be constituted wherever it could be done without depriving the tenant of his right of way or of sufficient commonage.

[2] The power of enclosing commons, which the Parliament of Merton had affirmed in favour of lords against their tenants, was now extended in favour of lords against their neighbours. . Obviously the lord was entitled to a higher right of enclosing commonage against strangers than against his own tenants.

enclosure should be thrown down. (Placitorum Abbreviatio, p. 146.)

"On the other hand, in the 6 Edward I. it was decided that William Fitz Adam de Derington was justified in enclosing twenty-six acres, because he had left sufficient commonage. (Ib. p. 268.)

"Of course, neither laws nor prosecutions stopped rich men from enclosing land then as now, if they thought they could do it safely. In 1414 the tenants of Darleton and Raghenell petition the King in Parliament against Sir Richard Stanhope, who has enclosed all the fields, meadows, and pastures, in which they have commonage, by right of their free tenements. 'Le Roi vorra de ceo estre avisée.' (Rot. Parl. iv. 29.)

"The general principle of English holding, was tenant-right, subject to fixed or variable dues. If fixed, the tenure was honourable; if variable, servile. In no case could the tenant be dispossessed of land altogether during life-time if he rendered the services due, though a man of the less favoured classes might be moved from one holding to another, and no impost was to touch his necessary furniture or tools of trade. But by the customs called the *Rectitudines singularum personarum*, the 'gebur,' who ranks after the 'villan' and the 'cotsetle,' had only a life tenure of his land, which was to contain five acres at least. Practically these three classes contained the great bulk of the population. The villan's land went to his children.

"At first the tendency was to give the tillers of the soil better tenures. Robert d'Oyley, Abbot of Abingdon, finding that tithes on his property had been commuted for insufficient equivalents, offered to enfranchise the tenants if they would pay an extra tenth of their crops. The advantages held out were that they could not be shifted from one piece of land to another, and that their property would go to their children. They agreed to the proposal. A.D. 1087–1100. (Hist. Mon. de Abingdon, ii. 25, 26.)

"This, moreover, was promoted by the general commutation of labour-services for money. (See Hale's Domesday of St. Paul's, p. lvi., and Fleta, lib. ii. c. 82, § 3.) A man whose family for fifty years had paid a fixed sum in exchange for all servile duties easily became a copyholder; even though he had at first been a mere 'tenens penilond ad vitam et ad voluntatem domini.' (Cart. Mon. Glouces. p. 134.)

"Shortly before the fourteenth century, landowners began to find that they were often short for money or for labour. Expenses were increasing, the value of money slightly diminishing, and half the population were free yeomen. One way in which the upper classes tried to remedy this was by bringing actions to prove that townships or persons were of servile condition. (Gesta Mon. S. Alb. i. 460, ii. 262.) About the same time, laws were made

restraining tenants from selling their lands. (See my History, ii. 337.) Even bondsmen had been able to do this, the principle being that they were only bound to keep enough to discharge the services from. (Gesta Mon. S. Alb. i. 455.)[1] Last of all come the Statutes of Labourers under Richard II., the want of labour being by that time very grievous to employers, war and pestilence having diminished the population. Under Henry V. population had partly retrieved its losses, and an outlet for the surplus was found in the French wars. Under Henry VI. civil war answered the same purpose. But as soon as order was restored, the relations of classes became difficult again. By the new military system the Government preferred money to men, and the landlord had no occasion for armed retainers. His chief profit was derived from the wool-trade; he replaced ploughmen by shepherds everywhere, and only wanted one man where he before needed ten, except at special times, such as lambing and shearing. He accordingly evicted all whom he could, enclosed where he dared, and tried to drive the population into the towns, meantime securing a hold on their labour by the laws which Froude admires so much. I write from memory, not having the statutes at hand, but I think the first Act against enclosures was under Richard III. Such Acts were passed at intervals for a century afterwards. As Church estates were generally managed with more regard to public opinion than the lands of nobles and gentlemen, the Abbots in the fifteenth century not daring to use their legal powers, the abolition of the monasteries awakened many regrets among the poor, who saw that it gave a great stimulus to enclosures. On the other hand, Church lands were badly farmed, and generally in debt. In England, as now in Australia, the great sheep-farmers cared nothing for the national interests, and only wanted to produce wool in the largest possible quantities. No wonder men looked back with regret to the times when the bondman had his small farm, could alien part of it, could bequeath it to his children, was in request for labour, and could live without it on his own property. They forgot that, like the dog in the fable, he carried a collar; I don't mean literally, as I have never met with an illustration of Gurth's ornament.

"These are very hasty notes, but I have very few books at hand on the fifteenth century. They will not do to print, but they may give you a hint or two."

§ 13. *Aliens.*—Judging only from the Statute Book, one would think that the feeling towards aliens, in the English mind, would have been one of pity rather than of jealousy. Some of the statutory provisions against them are recited in the Preamble to the

[1] In the same way, the right of exchanging parcels of land with one another, was gradually taken away from the tenants on large estates. (Cart. Mon. Glouces. iii. p. 216.)

32 Henry VIII. chapter 16,[1] which was not repealed till the 26 & 27 Vict. cap. 125. First, by the Act 1 Ric. III. cap. 9, no Alien not made a Denizen, taking upon him to be an Artificer or Handicraftsman, was allowed to take any House or Chamber within the Realm, or abide in the same, nor sojourn with any Alien, nor exercise any Craft within the Realm, but should depart from it unless retained to work by any Englishman. Also, no such Alien should make cloth, or sell by retail, but only in gross; and that no Denizen should have any servant to work for him, except his own child or a British-born subject. Secondly, by the 14 & 15 Henry VIII. chapter 2, no Alien, whether made Denizen or not, could take an Apprentice, or have any servant but a British-born subject; and all Aliens were subjected to the Wardens of the Fellowship of Handicrafts in London. Thirdly, the power and number of Aliens having increased,—by the 21 Henry VIII. cap. 16, no Alien is allowed any more Servant Strangers but two at a time; all householding Denizens are made to contribute to the English Crafts their due share of all charges borne by such Crafts; no Alien, not being a Denizen, shall keep any shop to carry on handicraft in; and none shall assemble elsewhere than in the Common Hall of their Crafts.

One would have thought this enough; but the Preamble of 32 Henry VIII. chapter 16, says, that these Strangers and Aliens daily do increase and multiply within his Grace's Realm, in excessive numbers, to the great Detriment, Hindrance, Loss and Impoverishment of his Grace's natural true Lieges and Subjects of this his Realm, and to the great Decay of the same; and that all the foresaid good, wholesome, and beneficial Statutes been frustrated and defrauded, chiefly by means of Letters Patent obtained by the crafty Inventions and Practises of such Strangers, lately made Denizens in great numbers, which Letters Patent do contain that every such Denizen shall be as free as any Englishman naturally born, by reason whereof the said Denizens refuse to obey the former Estatutes; wherefore the Act enacts that all Denizens shall obey the old Statutes, any Letters Patent to the contrary, notwithstanding; that no Alien or Denizen using any Handicraft in Oxford, Cambridge, or the precinct of St. Martin's le Grand in London, shall keep more than two Alien Apprentices, Journeymen or Servants; and that none of the King's Subjects, and no Denizen not using any Handicraft, shall keep more than 4 Aliens in his Household; and that no Strangers except Denizens may take a Lease of any Dwellinghouse or Shop.

This obtaining of Letters Patent, through the favour of men about the Court, was, doubtless, as irritating to the master-trades-

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[1] See also 14 & 15 Hen. VIII. cap. 1; 21 Hen. VIII. cap. 16, etc.

men of the county, as the employment by small masters of alien artisans of greater skill (perhaps) and at less wages (undoubtedly), was to the men. Very early in Henry's reign we have an instance of it, in the outbreak of the London apprentices and other "misruled persons," in the 8th year of Henry VIII., on "Evil May-day," as told by Hall, fol. lx. :—A Lombard having enticed away an Englishman's wife, with his plate, not only succeded in keeping both the man's wife and plate, but had him arrested for the board of his wife. This brought matters to a crisis. A broker in London, John Lyncoln, told Beale, "a doctor in Deuinity called doctor Bele—howe miserably the common artificers liued, and skase coulde get any woorke to fynde them, their wyfes, and chyldren, for there were such a nu*m*ber of artificers straungers, that tooke alwaye all the lyuynge in maner. And also howe the Englishe merchauntes coulde haue no vtteraunce, for the merchaunt strangers brynge in all Sylkes, Clothe of Golde . ." &c.

"When Ester came, and doctor Bele should preache the Twesdaye in Ester weke, he came into the pulpit, and there declared that to him was brought a pitiful bill, and red it in thys wyse: To al you, the worshipful lordes and masters of this citie, that wil take co*m*passion ouer the poore people your neyghbours, and also of the great importable hurtes, losses, and hynderaunces, whereof procedeth the extreme pouertie too all the kynges subiects that inhabite within this citie and suburbes of thesame; for so it is, that the alyens and strau*n*giers eate the bread from the poore fatherles chyldren, and take the liuynge from all the artificers, and the entercourse from all merchauntes, wherby pouertie is so muche encreased that euery man bewaileth the misery of other, for craftes me*n* be brought to beggery and merchauntes to nedynes: wherefore the premisses considred, the redresse must be of the commons, knyt and vnyte to one parte; and as the hurt and dammage greueth all men, so muste all men set to their willyng power for remedy, and not to suffre thesayd alyens so highly in their wealth, and the naturall borne men of his region too come to confusion. Of this letter was more, but the doctor red no farther, and then he began *Cœlum cœli domino, terram autem dedit filijs hominum*, and vpon thys text he intreated, that this lande was geuen too Englishemen, and as byrdes woulde defende their nest, so oughte Englishemen to cheryshe and defend them selfes, and to hurte and greue aliens for the common weale. And vpon this text *pugna pro patria*, he brought in, howe by Goddes lawe it was lawfull to fight for their cou*n*trey; and euer he subtellye moued the people to rebell agaynst the strau*n*giers, and breake the kynges peace, nothynge regardynge the league betwene princes and the kynges honoure. Of this Sermon many a light person tooke courage, and openly spake against straungiers. And as the deuell woulde, the Sundaye after at Grenewiche in *th*e Kynges gallery was Francis de bard, whiche as you harde kept an Englishe mans wyfe and his goodes, and yet he coulde haue no remedy; & with him were Domyngo, Anthony Caueler, and many mo strau*n*giers, and ther they, talkynge with syr Thomas Palmer knyght, Jested and laughed howe that Fraunces kepte the Englishemans wyfe, saiynge *that* if they had the Mayres wife of London, they woulde kepe her: syr Thomas sayd, 'Sirs, you haue to muche fauour in Englande.' There were diuerse Englishe merchauntes by, and harde them laugh, and were not content; in somuche as one William bolt, a Mercer, sayd, 'wel you whoreson Lombardes, you reioyse and laugh; by the masse, we will one daye haue a daye at you, come when it will;' and that saiynge the other merchauntes affirmed. This tale was reported aboute London, and the young and euell disposed people sayde, they woulde

be reuenged on the merchaunt straungiers aswell as on the artificers straungiers. On Monday the morow after, the Kyng remoued to hys maner of Rychemonde."

On the night of April 30, some 2000 of the craftsmen, prentices, and others rose, and sacked the 'houses of the French and Flemish artificers, and then proceeded to the residence of Peter Meautis, the King's Secretary, who escaped death by hiding himself in the belfry of the adjoining church. Their next object of attack was the Italian quarter, but the merchants there had provided themselves with men, arms, and artillery, and defied the mob, who drew off to attack the less resolute and the defenceless.' (*Brewer's Calendar*, vol. ii. p. ccxix.) Ultimately the city gates were forced by the troops whom Wolsey had ordered up, and the preacher, as well as twelve of the ringleaders and seventy of their adherents, were taken. Of these, thirteen were found guilty and condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered; but Lincoln alone suffered; Henry pardoned the rest. The feeling of the citizens was, however, strong, says Professor Brewer, that undue partiality had been shown to the strangers; and the part that Surrey and other noblemen took in suppressing the outbreak, caused great hatred of the nobility to be combined with that of the aliens. Five months after, another rebellion broke out, but the mayor and aldermen suppressed it, and apprehended three of the ringleaders. (*Brewer*, ii. ccxii.)

As my object is only to show the strong feeling against Aliens among our craftsmen in Henry's VIII.'s time, I do not pursue the subject further; but the Petition and Ordinance printed at the end of the Ballad, will show with what minuteness aliens' trading was regulated.

§ 14. *The Morality of the Clergy, Monks, and Friars.*—Professor Brewer in his *Monumenta Franciscana*, etc., warns people against the popular error of treating the Monks and Friars as Clergy. The characteristic of the Clergyman, the priest, was, that he was *ordained*, could celebrate Mass—or make his God, as it was called.—All other ministerial functions could be exercised by laymen, if licensed, whether under religious vows or not. The Monk was the cloisterer, under vows, but not necessarily ordained, and not, as a rule, going into the world; unless he had a cell, and served a church for his monastery. The Friar was under vows, and not ordained, but went abroad: often the self-denying Missionary, often the boon companion of all merry men and women, the man whose larks are generally put to the credit of the clergy, to whose body he did not belong. But we shall see that the Priests had sins of their own to account or. Our ballad complains of the Priests in lines 77–80:—

"The lay men say *that* prestes Iett;
alle ys fysshe *that* comyth to the nett;

thei spare none *that* they can gett,
whether she be mayd or wyfe."

This is no new complaint to the student of Early English Literature, to say nothing of the Latin and French literature of Early England.[1] Few books indeed that treat of the life of any part of his time, can that student take up, without finding the morals of the clergy complained of. Even if we go no farther back than the Homilies of about 1150–1200 A.D., lately edited for the Early English Text Society by Mr. Richard Morris, we find the preacher asserting that the priest leads this life even worse than the laity, "for the layman honoureth his spouse with clothes more than himself, and the priest not so his church, which is his spouse, but his day (maid servant), who is his whore, whom he adorneth with clothes more than himself. The church clothes are ragged and old, and his woman's shall be whole and new. His altar-cloth coarse and dirty, and her chemise small and white; and the alb soiled, and her smock white . . . and so the priest is much worse than the laity, for he honoureth his whore more than his spouse."

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[1] Cp. Giraldus Cambrensis, etc. Some French poems—there are plenty more—are printed. In the *Anecdota Literaria* of Mr. Thomas Wright, he says, on p. 63, "I have already stated that the class of *ribalds* included women of ill-fame. The following short but curious poem [*Des Putains et des Lecheors*,] insinuates that these latter owed their support chiefly to the Romish clergy, while the other sex lived upon the superfluities of the knights." Take an extract:—

"Mès putains . . .
Avec les clers cochent et lievent,
Et sor lor depanses enbrievent,
Li clerc lo font por ax salver;
Mès li chevaliers sont aver
As lecheors; si se traissent,
Quant del comandement Dieu issent
Mès ce ne font li clerc noiant;
Il sont large, et obediant
As putains; l'œvre le tesmoingne:
Et despendent lor patremoinne,
Et les biens au crucefié
En tel gent sont il emploié,
Des rentes, des dismes, lo bien."

Again, at p. 66, Mr. Wright says, "No class of society was more frequently a subject of satire in the poetry of the middle ages than the clergy. Their general character for morality was exceedingly low, and, as we have already seen in the foregoing poem, their most general vice appears to have been incontinency, which was a natural result of the Romish system of celibacy. The following poem (*Des Clers*) recommends an effective precaution against the corruption of the clergy in this respect." The precaution is, as in the *Song against the Friars*, p. 66 below, to geld them:—

"Ensi fust bien, ce m'est avis,
Que l'an les *senast* toz a lait,
Tot autresin comme l'on fait
Un porcel o une autre beste."

The curious "lutel sermoun" in Cotton Caligula, A. ix., following the Owl and Nightingale (T. Wright's ed. p. 80–4,) says,—

"Alle prestes wifes,
ich wot heo beoth for-lore;
Thes persones, ich wene,
ne beoth heo noȝt for-bore."

Wright, p. 82.

Before or about 1300 comes that wonderfully light and airy satire, considering its time, *The Land of Cokaygne*, hit off by a more-than-Chaucer hand.

'¶ Whan þe abbot him iseeþ
þat is monkes fram him fleeþ,
he takeþ maidin of þe route,
and turniþ vp har white toute,
and betiþ þe taburs wiþ is hond,
to make is monkes light to lond.
¶ Whan is monkes þat iseeþ,
to þe maid[e] dun he fleeþ,
and geþ þe wench[e] al abute,
and þakkeþ al hir white toute;
and siþ, aftir her swinke,
wendiþ meklich hom to drinke,
and geþ to har collacione,
a wel fair processione.
¶ Anoþer abbei is þerbi,
for soþ a gret fair nunnerie[1],
vp a riuer of swet milke,
whar is gret plente of silk,
whan þe somer-is dai is hote,
þe yunge nunnes takiþ a bote,
and doþ ham forþ in þat riuer,
boþe wiþ oris and wiþ stere.
whan hi beþ fur fram þe abbei,
hi makeþ ham nakid forto plei,
and lepiþ dune in-to þe brimme
and doþ ham sleilich forto swimme.
þe yung[e] monkes[2] þat hi seeþ,
hi doþ ham vp, and forþ hi fleeþ,
and commiþ to þe nunnes anon,
and eu[eri]ch monke him takeþ on,
and snelliche beriþ forþ har prei
to þe mochil grei abbei,
and techiþ þe nunnes an oreisun,
wiþ iambleue vp and dun.
¶ þe monke þat wol be stalun gode,
and kan set a-right is hode,
he schal hab, wiþ-oute danger,
twelue wiues euche yere,
al þrogh right, and noght þrogh grace,
for to do him silf solace;
and þilk monke þat clepiþ best,
and doþ his likam al to rest,
of him is hoppe, god hit wote,
to be sone uadir abbot.
¶ Whose wl com þat lond to,
ful grete penance he mot do;
Seue yere in swine-is dritte,
he mote wade, wol ye iwitte,
al anon vp to þe chynne;
so he schal þe lond [i-]winne."

Harl. MS. 913, leaf 5 back; *Early English Poems*, 1862, p. 159–61.

Robert of Brunne, in 1303 A.D., continues the complaint; but, living in a monastery, he does not scold the clergy, he is afraid of them—or says he is:—

"Of þys clerkys wyl y nought seye;
To greue hem y haue grete eye,"

and therefore denounces the women. If they *will* have a man, let them take one, but not a priest; for if a maid or wife disturb the holy life of the priest through lechery, against her shall call and cry, all that are in paradise, in purgatory, and on earth, and shall condemn her to be lost, and shall curse the time that she was born. Besides, her own conscience shall condemn her in that day when all shall rise before Jesus, that high Judge; for—

[1] *La grange est près des bateurs* (said of a Nunnerie thats neere vnto a Fryerie;) the Barne stands neere the Threshers. Cotgrave, under *Bateur*.
[2] MS. "monkeþ."

"shame hyt ys aywhare
To be kalled a prestes mare."

He tells a Tale accordingly of the concubine of an amorous and lecherous priest, whose corpse was carried off by fiends with loathly brows, although her sons, who were priests, had tied her body to the bier. But still, Robert of Brunne declares that—

"Of prestes wyues men here euere telle,"

and he further says of men and clerics, that no scribe—though he were wiser than Solomon, or better-languaged than Mercyon, and lived a thousand years,—

"Ne my*gh*t telle þe sorow and were [*glossed* dysese],
Ne þe peyne, þat þe preste shal drye [*glossed* suffre]
þat hauntеþ þat synne of lecchery."
Handlyng Synne, p. 247–252.

The life-like *Poem on the Evil Times of Edward II.*—of which Mr. Thomas Wright printed a fragment from the Auchinleck MS. in his *Political Songs* for the Camden Society in 1839, and of which Mr. Hardwick printed (not very carefully) a complete copy for the Percy Society, from a MS. in Peterhouse Library, Cambridge, in 1849,—says of the Archdeacon,—

"He wole take mede of that on and that other,
And late the parsoun have a wyf, and the prest another,
at wille;
Coveytise shal stoppen here mouth, and maken hem al stille
And of the parson on getting a fresh living,
And whan this newe parsoun is institut in his churche . . . .
And whan he hath i-gardered markes and poundes,
He priketh out of toune wid haukes and wid houndes
Into a straunge contré, and halt a wenche in cracche;
And wel is hire that first may swich a parsoun kacche
in londe:"

which last line should be compared with the like sentiment in Simon Fish's *Supplicacyon for the Beggers*, p. 74 below.

Still, the poem says fairly:—

"There beth so manye prestes, hii ne muwe noht alle be gode.
And natheles thise gode men fallen oft in fame
For thise wantoune prestes that pleien here nice game
bi nihte . . . .
At even he set upon a koife, and kembeth the croket,
Adihteth him a gay wenche of the newe jet,
sanz doute;
And there hii clateren cumpelin whan the candel is oute."
Political Songs, p. 326–9.

The rest of the bits on the monks, etc., who, when they come to meat, make their bellies tight off the best, is very good.

About 1350:—If we may take this to be the date of the fourteenth century MS. of Hampole's Pricke of Conscience, Ashmole

60, to which Mr. Black draws attention in his Catalogue of the Ashmole MSS. col. 105, we have an insertion of "a remarkable invective against bad clergymen," which we may as well put into type here, though it does not directly bear on our subject except in lines 8–12 and 38 :—

Ashmole MS. 60, leaf 97.

[Stimulus consciencie a Ric*ardo*, Heremita de Hampole, (ob. 1349. v. Jo. Baleu*m*, fol. 431).]

*G*if lorel lordis þis vnderstode
And þise bischopis þat ku*n*nen litil goode,
And þise vnku*n*nynge abbotis and p*ri*ouris,
And many othere rekles doctours,
And al-so þise falce Erchedekéne þ*a*t aboute þe cu*n*tre wake
And maynteynen falce preestis in euery halke,
And also officialis and denes in her chapitre *and* constory,
That meyntenen falce preestis in her lecchery:
Wherfore þise chief herdis of holichirche
Shulden take hede how synfully þei wirche,
And how þat her sugetis vnder hem taken mede
Of falce p*ar*dones and preestis for her mysdede;
And for a litil moneye þei *g*euen hem leeue
In lordis courtis þanne to bileue,
And bicomen þere lordis stywardis, [leaf 97 back.]
And so leeuen þe office of goode herdis;
And so þe charge þat þei taken of her bischop,
Thanne þei delyueren it vnto a lewid Iop[1]
That ne can neiþer reule his flok ne hymsilf wel,
And so he bryngeþ his folde in gret p*er*el,
And so he leeueþ his sheep boþ skabbid *and* roynous,
And defoulid wiþ synne ful venymous,
And lateþ þe wolf come to the folde boþe ny*gh*t *and* day,
To distroi*gh*e þe sheep, and bere hem away;
And so he leseþ boþe hym and his maister,
And þe folde wiþ þe sheep in tyme com*m*ynge aftir,
And so is þe bischop and his curat*our* boþe disceyued;
Therfore þei shal alle þree wiþ þe fend in helle be resceyued;
And þus þei ben lorne al-so sket,
Bischop, p*er*sonne, preest, and sheep;
And so þei wenden alle foure to helle,
Eueremore þer-Inne for to dwelle
For her falce kepyng and gouernaile,
That þei laten so þe fend her flockis assaile.
And al þis comeþ thurgh þise falce p*er*sounnes,
That s*er*uen lordis in dyuerce tounnes,
And laten her chirche and her charge stonde
In a ful leccherous foolis honde,
And hymsilf serue lordis in kechene *and* in halle,
And bicomen clerkis of a-counte, and Mareschalle.
And *g*if þei bythou*gh*ten hem wel in alle þyng,
They nolden for a thowsand wynter to be kyng

[1] ? MS. may be *rop*. The equivalent in l. 38, is a "leccherous fool." Ioppe or folte, *Joppus*, *joppa*. Prompt. Parv. In N. Britain, a big-headed, dull, lazy-looking fellow is called a Jupsie. (See Jamieson.) Coles gives "*Jobelin*, a sot or fool." (Way in *Pr. Parv.*)

And to be lord ouer see, woode, and land,
And alle thyng in þis werld bowe to his hand,
And haue þere peyne, þat is for þat hym ordeyned,
Whanne he comeþ þere alle thynge shal be deined[1].
Therfore, ne dispiseþ nought þe heuenes kyng,
Neiþer his lawis, ne his biddyng,
But fondiþ in alle thynge to wirke his wille,
And leteþ youre owen be, and his fulfille!
Qui sine timore est, non potest iustificari iudiciu*m*,
sapiencie / timor d*omi*ni qui insipiens est, in culpa
sapiens, erit in pena. /

A.D. 1362. William of Malvern, or Longland, or whoever the author of the Visions of Piers Ploughman was, says of Mede (or Money),—

"She blessith thise bisshopes, Theigh they be lewed;
Provendreth persones, And preestes maynteneth,
To have lemmans and lotebies Alle hire lif daies,
And bryngeth forth barnes Ayein forbode lawes."

Again, Sloth gives this account of himself:—

"I have be preest and parson Passynge thritty wynter,
And yet kan I neyther solne ne synge, Ne saintes lyves rede;
But I kan fynden in a feld Or in a furlang, an hare,
Bettre than in *Beatus vir* Or in *Beati omnes*
Construe oon clause wel, And kenne it to my parisshens . . .
I visited nevere feble men, Ne fettred folk in puttes;
I have levere here an harlotrye, Or a somer game of sowters,
Or lesynge to laughen at, And bi-lye my neghebores,
Than al that evere Marc made, Mathew, Johan, and Lucas.
And vigilies and fastyng-dayes, Alle thise late I passe;
And ligge a-bedde in Lenten, *And my lemman in myne armes.*"
(Ed. Wright, i. 101–2.)

But still, p. 26, l. 340, 350:—

"Manye chapeleyns are chaste, ac charité is away
Manye curatours kepen hem clene of hire bodies;
Thei ben acombred with coveitise."

A.D. 1372. The Commons pray the Parliament of XLVI Edw. III., that the Prelates and Ordinaries of Holy Church may no longer be allowed to take money payments from the Clergy and others for leave to keep concubines, and other offences for which money ought not to be taken.

41. Item prie la Commune, q*ue* comme autre foithz au Parlement tenuz a Wyncest*re*, supplie y fuist par la Commune, de remedie de ce q*ue* les Prelatz & Ordinares de Seint Esglise pristrent sommes pecuniers de Gentz de Seint Esglise, & autres, pur redemption de lour Pecche de jour en jour, & an en an, de ce q*ue* ils tiendrent overtement lours Concubines; & pur autres Pecches & Offenses a eux surmys, dount peyne pecunier ne serroit pris de droit: Quele chose est cause, meintenance, & norisement, de lour Pecche, en overte desclandre, & mal ensaumple de tut la Commune; quele chose issint continue nient duement puny, est desesploit au Roi & a tout le Roialme. Qe pleise a n*ostr*e S*eigneu*r le Roi ent ordeiner, q*ue* touz tiels redemptions soient de tut

[1] ? = "demed," judged.

oustiez; Et q*ue* si nul viegne encontre ceste Ordeinance, q*ue* le p*re*nour encourge la somme del double issint pris devers la Roi, & cely q*ue* le paie eit mesme la peyne. Et q*ue* Justic*es* d'Assises & de la Pees, a totez les foithz q'il bosoigne, eient poiar d'oier & terminer a Suite de Roi & de partie touchantz les choses suisditiz. Et soit q*uel*conq*ue* persone resceu a suire pur le Roi, & eit la moite de ce q*ue* serra recovery pur son travail.—*Rolls of Parliament*, II, 313–4.

Ab. 1370–80. The Treatise *Why Poor Priests have no Benefices*, attributed to Wycliffe, says:—

"And when some lords would present [to a benefice] a good man, and able for the love of God and Christian souls, then some ladies be means to have a dancer, a tripper on tapis, or hunter, or hawker, or a wild player of summer's games, for flattering and gifts going betwixt; and if it be for dancing in bed, so much the worse."

Tracts and Treatises of John de Wycliffe, D.D., ed. Vaughan, 1845, p. 288.

"Prelates . . . their cursed extortion is called 'the great alms of Antichrist.' But hereby they make large kitchens, hold fat horse and hounds, and hawks, and strumpets gaily arrayed, and suffer poor men to starve for mischief, and yet suffer and constrain them to go the broad way to hell."

Ib. p. 240; see also p. 14, etc.

"but of sin against chastity, men say that many prelates are full thereof, and of the most cursed species thereof, such as it would be a shame to write; and so curates take example from them, and subjects take example from curates, both wedded men and single."

Wycliffe, *De Conversatione Ecclesiasticorum* or *Of Prelates.* in Vaughan's *Tracts and Treatises*, p. 17.

The Praier and Complaynte of the Ploweman vnto Christe: written not long after the yere of our Lord, a thousande and thre hundred [say, near 1400], first printed in 1531, and reprinted in the *Harleian Miscellany*, vol. i. p. 153, ed. 1808, says, at p. 165:—

"Leue Lorde, *y*if good men forsaken the companye of woman, and nedes the moten haue the governayle of man, then moten they ben ycoupled with schrewes; and therfore thy spoushode, that thou madest in clenesse from synne, it ys now ychaunged in to lykynge of the flesch; and, Lorde, this ys a gret myschefe vnto thy people. And *y*ounge prestes and men of religion, for defaute of wives, maken many wymen horen, and drawen, thorow her yuel ensample, many other men to synne; and the ese that they lyuen in, and their welfare, ys a gret cause of this myschefe: And, Lorde, me thinketh that these ben quaynte orders of religion, and none of thy secte, that wolen taken horen, whilke God forfendes, and forsaken wyues, that God commaundes, and gyuen her selfe to ydelnes, that ys the moder of al nou*gh*tines."

And again at the end of the tract:—

"Lorde . . . they seggen that her order ys to holy for thy mariage And, Lorde, he that calleth hymselfe thy viker vp on erth, will not suffren prestes to taken hem wyues, for that it ys a*g*eins his law; but, Lorde, he will dispensen with hem to kepen horen for a certen sum of mon[ey]. And, Lorde, all horedome ys forfended in thy law. And, Lorde, thou never forfendest prestes her wiues, ner thy apostles nether. And well I wote, in our londe prestes hadden wiues vntil Anselmus dayes, in the yere of oure Lorde God aleuen hundert and twenty and nyne, as Huntindon writes. And, Lorde, this makes puple, for the moste parte, leuen that letcherye ys no synne."

Harl. Misc. ed. 1808, vol. i. p. 182.

A.D. 1382. The *Song against the Friars*, probably of this date, in Mr. Thomas Wright's *Political Poems and Songs*, Rolls Series, i. 264–6, says of the friars:—

Thai dele with purses, pynnes, and knyves,
With gyrdles, gloves, for wenches and wyves;
Bot ever bacward the husband thryves,
Ther thai are haunted tille.
For when the gode man is fro hame,
And the frere comes to our dame,
He spares nauther for synne ne shame,
That he ne dos his wille . . .

Iche man that here shal lede his life,
That has a faire doghter or a wyfe,
Be war that no frer ham shryfe,
Nauther loude ne stille.
Thof women seme of hert ful stable,
With faire byhest and with fable
Thai can make thair hertes chaungeable,
And thair likynyes fulfille.
Be war ay with the lymitour,
and with his felawe bathe!
And thai make maystries in thi bour,
it shal turn the to scathe.

Were I a man that house helde,
If any woman with me dwelde,
Ther is no frer, bot he were gelde,
Shuld com within my wones.
For, may he til a woman wynne
In priveyté, he will not blynne
Er he a childe put hir withinne,
And perchaunce two at ones.
Thof he loure under his hode
with semblaunt quaynte and mylde,
If thou him trust, or dos him gode,
by God, thou ert bygyld.

A.D. 1394. The author of *Pierce the Ploughmans Crede* makes the Minorite friar say of the Carmelites (p. 2–4, ed. Skeat):—

"Þei ben but jugulers . and iapers, of kynde,
Lorels and Lechures . & lemma*n*s holden . . . .
And þat wicked folke . wymmen bi-traieþ,
And bigileþ hem of her good . wiþ glauerynge wordes,
And þer*with* holden her hous . in harlotes werkes . . .
Þei lyuen more in lecherie . and lieth in her tales
Þan suen any god liife; but lurken in her selles,
And wynnen werldliche god . & wasten it in synne
Wiþ sterne staues and stronge . þey ouer lond strakeþ
Þider as her lemmanes liggeþ . and lurkeþ in townes,
(Grey grete-hedede quenes . wiþ gold by þe ei*gh*en),
And seyn, þ*a*t here sustren þei ben, þ*a*t soiourneþ aboute."

Then the Minorite says of the Austin Friar, "He holdeþ his ordynaunce wiþe hores and þeues." And Piers says of them all:—

"Whereto beggen þise men . and ben nou*gh*t so feble? . . .
But for a lustfull lijf . in lustes to dwellen? . . . . (*ib.* p. 23)
God wold her wonynge . were in wildernesse,
And fals freres forboden . þe fayre ladis chaumbres!" (*ib.* p. 29)

Ab. 1393–4.—*The Complaint of the Ploughman* in *Wright's Polit. Poems*, Rolls Series, i. 304, says of the Priests, at p. 312–313:—

Some liveth not in lecherie [concubinage],
  But haunt wenches, widowes, and wives,
And punisheth the poore for putree:[1]
  Them selfe it useth all their lives . . .
By yere eche priest shal pay his fee
  To encrease his lemmans call;
Such herdes shul wel ivel thee,
  And al such false shul foule fall.
. . . . . .
Some of them [Canons Secular] been hard nigges; [misers]
  And some of hem been proude and gaie;
Some spende her goodes upon gigges [prostitutes],
  And finden hem of great araie.
  Alas! what thinke these men to saie,
That thus dispenden Goddes good?
  At the dreadfull domesdaie,
Soche wreckes shull be worse than wood.

Some her churches never ne sie,
  Ne never o pennie thider ne send . . .
And usen horedome and harlottrie,
  Covetise, pompe, and pride,
Slothe, wrath, and eke envie,
  And sewen sinne by every side. (*ib.* p. 326–7.)
Mennes wives they wollen hold;
  And though that they [men] been right sorye,
To speake they shull not be so bold,
  For sompning to the consistorye;
And make hem saie, mouth I lie,
  Though they it sawe with her iye,
His lemmen holden openly,
  No man so hardy to aske why. (*ib.* p. 330.)
Though a priest lye with his lemman all night,
  And tellen his felowe, and he him;
He goth to masse anon right,
  And saieth he singeth out of sinne,
  His birde abideth him at his inne,
And dighteth his diner the meane while
  He singeth his masse; for he would winne;
And so he weneth God begile. (*ib.* p. 333.)

Mr. Wright notices, at p. lxxxiv of the volume I have been quoting from, that in Gower's Latin Poem "On the Vices in the different Orders of Society," the poet says, "Among the monks and the secular clergy there was nothing but darkness. Their only lamps were games, idleness, prostitutes and taverns."[2]

Chaucer, I have been assured, never hints at the immorality of the Clergy, though he does speak strongly of that of

[1] Fr. *Puterie*: f. Whoring, whoredome, whore-hunting, wenching. *Cotgrave.*

[2] De luce ordinis professi.
Aut si vis gressus claros, non ordo professus
Hos tibi præstabit, quos cautius umbra fugabit.
Ordine claustrali manifestus in speciali,

the Pardoner; those Tales in which he speaks of immoral monks, friars, and priests, are borrowed from foreign literatures, and cannot be taken to apply to the English clergy. This view was new to me. It is ingenious; but if I can read Chaucer, it isn't true. Take only two extracts, and judge whether Chaucer had come across any clerical fowl-treaders and free-bulls in his life:—

"Sire Nonnes Preest, our hoste sayd anon,
Yblessed be thy breche, and every ston!
This was a mery tale of Chaunteclere.
But by my trouthe, *if thou were seculere*,
Thou woldest ben a tredefoule a-right:
For if thou have corage as thou hast might,
Thee werè nede of hennes, as I wene,
Ye, mo than seven timès seventene.
Se, whichè braunès hath this gentil preest,
So gret a necke, and swiche a largè breest!
He loketh as a sparhawk with his eyen;
Him nedeth not his colour for to dien
With Brasil, ne with grain of Portingale."
Tyrwhitt, iii. 64, lines 15453–65.

"... sothely, the vengeance of avouterye is awardid to the peyne of helle, but if he be destourbed by penitence. Yit ben ther mo spices of this cursed synne, as whan that oon of hem is religious, or ellis bothe, or for folk that ben entred into ordre, as sub-dekin, or dekin, or prest, or hospitalers; and ever the higher that he be in ordre, the gretter is the synne. The thinges that gretly aggreggith her synne, is the brekyng of here avow of chastité, whan thay resceyved the ordre; and fortherover is soth, that holy ordre is chefe of alle the tresor of God, and is a special signe and mark of chastité, to schewe that thay ben joyned to chastité, which that is the moste precious lif that is. And eek these ordred folk ben specially tytled to God, and of the special meyné of God; of whiche whan thay don dedly synne, thay ben the special traytours of God and of his poeple, for thay lyven of the poeple to praye for the poeple; and whil thay ben suche traytours, here prayer avayleth not to the poeple. Prestis ben aungels, as by the dignité of here misterie; but for soth seint Poul saith, that Sathanas transformeth him in an aungel of light. Sothely, the prest that hauntith dedly synne, he may be likened to the aungel of derknes, transformed into the aungel of light; and he semeth aungel of light, but for sothe he is aungil of derknes. Suche prestes ben the sones of Helie, as schewith in the book of Kinges, that thay were the sones of Belial, that is, the devel. Belial is to say, withoute juge, *and so faren thay; thay thynke hem fre, and han no juge, no more than hath a fre bole, that takith which cow that him liketh in the toun. So faren thay by wommen; for right as a fre bole is y-nough for al a toun, right so is a wikked prest corrupcion y-nough for al a parisch, or for al a contray.* These prestes, as saith the book, ne conne not ministere the mistery of presthode to the poeple, ne God ne knowe thay not; thay holde hem nought apayed, as saith the book, of soden fleissh that was to hem offred, but thay tooke by force the fleissch that is raw. Certes, so these schrewes holde hem not appayed with rosted fleissh and sode fleissh, with whiche the poeple feeden hem in gret reverence, but *thay wil have raw fleisch of folkes wyves and*

Lux ibi pallescit, quam mens magis invida nescit;
Lux et mortalis tenebrescit presbyteralis.
Clara dies transit, nec eis lucerna remansit;
Sunt ibi lucernæ *jocus*, *otia*, *scorta*, *tabernæ*,
Quorum velamen vitiis fert sæpe juvamen.

here doughtres. And certes, these wommen that consenten to here harlotrie, don gret wrong to Crist and to holy chirche, and to alle halwes, and to alle soules, for thay bireven alle these hem that schulde worschipe Crist and holy chirche and praye for cristen soules. *And therfor han suche prestis, and here lemmans eeke that consenten to here leccherie, the malisoun of al the court cristian,* til thay come to amendement."

The Persones Tale, T. Wright's 2-col. ed., p. 206.

Now of course it is possible to hold that by the first passage Chaucer meant that the priest was virgin-pure; and that in the second he was only translating an older French or Latin treatise, without the most distant notion that any one would suspect him of aiming at the evils of his own time,—any more than one would suppose the noble words on behalf of churls and the poor in *The Persones Tale* to be meant for his England, if these words are not his own only.—But to any such interpreter, I humbly submit that he doesn't know much of Chaucer.

On the question of the parson's children,—how begotten I cannot say,—I must add Chaucer's bit in *The Reves Tale*,—not translated from the French original, be it observed:—

A wyf he hadde, come of noble kyn;
The persoun of the town hir fader was,
With hire he gat ful many a panne of bras.

l. 3940-2.

And of the parson's granddaughter:

The persoun of the toun, for sche was feir,
In purpos was to maken hir his heir,
Bothe of his castel and his messuage,
And straunge made it of hir mariage,
His purpos was [for] to bystow hir hye
Into som worthy blood of ancestrye;
For holy chirche good moot be despendid
On holy chirche blood that is descendid.
Therfore he wolde his joly blood honoure,
Though that he schulde holy chirche devoure.

l. 3975–84, ed. Wright.

A.D. 1401. Jack Upland's Rejoinder to the Reply of Friar Daw Topias to Jacke Upland, printed in Mr. T. Wright's *Political Poems* for the Master of the Rolls, vol. ii. p. 39, etc., says:—

ffor oft *ye* leden awaye mennes wifes (p. 44) . . .
*y*our freres ben taken alle day with wymmen and wifes;
bot of *y*our privey sodomye spake I not *y*ette. (p. 49)
And as to chastité of body, *ye* breken it ful oft. (p. 62)
¶ Daw, thou herdist me not grucche that *ye* went two togedir;
ffor otherwhile *ye* gon three, a womman is that oon." (p. 101.)

Compare the woodcut in Plate VI at the end of *The Babees Book*, etc., where at least one woman is present at a meal of tonsured men, one of whom is pulling her about.

Ab. 1450. In the same volume of Mr. Wright's, at p. 249–50, is a short poem of Henry VI's time, *Against the Friars*, which says,

Lat a freer of som ordur
tecum pernoctare,
Odur thi wyff or thi doughtour
hic vult violare ;
Or thi sun he weyl prefur,
sicut furtam fortis.
God gyffe syche a freer peyne
in inferni portis !

1485–6 A.D. 1 Henry VII. Mr. Froude states in a note to his History, i. 85, that 'Among the miscellaneous publications of the [Old] Record Commission is a complaint presented by the gentlemen and the farmers of Carnarvonshire accusing the clergy of systematic seduction of their wives and daughters.' Mr. Froude has unfortunately no more definite reference to this document, and Mr. Wood's searches, and my enquiries for it at the Rolls, have not been successful in discovering it.

1489. In this year, says Mr. Froude, in his able and interesting Essay on "The Dissolution of the Monasteries," in *Fraser's Magazine*, 1857, and *Short Studies on Great Subjects*, p. 272, "Pope Innocent the Eighth—moved with the enormous stories which reached his ear of the corruption of the houses of religion in England—granted a commission to the Archbishop of Canterbury to make enquiries whether these stories were true, and to proceed to correct and reform as might seem good to him . . . On the receipt of the Papal Commission, Cardinal Morton, among other letters, wrote the following," from which I take a few extracts, to William, Abbot of the monastery of St. Alban's :—

"The pious vows of the founders are defrauded of their just intent, the ancient rule of your order is deserted; and not a few of your fellow-monks and brethren, as we most deeply grieve to learn, giving themselves over to a reprobate mind, laying aside the fear of God, do lead only a life of lasciviousness,—nay, as is horrible to relate, be not afraid to defile the holy places, even the very churches of God, by infamous intercourse with nuns," etc. etc.

"You yourself, moreover, among other grave enormities and abominable crimes whereof you are guilty, and for which you are noted and diffamed, have, in the first place, admitted a certain married woman named Elena Germyn, who has separated herself without just cause from her husband, and for some time past has lived in adultery with another man, to be a nun or sister in the house or Priory of Bray, lying, as you pretend, within your jurisdiction. You have next appointed the same woman to be prioress of the said house, notwithstanding that her said husband was living at the time, and is still alive. And finally, Father Thomas Sudbury, one of your brother-monks, publicly, notoriously, and without interference or punishment from you, has associated, and still associates, with this woman, as an adulterer with his harlot.

"Moreover, divers other of your brethren and fellow-monks have resorted and do resort, continually to her and other women at the same place, as to a public brothel or receiving-house, and have received no correction therefor. At the nunnery of Sapwell . . . as well as at Bray, you depose those who are good and religious; you promote to the highest dignities the worthless and the vicious . . . under the name of guardians . . . in fact they are no guardians, but thieves and notorious villains . . .

"... even within the monastery of the glorious proto-martyr Alban himself ... you have made away with the jewels; the copses, woods ... and other forest trees, to the value of 8000 marks and more, you have made to be cut down ... sold and alienated. The brethren of the abbey, some of whom, as is reported, are given over to all the evil things of the world, neglect the service of God altogether. They live with harlots and mistresses publicly and continuously, within the precincts of the monastery, and without ..."

Mr. Froude adds, "We need not transcribe further this overwhelming document. It pursues its way through mire and filth to its most lame and impotent conclusion. After all this, the abbot was not deposed; he was invited merely to reconsider his doings, and, if possible, amend them. Such was Church discipline, even under an extraordinary commission from Rome. But the most incorrigible Anglican will scarcely question the truth of a picture drawn by such a hand; and it must be added that this one unexceptionable indictment lends at once assured credibility to the reports which were presented later on the general visitation. There is no longer room for the presumptive objection that charges so revolting could not be true."

Again, when speaking of the Letters from some of which extracts are made below, Mr. Froude says, "The official letters which reveal the condition into which the monastic establishments had degenerated, are chiefly in the Cotton Library, and a large number of them have been published by the Camden Society. Besides these, however, there are in the Rolls House many other documents which confirm and complete the statements of the writers of these letters. There is a part of what seems to have been a digest of the 'Black Book'—an epitome of iniquities, under the title of the *Compendium Compertorum*. There are also reports from private persons, private entreaties for enquiry, depositions of monks in official examinations, and other similar papers, which, in many instances, are too offensive to be produced, and may rest in obscurity, unless contentious persons compel us to bring them forward." Mr. Froude then quotes two instances: one of disorder; one of the steady adherence of Robert Hobbes, Abbot of Woburn, to his old faith, through all trials and troubles whatever. From the former instance, that of Wigmore Abbey in Herefordshire, I take a charge or two (p. 278–280) from the Articles to be objected against John Smart, the Abbot of the Monastery of Wigmore, before Thomas Cromwell:—

"8. Item, that he the said abbot hath lived viciously, and kept to concubines divers and many women, that is openly known.

"9. Item, that the said abbot doth yet continue his vicious living, as it is known, openly.

"10. Item, that the said abbot hath spent and wasted much of the goods of the said monastery upon the aforesaid women.

"26. Item, the said abbot, in times past, hath had a great devotion to ride to Llangarvan in Wales, upon Lammas-day, to receive pardon there; and on the even he would visit one Mary Hawle, an old acquaintance of his, at the

Welsh Poole, and on the morrow ride to the foresaid Llangarvan, to be confessed and absolved, and the same night return to company with the said Mary Hawle . . . and Kateryn, the said Mary Hawle her first daughter, whom the said abbot long hath kept to concubine, and had children by her, that he lately married at Ludlow. And [there be] others that have been taken out of his chamber, & put in the stocks within the said abbey, and others that have complained upon him to the king's Council of the Marches of Wales: and the woman that dashed out his teeth, whom he would have had by violence, I will not name now, nor other men's wives, lest it would offend your good lordship to read or hear the same."

Mr. Froude refers to a list of priests, etc., in the Diocese of Hereford, allowed to live in Adultery and Fornication for money; and I print it here:—

[MS. Tanner, leaf 96, back.]

The Names of such Persons as be permitted to live in Adultery and Fornication for Money:—

The Vicar of Lidbury
The Vicar of Brasmyll
The Vicar of Stow
The Vicar of Clonne
The Parson of Wentnor
The Parson of Rusbury
The Person of Ploden
The Dean of Pountsbury
The Parson of Stratton
Sr Mathew of Mongomery
Sr D D of Lauvauge
Sr John Braghe
Sr Morris of Clone
Sr Adam of Clone
Sr Richd Apprice
Sr Pearce of Norbury
Sr Griffon Apegmond[1]
Sr John Orbeley
Sr John of Mynton
Sr John Raynoldes
Sr Morris of Knighton Preest
Hugh Davis
Cadwallater ap Gemtt
Edwd ap Merick
with many others within the Diocess of Hereford

This list is followed by a petition for letters of dismission for some persons unknown, commencing thus: "Wherefore, humbly beseeching your most hon*oura*ble good Lords*hi*p that your poor Orators may have y*our* hon*oura*ble Letters of Dismission, or else they dare not go into the Country." (G. Waring.)

Beneath is a petition from the Abbot of Halles for the removal of a shrine "where that famed Relict called the Blood was." (G. Waring.)

The last extract from Mr. Froude brings even to a later date than our Ballad, what I had intended only as a sketch of popular opinion on the morals of the clergy, monks,[2] and friars, up to the date of the Ballad, and as preparatory to a few extracts showing what was the state of those morals—or what was said to be their state—about and soon after the time of *Now a Dayes*. Was the Ballad right on this point or not?

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[1] The *p* in this name is doubtful, it may be an imperfect *f*.—G. W.

[2] There is an interesting Inventory of the property, in 1520, of Dan Thomas Golwynne, monk, professed of the house of London, in Mr. Brewer's *Calendar*, iii. 204. He has 3 habits, 2 new shirts and 1 old, 'a wide slop furred to put over all my gear, of the gift of my lady Conway, &c; a little Legend Aurey, the Shepherd's Calendar, & Æsop's Fables, all in print, with MS. and printed books of Devotion: lastly, 'a double still, to make with *aqua vitæ*.'

Take these lines in Roy's Satire against Wolsey, in the Lamentation over the Mass,—allow for exaggeration:—

Drawe neare, ye prestes in youre longe gownes,
With all the fryres of the beggerly ordres,
Com hither, monkes with brode shaven crownes,
And all soche as are shoren above the ears;
Helpe me to lament with dolourous teares,
Seynge that "gone is the masse!
Nowe deceased, alas! alas!" . . .
. . . . . .
Departed is now the masse, and clean gone,
The chefe vpholder of oure liberte,
Wherby our whores and harlotes euerychone
Were mayntayned in ryche felicite.
Full sore we shall repent this daye to se,
Seynge that "gone is the masse!
Nowe deceased, alas! alas!"
Our baudes and brotheles have lost their finding,
Oure bastardes compelled to go astraye;
Oure wynninge mill hath lost her gryndinge,
Which we supposed never to decaye.
Alas! therfore what shall we do or saye?
Seynge that "gone is the masse!
Nowe deceased, alas! alas!" (*reprint*, p. 14-15.)
. . . . . .
We devowred the sustenaunce of the poore,
Wastynge the goodes of people temporall,
Wherwith we norysshed many a whore,
To satisfye oure pleasure beastiall.
And yett we were counted spretuall,
Under faveoure of the masse,
Nowe deceased, alas! alas! (*reprint*, p. 17.)

Again, of Wolsey, "this butcherly sloutche," to whom ladies must "croutche as it were vnto an Emproure:"—

JEF. . . . . he hath no wyfe,
But whoares that be his lovers. . . .
WAT. Hath he children by his whoares also?
JEF. Ye! and that full prowdly they go:
Namly one whom I do knowe,
Which hath of the churches goodes clerly
More than two thousand pownde yerly,
And yett is not content, I trowe:
His name is master Winter.

Arber p. 59.

Wolsey had also an illegitimate daughter, who was Abbess of Salisbury. (*Brewer.*)

Next take the evidence of the celebrated tract, 'A Supplicacyon for the Beggers,' written before 1525, and answered by Sir Thomas More in his 'A Supplicatyon of Soulys.' The reader should recollect that, in the modern reprint of 1845, this tract is called "a libel to serve the purposes of a party;" and he should see Sir T. More's answer to it, especially his description of what would follow from the adoption of the Beggar's remedies, in leaf xxii of the 'Supplicatyon of Soulys.' Also he should see Tyndale's Answer to More.

Ab. 1524. A Supplycacyon for the Beggers.

"Ye, and what do they more? Truely nothing but applie theym silues, by all the sleyghtes they may, to haue to do with euery mannes wife, euery mannes doughter, and euery mannes mayde, that cukkoldrie and baudrie shulde reigne ouer all emong your subiectes, that noman shulde knowe his owne childe, that theyre bastardes might enherite the possessions of euery man, to put the right begotten children clere beside theire inheritaunce, yn subuersion of all estates and godly ordre. These be they that by theire absteyning from mariage do let the generation of the people, wherby all the realme at length, if it shulde be continued, shall be made desert and inhabitable. ¶ These be they that haue made an hundreth thousand ydell hores yn your realme, whiche wolde haue gotten theyre lyuing honestly, yn the swete of theyre faces, had not theyre superfluous rychesse illected theyme to vnclene lust and ydelnesse. These be they that corrupt the hole generation of mankind yn your realme, that catche the pokkes of one woman, and bere theym to an other; that be brent wyth one woman, and bere it to an other; that catche the lepry of one woman, and bere it to an other, ye, some one of theym shall bost emong his felawes that he hath medled with an hundreth wymen. These be they that when they haue ones drawen mennes wiues to suche incontinency, spende awey theire husbondes goodes, make the wimen to runne awey from theire husbondes, ye, rynne awey them silues both with wif and goodes, bring both man, wife, and children, to ydelnesse, theft, and beggeri. Ye, who is abill to nombre the greate and brode botomles occean see, full of euilles, that this mischeuous and sinful generacion may lawfully bring vppon vs vnponisshed. where is youre swerde, power, crowne, and dignite, become, that shuld punisshe (by punisshement of deth euen as other men are punisshed) the felonies, rapes, murdres, and treasons, committed by this sinfull generacion? where is theire obedience become, that shulde be vnder your hyghe power yn this mater? ys not all togither translated and exempt from your grace vnto theim? Yes truely . whate an infinite nombre of people might haue ben encreased, to haue peopled the realme, if these sort of folke had ben maried like other men. whate breche of matrimonie is there brought yn by theim? suche truely as was neuer, sins the worlde began, emong the hole multitude of the hethen.

¶ Who is she that wil set her hondes to worke, to get .iij. d. a day, and may haue at lest .xx. d. a day to slepe an houre with a frere, a monke, or a prest? what is he that wolde laboure for a grote a day, and may haue at lest .xij. d. a day to be baude to a prest, a monke, or a frere? whate a sorte are there of theime that mari prestes souereigne ladies, but to cloke the prestes yncontinency, and that they may haue a liuing of the prest theime silues for theire laboure? Howe many thousandes doth suche lubricite bring to beggery, theft, and idelnesse, which shuld haue kept theire good name, and haue set theim silues to worke, had not ben this excesse treasure of the spiritualtie?? whate honest man dare take any man or woman yn his seruice that hath ben at suche a scole with a spiritual man?"

Again, at the end of the tract:—

"wherfore, if your grace will bilde a sure hospitall that neuer shall faile to releue vs, all your poore bedemen, so take from theim [the monks and friars] all these thynges. Set these sturdy lobies a brode in the world to get theim wiues of theire owne, to get their liuing with their laboure in the swete of theire faces, according to the commaundement of god (Gene. iij.) to gyue other idell people by theire example occasion to go to laboure. Tye these holy idell theues to the cartes, to be whipped naked about euery market towne til they will fall to laboure, that they, by theyre importunate begging, take not awey the almesse that the good christen people wolde giue vnto vs sore impotent miserable people, your bedemen."

Ab. 1525. Henry VIII. to Anne Boleyn, *Harl. Misc.* i. 197, ed. 1808:—

"As touching the matter of Wylton, my Lord Cardinal hath had the nunys before him, and examined them, master Bell being present, which hath certified me that for a truth, that she hath confessed her self (which we would have had abbesse) to have had two children by two sundry priests; and furder, since hath been keeped by a servant of the Lord Broke that was, and that not long ago."

1527.—*George Joyce's Answer to Johan Ashwell* (sign. C. i. back). "They thought thorow the forbinding[1] of matrimony theyr prestes, to haue *in*stitute in their churche a more pure and cleaner state of perfectio*n* then euer God ordened; but to what a chaste ende theyr holy purpose[2] is come, euery man may se, for *all the worlde speke euel and shame of them*, & euery man abhorre them for theyr pryde and vnclene lyuyng."

1533–4. Next we may take a short extract from 'The Image of Ipocrysy,' printed further on in this volume, because it mentions Sir T. More's 'Supplicatyon.' But the reader should take care to read the whole poem.

Ye kepe yo*ur* holy rules . . .
. . . . . .
And nowe and then a fitt,
After the Rule of Bennett,
W*i*th dythinunia vennett,
A gaye a vott gennett,
With gill or w*i*th Jennyt,
Wyth Cycely or Sare:
Yf *th*ei Come wher they are,
*Th*ei lay one and not Spare,
And never look behind them,
Wher-soever they ffynd them.
For whan that *th*ei be hett,
And asmodeus grett,
They take, as *th*ei can gett,
All fyshe that Comes to Nett;
For lust fynd*es* no lett
Tyll hys poyson be spett,
Be she fyne or feat,
Be she white or Iett,
Long or short sett;
Do she Smyle or Skowle,
Be she ffayr or fowle,
Or owgly as an owle;
For vnderneth a Cowle,
A S*ur*plyse or an amys,
Can no man do amys.

(*The Image of Ipocrysy*, Lansdown MS. 794, leaf 29, and Dyce's 'Skelton,' ii. 419, col. 2.)

Ab. 1535. Next take the important 'Letters on the Suppression of the Monasteries' from Henry VIII.'s Commissioners to Secretary Cromwell, of what state they found the Monasteries, etc., in,—edited by Mr. Thomas Wright for the Camden Society in 1843; but remembering again, on the one hand, that this is the evidence of enemies, and on the other, that all enlightened and good men were, or ought to have been (as I think) such enemies.

Thus much was printed when Prof. Brewer told me, 1. of the other Series of Letters or Reports by certain Romanist gentlemen on the smaller Monasteries, printed by Sir Hy. Ellis in the Third Series of his *Original Letters;* and 2. of an Article on the Dissolution of the Monasteries, in Sir John Acton's Pope-suppressed liberal Romanist Review, *The Home & Foreign*, which Article is understood to have come from the pen of one of our first living English historians. I therefore, for fairness' sake,

[1] ? Binding against by vows; not a mistake for "forbidding."
[2] Orig. "ppurose."

refer the reader to this article, and give him an extract from it, before the extracts from the Letters edited by Mr. Wright, in order that their statements may be discounted by the reader to the extent he thinks proper. I cannot say that my own rate of discount is large, as I doubt whether Romanists were the proper enquirers to send to Romanist monasteries, to discover their abuses, so that the monasteries might be suppressed where abuses existed.

[*From pp.* 178 *&* 179 *of vol.* 4 *of the Home and Foreign Review.*] "But the main point of interest for most men is, and must remain, whether the grave charges brought against the monasteries at the time of their dissolution are really warranted by the facts. 'Cromwell,' says an old manuscript, printed by Mr. Wright in his well-known collection of Letters on the Suppression of the Monasteries, 'caused visitations to be made of all the religious houses, touching their conversations; whereupon was returned the book called the Black Book, expressing of every such house the vile lives and abominable facts,—in murders of their brethren,' in crimes of the flesh, 'in destroying of children, in forging of deeds, and other infinite horrors of life. Insomuch, on dividing of all the religious persons in England into three parts, two of these parts at the least were' ineffably depraved. 'And this appeared in writing, with the names of the parties and their facts.' Fox, Burnet, and more recently Mr. Froude, have indorsed this statement. It is observable, however, that Mr. Froude quotes almost entirely from Mr. Wright's collection. Now, two series of letters have been printed on this subject; and those edited by Sir H. Ellis are as generally favourable to the monks as those edited by Mr. Wright are commonly unfavourable. In fact, the one extract which Mr. Froude makes from the Ellis letters is an account of a visit in which Henry's commissioners were besieged in a tower by the Abbot of Norton Abbey and some hundreds of indignant country people. It becomes interesting, therefore, to examine the causes of this difference. It undoubtedly lies in the fact that Mr. Wright chiefly quotes from the reports of Legh, London, and Layton, who were Cromwell's most zealous agents, or from men like Sir T. Audley, who profited largely by the confiscation; while Sir H. Ellis gives the letters of men of higher standing, such as Tregonwell, or of men like Sir S. Harcourt, who favoured the old religion. We must therefore decide from collateral evidence which of these views is the more trustworthy. It is not generally known that special commissions were issued in the spring and summer of 1536 to mixed committees of country gentlemen and court nominees, to report on the state of the smaller monasteries. The idea probably was, that their report would favour the king's views and satisfy public opinion. The result, as we shall show, proving otherwise, the scheme seems to have been abandoned, and the employment of private commissioners substituted."

We now recur to the extracts from Mr. Wright's book.

1535. Dr. Layton to Cromwell. (*Wright*, p. 58.)

(At Maiden Bradley, near Bristol) "is an holy father prior, and hath but vj. children, and but one dowghter mariede yet of the goodes of the monasterie, trystyng shortly to mary the reste. His sones be tall men waittyng upon hym, and he thankes Gode a never medelet with marytt women, but all with madens, the faireste cowlde be gottyn, and always marede them ryght well.[1]

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[1] This, I expect, is the explanation of Chaucer's lines on the Friar in his Prologue to 'The Canterbury Tales,' l. 212–13:—

He hadde i-made many a fair mariage
Of yonge wymmen, at his owne cost.

The pope, consideryng his fragilitie, gave hym licens to kepe an hore, and [so he] hath goode writyng *sub plumbo* to discharge his conscience, and to choys Mr. Underhyll to be his gostely father, and he to gyve hym *plenam remissionem*, etc."

JOHN BARTELOT TO CROMWELL. (*Ib.* p. 59–60)

"Pleas it your honourable mastership to be advertisid, that in the tyme of Lent last past, your contynuell oratour John Bartelot, with other, to the noumber of v. personez of good conversacion, ffound the prior of the Crossid Fryers in London at that tyme beyng in bedde with his hoore, both nakyd, abought xj. of the clok in the fornone, upon a Fryday."

DR. LAYTON TO CROMWELL. (*Wright*, p. 75, Letter XXXIII.)

[From MS. Cotton. Cleop. E. iv. fol. 127.]

"Pleasit your goodnes to understonde, that one Friday xxij° Octobris, I rode bake with spede to take an inventarie of Fowlstone[1], and from thens I went to Langden. Wheras immediatly discendyng from my horse, I sent Bartlett, your servant, with alle my servantes, to circumcept the abbay, and surely to kepe alle bake dorres and startyng hoilles, etc. I my self went alone to the abbottes logeyng jonyng upon the feldes and wode, evyn lyke a cony clapper fulle of startyng hoilles, a goode space knokkyng at thabbottes dore, *nec vox nec sensus apparuit*, saveyng thabbottes litle doge that, within his dore faste lokked, bayede and barkede. I fownde a short polax standyng behynde the dore, and with yt I dasshede thabbottes dore in peisses, *ictu oculi*, and set one of my men to kepe that dore, and aboute howse I go with that polax in my hande, *ne forte*, for thabbot is a daingerouse desperate knave and a hardy. But for a conclusion, his hore, *alias* his gentle womman, bestyrrede hir stumpis towardes hir startyng hoilles, and ther Bartlett wachyng the pursuet towke the tendre damoisel, and affter I hade examynede hir, to Dover ther to the maire to sett hir in sum cage or prison for viij . dais, and I browgt holy father abbot to Canterbury, and here in Christes-churche I will leve hym in prison. In this soden doyng *ex tempore* to circumcept the howse and to serche, your servant John Antonie his men mervelede what felow I was, and so dyde the reste of thabbay, for I was unknowyn ther of al men. At last, I fownde hir apparel in thabbottes cofer. To tell yowe all this commodie,

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John Taylor the Water Poet, in his *Workes* 1630, p. 91, col. 2, notices this Prior of Maiden Bradley, with others:

"Besides, I found a cursed Catalogue of these veneriall Caterpillers, who were suppresst with the Monasteries in England, in the time of King *Henry* the eight, with the number of trugs which each of them kept in those daies, as these; *Christopher Iames* a Monke of the Order of Saint *Bennet* in *Canterburie*, had three Whores, all married women; *William*, abbott of *Bristoll*, foure: Nicholas VVhyden Priest kept foure in *Windsor* Castle: in the same place *George Whitthorne* fiue, *Nicholas Spoter* fiue, *Robert Hunne* fiue, *Robert Daueson* sixe; *Richard* the Prior of *Maidenbeadly* fiue; In *Shulbred* Monastery in *Chichester* Diocesses, *George Walden* the Prior seuen; *John Standnep* seuen; *Nicholas Duke* fiue; In *Bath* Monasterie *Richard Lincoombe* seuen, three of them married: *John Hill* in the Cathedrall Church at *Chichester* but thirteene; *John White* Prior of *Bermondsey* had no more but twenty: all this Rabble was found and knowne in *England*; let a man imagine then how many were not knowne, and what a goodly brood of barnes were fathered vpon those that neuer begat them: withall, if England were so stored with them, it is not to bee doubted but all the rest of the *Christian* world did swarme with these lecherous *Locusts*."

[1] At Folkestone in Kent, Eadbald, King of Kent, founded a nunnery, on the site of which Nigellus de Mandeville founded a priory in 1095. This house was surrendered on the 15th of November, 1535, as will be seen by a subsequent letter in the present volume. (*Wright.*)

but for thabbot a tragedie, hit were to long. Now hit shalle appere to gentilmen of this contrey, and other the comons, that ye shall not deprive or visite but upon substanciall growndes."

OF BURY. (Wright, p. 85.)

"It is confessed and proved, that there was here suche frequence of women commyng and reassorting to this monastery as to no place more."

DR. LAYTON TO CROMWELL. (Wright, p. 91, Letter XLII.)

[From MS. Cotton. Cleop. E. iv. fol. 131.]

"Hit may please your mastershipe to understande, that in goyng northwardes from London I towke in my way towardes Lichefelde, wheras I appointede to mete with doctor Leig, firste a prorie of Gylbertyns and nunnes inclosede and closse;[1] wheras they wolde not in any wisse have admittede me as vysiter, I wolde not be so answerede, but visitede them, and ther fownde two of the saide nunnes not baron; one of them *impregnavit supprior domus*, an other a servyng man. The two prioresses wolde not confesse this, nother the parties, nor none of the nunnes, but one old beldame; and whan I objectede agayns the saide prioresses, that if they cowlde not shewe me a cause resonable of that ther conseilement, I muste nedes and wolde punnisshe them for ther manifeste perjurie, ther answer was that they were bownde by ther religion never to confesses the secrette fawttes done emongiste them, but onely to ther owne visiture of ther religion, and to that they were sworne evere one of them at ther firste admission. Another priorie callede Harwolde[2], wherin was iiij. or v. nunnes with the priores; one of them hade two faire chyldren, another one and no mo."

DR. LAYTON TO CROMWELL. (Wright, p. 97.)

"Hit may please your mastershipe to be advertissede, that here in Yorkeshire we fynde gret corruption emongiste persons religiouse, even lyke as we dyde in the sowthe, *tam in capite quam in membris*, and wurse if wurse may be in kyndes of knaverie, as, *retrahere membrum virile in ipso punctu seminis emittendi, ne inde fieret prolis generatio*, and nunnes to take potations *ad prolem conceptum opprimendum*, with suche other kindes of offences lamentable to here."

LAYTON AND LEGH TO CROMWELL. (Wright, p, 100, Letter XLVII.)

[From MS. Cotton. Cleop. E. iv. fol. 114.]

"Pleasit your mastershipe to understonde, that thabbot of Fontance hath so gretly dilapidate his howse, wastede ther wooddes, notoriously kepyng vj. hoorres, diffamede here *a toto populo*, one day denyyng thes articles with many mo, the next day folowyng the same confessyng, thus manifestely incurryng perjurie. vj. days before our accesse to his monasterie he committede thefft and sacrilege, confessyng the same. At mydnyght causede his chapelaine to stele the sextens keis, and towke oute a jewel, a crosse of golde with stones. One Warren, a goldsmith of the Chepe, was with hym in his chambre at that owre, and ther they stole oute a gret emerode with a rubie; the saide Warren made thabbot beleve the rubie to be but a garnet, and so for that he payede nothyng, for the emerode but xx^{li}. He solde hym also then plate withoute weyght or ownces; howe moche thabbot therfore therin was decevide he cannot tell, for the trewith ys he ys a vara fole, and a miserable ideote."

RICHARD BEERLEY TO CROMWELL. (Wright, p. 133.)

"Now y wyll ynstrux your grace sumwatt of relygyus men, and how the

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[1] This was probably the priory of Chicksand, in Bedfordshire, founded about 1150, for canons and nuns of the order of St. Gilbert of Sempringham. *Wr.*

[2] At Harewold, or Harwood, in Bedfordshire, there was a priory of nuns of the order of St. Augustine, founded in the middle of the twelfth century. *Wr.*

kynges grace commandyment ys keyp yn puttyng forth of bockes the beyschatt of Roms userpt power. Monckes drynk an bowll after collacyon tell ten or xii. of the clock, and cum to mattens as dronck as myss, and sume at cardes, sume at dyyss, and at tabulles, sume cum to mattens begenynge at the mydes, and sume when yt ys allmost done, and wold not cum ther so only for boddly punnysment, nothing for Godes sayck, with many other vycys the use, wyche y have no leser now to express. Also abbettes, monckes, prest, don lyttyl or nothyng to put owtt of bockes the beyshatt of Romes name, for y my seylfe do know yn dyvers bockes where ys name and hys userpt powor upon us ys. No more unto your nobul grace at thys tyme, but Jesu preserve you to pleser. Amen."

RICHARD, BISHOP OF DOVER, TO CROMWELL, OF THE FRIARS HOUSES IN BRISTOL, GLOUCESTER, AND WINCHESTER. (Wright, p. 197.)

"Where that I fynde them fawte, I declare ther fawttes after suche facyon that they rather woll gyffe up the howsys, than I shulde declare ther demenors, as by that menys I have receyvyd iij. howsys sythe that I wroght laste to yower lordeschype, the whyche I thynke wolde not a lytyll a moveyd yower lordschype, yff ye had knowen the order off them; sum stekeynge faste in wyndowys nakeyd, goynge to drabbes, so that the peler was fayne to be sawyde to have hym owte; sum beynge plucked from under drabbes beddes; sum feytynge so that the knyffe hathe stoken in the bone; wythe suche other praty besynes, off the whyche I have to moche. But on I thynke ye shulde doo a goode dede to wryght to the mayer of Marleburthe, that he sumwhat loke on a fryer ther that ys in prison for a mayde chylde off x. or xi. yeres of age, whom he useyd nowtely; they wolde that I shulde a delyveryd hym at my beynge ther, but master Yorke and I spake with the chylde and here fryndes, so that the mater appereyd, so that I wolde not medell with the fryer."

That it was no disgrace, but an honour, in Ireland at least, to be known as a priest's bastard, may be seen from the following anecdote told by Bp. Bale, in his *Vocacyon*, p. 340, *Harl. Misc.* vol. i. ed. 1808:—

"At supper, the parish priest, called Syr Philypp, was very seruiceable, and, in familyar talke, described vnto me the howse of the White Fryres, which sumtyme was in that towne [Knocktouer]; concludinge in the ende, that the last prior therof, called Wyllyam, was his naturall father. I axed him, if that were in marriage? He made me answere, No. For that was, he sayd, agaynst his profession. Then counselled I hym, that he neuer shulde boast of it more. 'Whie,' sayth he, 'it is an honour, in this lande, to haue a spirituall man, as a byshop, an abbot, a monke, a fryre, or a prest, to father.' With that I greatly marueled, not so much of his vnshamefast talke, as I ded that adultery, forbidden of God, and of all honest men detested, shulde there haue both prayse and preferrement; thinking in processe, for my part, to refourme it."

This must have been the case too in England in Chaucer's time. See how proud he makes the Miller's wife (in *The Reves Tale*) of being the parson's daughter, and brought up in a nunnery:—

Ther durste no wight clepe hir but madame (l. 3954)
Hir thoughte ladyes oughten hir to spare,
What for hir *kynreed*, and hir nortelrye
That sche had lerned in the nonnerye. (l. 3964-6)

And Symkyn evidently chose her as a superior person :

"For Symkyn wolde no wyfe, as he sayde,
But sche were wel i-norissched and a mayde,[1]
To saven his estaat and yomanrye."

He also speaks of his daughter's high lineage—as the child of a priest's bastard :—

"Thou schalt be deed, by Goddes dignité,
Who durste be so bold to disparage
My doughter, *that is come of hih lynage.*"

The next letter from Mr. Wright's volume shows that, as was the priest, so was, to some extent, the layman :—

Dr. Legh to Cromwell. A.D. 1538. (Wright, p. 243.)

"Ther lackythe nothyng but good and godly instruction of the rude and poore people, and reformation of the heddis in thes partyes. For certen of the knyghtes and gentilmen, and most commonly all, lyvythe so incontinently, havyng ther concubynes openly in ther howses, with v. or vj. of their chyldren, putting from them their wyfes, that all the contrey therwith be not a litill offendyd and takithe evyll example of theym. Wherfor hetherto I have geven and sent commaundement to them, (forasmoche as I culd not speke with them all, by reason they war at the assyses) to put from them immediatly suche concubynes as they have hetherto notoriously and manyfestly occupyed and kept, and to take agen their wyfes, or ellys to appere before your lordship to shewe a cause whye they shuld not be compellyd."

With this last extract we may compare the following, from

The Lamentacyon of a Christen against the Citye of London. (By Henry Brinklow, A.D. 1542.) ed. 1548 in Brit. Mus. (ed. 1545 there too.)

"Oh ye Cytezens ! yf ye wolde turne but euen the profytes of your chauntries and your obbittes to the fyndynge of the poore, with a pollitique & godly prouysion, where as now London, beyng one of the flowers of the worlde, as towchinge worldlye ryches, hath so manye, yea, innumerable of poore people, forced to go from dore to dore, and to syt openly in the stretes a beggynge, and many not able to do for other, but lye in their howses in most greuous paynes, ande dye for lacke of ayde of the riche, to the greate shame of the, Oh london." (Sign. b. vi.)

"There is a custome in the Cytye, ones a yeare to haue a quest called *the* warnmall queste, to redresse vices ; but alasse, to what purpose cometh it, as it is vsed ? If a pore man kepe a whore besides hys wife, & a pore mans wyfe play the harlot, they are punisshed, as well worthie. But let an alderman, a Ientleman, or a riche man kepe whore or whores, what punishment is there ? Alasse this matter is to bad." (Sign. b. vii. back.)

"Well, I can no more, but beseche the Lord God, that he wyll geue suche grace to some, that in the time of hys wrath, he maye finde x. ryghteous persons in this Cytie, whereby the wrath and vengeaunce of God may be turned from it, which is lyke to come shortly vppon vs or vppon our childeren, for our sinnes & oure forfathers. For we haue deserved a M. tymes more plages, then euer ded Tire & Sidon, or Sodoma & Gomora, ware it not for *the* great mercy of God I thinke, we had founde it so or this time." (Sign. c. iii. back.)

"And though it appere that some of *the* trobles which chaunsed to the Kynges of Englonde in tymes past came by Abbotes of these fyllthye Monas-

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[1] Do not these three words "and a mayde" mean a good deal, as applied to the morals of the poor, and the rich who used them ?

teryes ryghtfully deposed nowe of late, yet came the grounde from the forked merchauntes. For be thou sure, neuer came any dyspleasure to anye Prynce in Englonde or elles where for sekynge any Godly redresse ande Goddes glorie; but *the* originall & maintayners of *the* same ware these forked cappes." (Sign. e. ii.)

Prof. Brewer thinks there is no evidence to show that the state of morals in England was worse before the Reformation than after it (*Calendar*, Introduction to vol. iii.). He refers to the result of the remarkable document that he abstracts in his Calendar at p. 127, the returns of the searches for Suspected Persons in London on the 17th of July 1517—already quoted above, p. 51, *n.*—and doubts whether a similar search now would show results so relatively pure. Mr. Haweis does not hesitate to say that the post-Reformation popular morals were worse than those of the pre-Reformation,[1] and that the worseness was probably due to the removal of all ecclesiastical restraints (*Sketches*, p. 128–30). Mr. Haweis certainly produces a black picture of the times from the Contemporary Pulpit; but to me the truth seems to be, that at the Reformation the light was let in on the old dark places, and that what the Reforming Preachers saw was the natural growth of the Romish fungus. Are the late and the present murders and excesses in the Southern States and Texas due to Freedom or Slavery? When Latimer preached like he did before the King, it is a sign to me that matters were mending rather than growing worse.

But a more disgusting crime of the Monks is mentioned in other books, the passages about which I do not feel justified in keeping back from the reader, although his surprise at seeing them may be as great as mine was. The possibility of the vice in monasteries had never occurred to me till then; but considering the greater coarseness of the times, above three hundred years ago, considering that a statute against the vice was then passed,[2] considering what some monks may have been, and what

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[1] One thing is certain, whether it arose from contempt of the clergy, the abuse of doctrinal instruction, the disuse of confession, the decay of ecclesiastical courts, or any other combination of causes, in an age when men thought it safer to doubt everything than to believe too much, all parties agreed that the nation had grown worse; none imagined that the gospel was doing its legitimate work upon the people, "purifying their hearts through faith," but each was inquiring with shame or exultation, "What is the cause that the former times were better than these?" "All men may see," says Bradford (*Serm. on Repentance*, 1553), "if they will, that the whoredom, pride, unmercifulness, tyranny &c. of England, far passeth in this age any age that ever was before." "London was never so ill as it is now," says Latimer, the Democritus of the Reformation. Hooper was the Heraclitus, and although his sermons are few, they want not indications of his opinion as to the deteriorated state of public morals.—*Haweis*, p. 132-3. Later, see *Stubs*, p. 101-2.

[2] 25 *Hen. VIII. cap.* 6. *A Acte for the Punysshement of the Vice of Buggerie.* —For asmoche as there is not yett sufficient and condigne punyshment appoynted ad lymytted by the due course of the lawes of this Realme for the

the report of some ship-surgeons on the subject now is, I am not prepared to treat the following accusations of the monks' enemies as entirely the creatures of their own imaginations.

In 1527 or 1528 Roy notices this vice in his *Satire*, p. 104–5 of Pickering's reprint, and accounts in a reasonable way for its prevalence among monks.

Jef. Their cloysters are the devils mewes,
Farre worse than eny stewes/
  Or co*mm*en places of whordom.
They are the dens of baudines/
And fornaces of al letcherousnes/
  Lyke unto Gomer and Sodom.
Yonge laddes and babes innocent/
They brynge in by their intysment/
  To their leawde congregacion.
Whom they receaue to profession/
Before that they have discrecion/
  To their eternall damnacion.
For when they fele by experience/
The brynnynge of concupiscence/
  Pryckynge their hertes with love.
Consyderynge also their bondage/
Howe they can vse no mariage/
  As a christen man doth behove.
Then to quenche their apetytes/
They are fayne to be sodomytes/
  Abusynge theym selues vnnaturally.
And so from hope of salvacion/
They fall into desperacion/
  Ordrynge their lyves most shamfully.
Wat. I will not say the contrary/
But amonge a grett company/
  One or two soche thou mayst fynde.
Jef. Make the company grett or small/
A-monge a thousand fynde thou shall/
  Scant one chast of boddy and mynde.

The reader may have noticed the early allusion to this same vice in the extract from *Jack Upland*, p. 69 above.

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detestable and abhomynable vice of buggery co*mm*yttid with mankynde or beaste; It may therfore please the Kynges Hyghnes, with the assent of his Lordes sp*irit*uall and temporall, and the Co*mm*yns of this p*re*sent parliament assembled, that it may be enacted by auctorytie of the same, that the same offence be from hensforth adjudged felonye, and suche order & forme of proces therin to be used ayenst the offendours as in cases of felonye at the co*mm*en lawe; and that the offenders being herof co*nv*icte, by verdicte, confession, or outlarye, shall suffer suche peynes of dethe, and losses and penalties of theire good*es*, catallis, Dettes, londes, tenement*es*, and hereditament*es*, as felons byn accustomed to doo, accordyng to the order of the co*mm*en lawes of this Realme, and that no p*er*son offendyng in any suche offence shabbe shalbe admyttid to hys clergie: And that Justices of pease shall have power and auctoritie within the lymitt*es* of their co*mm*issions and jurrisdiccion, to here and det*er*myne the seid Offence, as they do use to do in cases of other felonyes: this acte to endure to the last day of the next Parliamente. (This Act was made perpetual by the 32 Hen. VIII. cap. 3.)

DR. LAYTON TO CROMWELL, 22nd December, 1535. 'Letters relating to the Suppression of the Monasteries,' ed. T. Wright, 1843, page 93.

"Newarke here in Lecestre. . . . The abbay here is confederyde, we suppos, and nothyng will confesse. The abbot is an honeste man, and doth varawell, but he hath here the moste obstinate and factiouse chanons that ever I knewe. This mornyng I will objecte aganste divers of them bugrie and adulterie, *et sic specialiter discendere*, wiche I have lernede of other (but not of any of them); what I shall fynde I cannot tell."

A.D. 1546. A SUPPLICATION OF THE POORE COMMONS.

"Now can we not denye but that the outragiouse belowing of *a sort of sodomiticall buls*, myngled with the proud pipyng of organs, is the seruice of God, and worthy to be preferred before the redyng and preching of Gods worde. . . . Now must we beleue that they ca*n* not erre, though they set up the bloude of a ducke to be honored for the verye bloude of Christe, thoughe they made the roode of kente to wagge hys yies, though thy were baudes & fornicators with the holy whore of kent.[1] We maye not thinke they ought to marye wyues, though we take the*m* dayly abusinge other mens wyues. We muste not saye that they are rauenynge woulfes, but the true shepherdes of Christ, although we see the*m* bothe buy & sell the co*n*gregacions of Christ, & whe*n* they haue them loke for nought els but what yearelye rentes may be clearlye reased therof" . . . (Sign. b. iii.)

"For what meane they in their Sermons, when they lament the greate discord and myserable estate of this our tyme, wishynge that all thynge were nowe as it was xx. yeares since: but that they woulde haue a Pope, pardons, lightyng of candels to Images, knockyng and knelyng to them, with runnyng hither and thither on pilgremage? Besides the infinit number of purgatory horseleches on who*m* the vengeaunce of God is so manifestly declared for *their beastly buggery;* that the very places where thei dwelt, ar not thought worthy to be the dwellinges of me*n*, but the caues of bruit bestes and venemous wormes." (Sign. a. iii. back.)

yf anye poore lambe bleate, A, A, A, my God is the lyuynge God vncreat,—because he did create all,—euerlastynge, because all thynges endureth by him; vnchaungeable, because he saythe I am God, and am not chaunged strayt wayes; he must be deuoured wyth fyer, because euery dronkerde, whoremonger, Idolater, *Sodomit*,—as youre owne man callethe you,—euery naturall noddy, yonge boye, blynde bussarde, lucyfer, Cayne, Simonniake, fyrebrand of hell, and dampned idol, in this great babylon and Romyshe churche,—wherin this cage of deuelles and vncleane soules doth leiter,—may, when he lyst, cal downe with his beckes euen God frome heauen, create his creator, make god, makyng him daunce, eate him, sacrifyce the son of God. (*I playne Piers... A ploweman*, sign. D. v.)

A.D. 1587. "Of his [the Pope's] ordinarie absolution for mony without respect of crime, he descanted pretily that said, Friers were fed fat with mens sinnes. . . . I omit his [the Pope's] beastly gaine raked out of *the* sinkhole of brothel-houses.[2] I loth to think upon his tolerating of *the* most stinking sin

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[1] Elizabeth Barton. See the letters about her, and the account of her in Wright's 'Letters on the Suppression of the Monasteries,' p. 11–33. Compare also 'The Image of Ipocrysy,' printed below.

[2] Th' Italian Stewes (to make the Pope good cheere)
Payd twenty thousand Duckets in a yeere. [£8000]
Besides, they giue a Priest (t' amend his fee)
The profit of a *Whore*, or two, or three . . .
Me thinkes it must be bad Diuinity
That with the Stewes hath such affinity . . . .

of *abhominable Sodomitrie :* in commendation whereof John Casus, Archbishop of Beneuentane, *the* Pope's Legat to the Venetians, wrote a booke. O detestable impudencie, to magnifie that in words, yea in writing, *the* onely thought whereof woundeth the heart with horror." ('The Complaint of England,' by William Lightfoote, 1587, back of sign. G.)

They are the mooste abhominable whore-maysters and theues, vnder pretence of theyr whorishe vowe, and fained holynesse, that is vnder heauen: for they may abyde whoredome, baudrye, blaspheminge, fyghtinge, brawlynge, manslaughter, and theft, *with sodomiticall buggery*, with a thousand more of abhominable vyces, better then the eternall Testamente of God: for all these vices aforesayd, be customely vsed in the high ministers of Antichristes Church, and the faythfull members of the same, vnpunished. But let any creature honger & thurst to learne the holy Scriptures to the amemdemente of theyr lyues, till they cry and rore, and with capons & presentes they will com to the iudge & iustices, & to gentilmen of the cou*n*try[1] whyche they knowe blinde, and not sene in the Scryptures, and they shall trouble the poore men, and vexe them from place to place, with wryttes, cytations, suspencions, and excommunications: They will flocke him, and present him, slaunder him, and belie him, they wil ride vp to the commissary, and complaine of them[2], that they set all the county on a rore, when the poore man can better be ruled, and more gladlyer, the*n* some of them can rule them selues. But marke this as a generall rule, whosoeuer loueth the scriptures, they hate him . . . yf you will banishe a prieste your house, bye a bible or a testament, and he wyl neuer come there after; yf a parishe wil be ridde of a noughty curate, driue out all the whores, and punish whoredome, and he will other coorse away his benefice, or elles by a Lapidation. (*The fal of the Romish Church, with all the abhominations*, sign. C. v. back.)

Take next, Bale, Bishop of Ossory, in Edward VI.'s time. He had been a White Friar before he gave up Romanism (III *Ellis* iii. 155), and (I suppose) knew what went on among monks. The prevalence among them of the vice we are treating of, seems to have made a strong impression on his mind; he recurs to it again and again. He wrote a Comedy on the subject, of which, as the title is wanting in the British Museum copy, I give the colophon:—

"Thus endeth thys Comedy concernynge the lawes, of Nature, Moses, and Christ, corrupted by the Sodomytes, Pharisees and papystes most wycked. Compyled by Johan Bale. *Anno* M. D. XXXVIII, and lately imprented *per Nicolaum Bamburgensem*."

He introduces his character *Sodomismus* by printing *Monachus* in the same line with it, and afterwards makes Sodomismus say—

I dwelt amonge the Sodomytes,
The Beniamytes, and Madyanytes,
And now the popysh hypocrytes
  Embrace me euery where.

I am now become all spyrytuall;
For the clergye at Rome and ouer all,
For want of wyues, to me doth fall,
  To God they haue no feare. (*Actus secundus.*)

But ther's no Common-wealth maintains the same,
But where the Pope is Landlord of the game.
Works of John Taylor, the Water-Poet, 1630 (repr. 1868) p. 110, col. 1.

[1] Sign. C. v. [2] F*or* him.

And again:—

If monkysh sectes renue,
And popysh prestes contynue,
To lyue I shall be sure . . . . (*Actus secundus.*)

Within the bownes of Sodomye
Doth dwell the spirytuall clergye,
Pope, Cardinall, and pryst;
Nonne, Chanon, Monke and fryre,
With so many els as do desyre
To reigne vndre Antichrist.
Detestynge matrymonye,
They lyue abhomynablye,
And burne in carnall lust.
Shall I tell ye farther newes?
At Rome for prelates are stewes
Of both kyndes. Thys is iust. (*Actus secundus.*)

EUANGELIUM. Thys is not the church of dysgysed hypocrytes,
Of apysh shauelynges, or papystycall *sodomytes;*
Nor yet, as they call it, a temple of lyme and stone,
But a lyuysh buyldynge, grounded in fayth alone,
On the harde rocke Christ, whych is the sure foundacyon . . . .

INFIDELITAS. . . . ye fellawes of the newe lerynge,
Forsake holy church, and now fall to wyuynge.

EUANG. Naye, they forsake whoredome, with other da*m*pnable vsage,
Aud lyue with their wyues, in lawfull marryage,
Whyls the popes oyled swarme, raigne still in their *olde buggerage.*
(*Actus quartus.*)

In his Chronicle of Lord Cobham's death, Bale also says

"What wretched calamities the realme suffred afterward, for the space of more than fourscore yeres and thre, tyl the dayes of King Henry the Seventh, it is unspeakable. Sens the preaching of Johan Wicleve, hath the Lorde suffred the pompouse Popysh prelates to shew themselves forth in theyr owne righte coulours, that they myght now, in the lyght of hys Gospel appeare, as they are in dede; even spightful murtherers, ydolaters, and *sodomites.* Afore hys tyme, they lurked under the glyttering shyne of hypocresye, and coulde not be seane in their masteryes. The fryers with their charminge sophistrye threwe such a darke myst over the universall worlde, that supersticyon coulde not be knowen for supersticyon, nor ydolatrye for ydolatrye. Unspeakable fylthynes of all fleshly occupieng was than called pryestes chastitee, as it is yet, and wil be tyl it come to the hyghest, that God may take ful vengeaunce. Then was whoordom worshiped in prelates of the churche, and sacred wedlocke rekened such a detestable vyce as was worthy in a pryest moost cruell death; as was seane, for example, in Sir Wyllyam Wyghts, whiche was brent for the same at Norwych, in the yeare of our Lorde 1428." (From "*A brefe Chronycle concerning the Examinacion and Death of the blessed Martir of Christ, Sir Johan Oldcastell the Lord Cobham;* collected together by Johan Bale." ? 1548. Printed in the *Harleian Miscellany*, vol. ii. p. 254.)

So too in his *English Votaries*, or

"The first two partes of the Actes, or vnchast examples of the Englysh votaryes, gathered out of their owne legenades and Chronycles by Johan Bale, and dedycated to our most redoubted soueraigne kynge Edward the syxte." [The first Part was printed in 1548; the second in 1551.]

"If this wiuinge (thought they) might be brought to an yll opinion, that the people might recken it nought, than shuld we make that office of pastorall cure, which afore serued God in paineful study of his wurd, to serue vs in all vanitees and plesures of the fleshe. To bryng this to good passe, we must pretende a perpetuall chastyte. We must outwardlye professe neuer to cowche a woman, what so euer we do els in ye dark. By thys shal we haue these commoditees. We shall apere more holie than other people. We shal haue the preachers obedient to our affectes. They shall not rebuke our horryble darke doynges by the Gospell. No, for they shall for wante of women, haue vncomelye lustes in theyr hartes, wherby they wyll be gyuen ouer of God to themselues. So shall they become *buggerers and whoremaisters*. Yea, and suche blynde bussardes and beastes, as wyll be able to abyde no truthe. So shall our wyckednesse in the syght of people, become a lyfe of perfectyon and holinesse. By these chefely and by other lyke practyses, came that admynystracyon for the sowles behoue, to an vtter decaye and ruyne, as is shewed at large in thys former boke." (Fol. Cxvij of the second part.)

Again, Bale says in his *Vocacyon*, 1553, of a temporary revival of Papistry in Kilkenny:—

"They maye now, without checke, haue other mannes wiues in occupienge, or kepe whores in their chambers; or els *play the buggery knaues*, as they haue done alwayes, and be at an vttre defiaunce with mariage, though it be the institution of God, honourable, holye, righteouse, and perfight."

Harleian Miscellany, i. 348, ed. 1808.

The Wyll of the Deuyll, and last Testament (Lambeth 30 . 9 . 8) says, at sign. B. i.:—

"Item, I geue to all Whoremongers, Fornicators, and Aduouterers, a craftye wytte, to wrest the scriptures, & to make them serue for filthy purposes, therby to excuse & proue themselues faultlesse. Wherein, I wyl, al our *Sodomitical Clergye*, which, for their own ease, do abhorre paynfull wedlocke, and replenish the worlde with incestuous whoredome, to helpe and ayde them with vnshamefast railynge, agaynst our enemies, the ministers of Goddes worde . . .

"Item, I geue to all Preestes, Lemondes, that wyl not marry, but perseuer in their Sodomiticall & abhominable chastitee, that they shall pysse holy water all the dayes of their lyfe, euer chatteryng agaynst the trewe wyues of the Ministers.

"Item, I geue to all them that professe the Gospell, and with their filthy liuyng doo geue occasion to blaspheme the same, a fayre tongue to talke of it, an hipocriticall face, and a newe Testament or other booke in their handes, to hyde their feined holynesse & hipocrisye with all."

Now, so far as the former extracts refer to those of the clergy who found that human nature, like murder, would out, and then took a concubine and kept to her, I agree with the view of a clerical friend, who says it was the most wise and right course for a celibate to pursue, who had not the pluck to face the persecution that trying to throw up his vows would have brought on him. I hope priests' concubinage was general, so far better must it have been than the indiscriminate fornication and adulterizing that must have often been its substitute. That these latter did prevail widely, in England as well as elsewhere in Romish times, I think there can be no doubt; the practices were

matter of open shame; as Joye says, all the world spoke of them. How the Romish system works in this regard in modern days, I do not personally know; but happening to ask the question of a physician-friend some three years ago, who had lived long on the Continent and studied the life of the people carefully, I heard a bad account of it. One instance that he told me of in Sicily struck me much. He was staying with an English friend there fifteen years back, and thinking the priests of a lower type than any he had seen, except in parts of Spain, asked his friend about them, and their relations with the men and women of the district. His friend said, "I'll give you a sample. One day I noticed that a man who worked in my garden came with his face bruised and blackened. I asked him what was the matter. He wouldn't tell me; but I insisted on knowing, and threatened to turn him off if he didn't account for the state he was in. Then, after much hesitation, he said that he had found his priest-brother with his young wife, and had remonstrated strongly against the proceeding. On which his brother knocked him down, and kicked him, when down, in the face, treating him brutally. 'But what were you doing all the time?' said I 'Why didn't you wring his neck, or knock his d—d head off?' 'What Sir, strike a priest! Why he'd have damned me for ever to hell-fire!' That is a type of what goes on here. The low life of the priests, and the ignorance and superstition of the people, are deplorable."

Again, the following paragraph from the *The Pall Mall Gazette* of October 13, 1868, to which a friend has called my attention, points to the same facts as *The Land of Cokaygne* before 1300 A.D.:—

"An extraordinary story, and one which we are most unwilling to credit, is told to us by our correspondent at Rome. He says:—'I was mistaken in informing you that Monsignor Villanuova-Castellacci had resigned his post of Viceregent of Rome; it appears that he was dismissed by the Pope. The cause was a great scandal which came to light in a certain convent which at present I will not name. Nearly the whole of the nuns, who are very young, were found to be as nuns should not be. As the rules of the convent are very strict, the affair was kept very close. At length, search revealed a subterranean passage communicating with a monastery of Belgian monks. The passage terminated in an ancient Roman vault, the last vestige of a Pagan temple, in which the monks professed to practise mystic austerities. Monsignor Castellacci was blamed by the Holy Father for having failed to discover the secret communication, and for defending the nuns, particularly the abbess, though she was in the same condition as too many of her flock. I have been at pains to ascertain the truth of this story, and I relate only what is stated by several Roman prelates.'"

The same causes must produce the same effects, though the outward symptoms be modified by differences in the condition of the times wherein the symptoms appear; and I cannot doubt that the English dislike for celibate institutions was at the Reforma-

tion, as it is now, justified by the great social evils springing from them, and that the words of our *Now a Dayes* ballad were true of the time they were written in. But then were, as now are, doubtless, among the Romish clergy and nuns, men and women at least as pure and devoted as are to be found in the ranks of any other community on earth. Chaucer did not fail to set his 'poor Parson' by the side of, nay, more in view than, his 'free bull.'

§ 15. With the present poem generally, the reader should compare the Satire attributed to Skelton, *The Maner of the World Now a Dayes* (Dyce's *Skelton*, i. 147), and its original in the Sloane MS. 747, leaf 88, also printed by Mr. J. P. Collier in his *Old Ballads* for the Percy Society, by Mr. Dyce in his *Skelton*, ii. 200–3, by Mr. Fairholt in his *Satirical Songs and Poems on Costume* for the Percy Society, and which begins:—

"So propre cappes,
So lytle hattes,
And so false hartes,
Saw y never."

Also *The General Satire*, attributed to Dunbar by one MS., probably composed between 1504 and 1532, and printed in vol. ii. p. 24–7 of Mr. David Laing's edition of Dunbar's Poems, 1834, and which, says Mr. Fairholt, "is evidently the prototype" of *The Maner* last referred to. The second verse is:—

"Sic pryd with Prellattis, so few till preiche and pray;
Sic hant of harlettis with thame, baith nicht and day,
That sowld haif ay thair God afoir thair ene;
So nyce array, so strange to thair abbay,
Within this land was nevir hard nor sene."

l. 33–6. Henry VIII. was only in his eighteenth year when he ascended the throne, was married and crowned. His Council, which was appointed under the advice and influence of his grandmother, the Countess of Richmond, mother of Henry VII., consisted of Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury and Chancellor; Fox, Bishop of Winchester, Secretary and Privy Seal; the Earl of Surrey, Treasurer; the Earl of Shrewsbury, Steward; Lord Herbert, Chamberlain; Sir Thomas Lovel, Master of the Wards and Constable of the Tower; Sir Edward Poynings, Comptroller; Sir Henry Marney, Sir Thomas Darcy, Thomas Ruthal, Doctor of Laws, and Sir Henry Wyat. Most of these were men of experience and ability: they had all served the late king. (Macfarlane's *Cabinet History*, vi. 80.) The forsaking of their counsel, implied in lines 37–8, refers to Henry's giving up his Council's advice for Wolsey's, and his own will.

In lines 69, 70, we read:—

"Every man is fayne
On other to complayne."

The Apostle of the North, Bernard Gilpin, in his Sermon before Edward VI. in 1552, notices the upspringing of a proverb on this subject:—

"God hath cause greatly to be displeased with all estates, when every man should looke upon their owne faults to seeke amendment; and as it is a Proverbe lately sprung up, *No man amendeth himselfe, but every man seeketh to amend other;* and all that while nothing is amended. Mighty men and Gentlemen, they say, the "Commonalty live too well at ease, they grow every day to be gentlemen, and know not themselves; their hornes must be cut shorter, by raising their rents and by fines, by plucking away their pastures," and so by many goodly pretences Lady Avarice can whisper in their eares. The meane men, they murmure and grudge, and say, the gentlemen have all, and there were never so many gentlemen and so little gentlenesse. And by their naturall Logicke you shall heare them reason how these two *Conjugata*, these yoake-fellowes, gentlemen and gentlenesse, should be banished so farre asunder: And they lay all the miserie of this Commonwealth upon the gentlemen their shoulders. But alas! good Christians, this is not the way of amendment. *Si invicèm mordetis & comeditis: If ye bite and devoure one another*, as Saint *Paul* saith, *take ye heede lest ye be consumed one of another*" (pp. 41–42, ed. 1630, London).

But the vice is the later form of the Early English *onde*, envy, or grumbling, Latin *invidia*, for which Englishmen were noted in 1303, according to the proverb,

> French men synne yn lecherye,
> and Englys men yn *enuye*.
>
> Robert of Brunne's *Handlynge Synne*, p. 131, l. 4154–5.

Compare also the earlier

> þé þrid sin so is *onde* . þat mochil nuþe is in lond .
> and euir hi quemiþ þe fend of helle.
>
> *Early English Poems*, 1862.

l. 81–4. *Priors and Abbots buying and selling.* Compare the following, on the Church of Ireland in 1515:—

State of Ireland. (State Papers, vol. ii. p. 16; MS. p. 203.)

"Also the Churche of thys lande vse not to lerne any other scyence but the lawe of Canon, For covetyce of Lucre traunsytory; all other scyence, wherof growe none suche Lucre, the parsons of the churche dothe despyce. they cowde more by the ploughe Rustycall then by lucre of the ploughe Celestyall, to whiche they hathe streccheyd ther hand*es*, and loke alwayes backwarde: they tende muche more to lucre of that ploughe, wherof groweth sclaunder and Rebuke, then to Lucre of the (p. 204) Soules, that is, the ploughe of Cryste. And to the traunsytorye lucre of that Rusticall ploughe they tendre so muche, that lytill or nought ther Chargeith to lucre to Cryste, the soules of ther subget*es*, of whom[9] they have the cure by preacheing and teacheing of the worde of godde, and by ther goode Insample gyveing, whiche is the ploughe of worshyp and of hono*ur*, and the ploughe of grace of [him] that eu*er* shalle Indure."

l. 97-8. One special cause of the ruin of "temporal lordes" and their households, in Henry's reign, and the consequent passing of their estates into trader's hands, is thus stated by Macfarlane (vi. 117), referring to Hall, Du Bellay, Polydore Vergil, and Godwin as authorities:—

"The most lasting effect produced by the 'Field of the Cloth of Gold,' as the interview and the place where it was held were afterwards called, was the ruin of many of the nobility both English and French, who, in their insane rivalry, contracted enormous debts."

The 'Field' was held in 1520 A.D.
Shakspere has noted this:—

> Abur. I do know
> Kinsmen of mine, three at the least, that haue
> By this, so sicken'd their Estates, that neuer
> They shall abound as formerly.
> Buc. O many
> Haue broke their backes with laying Mannors on 'em
> For this great Iourney.
> Henry VIII, Act i., Sc. 1; p. 206, col. 1, Booth's reprint.

Hume notices that the power of disentailing estates was indirectly confirmed by Statute in Henry VII's reign, and no doubt more freely exercised afterwards.

Lines 129–136 look like a post-Reformation complaint, but, before the Reformation, the Monasteries may have given or sold livings to lay impropriators; and they would often put unfit men to serve the parishes whose tithes they took. See Sir Francis Bygod's Treatise on Impropriations: copies at Lambeth, and in Selden.

l. 193, 201. *Straunge sikenes. Greate Deth.* This, I believe, alludes to the Sweating Sickness in 1518; *Halle*, leaf lxiii., bk.:—

"After this greate triumphe, the kyng appointed his gestes for his pastyme this Sommer, but sodeinly there came a plague of sickenes, called the Swetyng sickenes, that turned all his purpose. This malady was so cruell that it killed some within three houres, some within twoo houres, some mery at diner and dedde at supper. Many died in the kynges Courte; the Lorde Clinton, the Lorde Grey of Wilton, and many knightes, Gentlemen and officiers. For this plague Mighelmas terme was adiourned, and because that this malady continued from July to the middes of December, the kyng kept hymself euer with a small compaignie, and kept no solempne Christmas, willyng to haue no resort for feare of infeccion; but muche lamented the nomber of his people, for in some one toune halfe the people died, and in some other toune the thirde parte, the Sweate was so feruent and infeccious."

But there were subsequent returns of the sickness in 1526 and 1528. Of that in 1528, Macfarlane says, "In the month of May the city of London and the court were thrown into great consternation by the sudden appearance of the sweating sickness. The disease soon showed itself among the servants of Anne Boleyn. By the orders of the anxious lover, Anne was instantly conducted into Kent, to the seat of her father, Lord Rochford; but she carried the infection with her, and communicated it to her parent. Both father and daughter, however, were soon out of danger." I think, though, that the date of 1518 suits the poem better than that of 1528.

Professor Brewer observes on the same sickness:—

In the reign of Henry VIII., the sickness first made its appearance in April 1516. Its violence abated as usual at the approach of cold weather. It re-appeared again in the spring of 1517 with alarming fury, and, continuing all through the summer into November without interruption, scarcely ceased in the winter, and raged more violently than ever in 1518. In that year it was accompanied with the measles and the smallpox. Not only amusements, but business, ceased in a great measure; crowds and places of public resort were carefully avoided; noblemen broke up their establishments, and every one in dread of the infection hastened, as best he could, to isolate himself from his neighbours. *Brewer's Calendar*, vol. ii. p. ccxi.

l. 211. *Low born, & highe promotion.* This, Mr. Gairdner looks on as aimed unquestionably at Wolsey's being the son of a butcher, and yet raised to the second post in the realm.

l. 233–4. On the "gamers and gay courtiers, but few archers and ill warriors," we may quote a passage referred to by Mr. Froude, in which the Earl of Surrey, in 1523, makes the same complaint.

EARL OF SURREY TO CARDINAL WOLSEY, 1523. (Original Letters, ed. Ellis, 1st series, vol. i. p. 226.)

"And if yong noble men and gentilmen be not desierous and willing to be at suche jorneys, and to take the payne and yeve the adventure, and the Kingis highnes well contented with thoos that woll so doo, and not regarding others that wolbe but *dauncers*, *disers*, *and carders*, his Grace shall not bee well served when he wold bee."

With this, it may be interesting to compare a *Now a daies* of a hundred and fifty (or more) years earlier, a volume of Homilies of the fourteenth century, which Mr. Richard Morris pointed out to me, and which I hope he will some day include in the series which he has so well started in the Early English Text Society. The 'new gise' of the young folk of its day was vain laughter, interludes, and strumpets' daunce.

[Harl. MS. 2276, leaf 37.]

"þ*er* is an oþ*er* lepre of *y*onge folk: þ*at* þei ben moche smyttid w*ith* now a daies / *and* þis is veyn lau*gh*tre, *and* idul wordis, *and* many oþ*er* vayn iapis: þ*at* seelden or neu*er* þei ku*n*nen stynte from he*m* / þei taken noon heede of goddis word. þei re*n*nen to enterludes w*ith* gret delijt: *y*he, þ*at* is more reuþe, to stru*m*petis daunce / þe preest for hem mai stonde alone in þe chirche, but þe harlot in þe clepyng[1] shal be hirid for good money: to tellen hem fablis of losengerie / but to such man*er* folk: crist seiþ ful sharpeli þese wordis. / wo to *y*ou þ*at* now lawen: for *y*e shuln wepe ful sore her-aftir /"

Our *Now a dayes* does not mention, among its complaints, the drunkenness that we know from Shakespere and other writers, was so prevalent in England in later days. That there was some of it here in Henry VIII.'s time, we cannot doubt; that it was in England earlier, the famous drinking-scene in the London tavern of the *Vision of Piers Plowman* (p. vi.–vii., 60–64,

[1] ? *chepyng*, market; or 'in the calling,' when asked to come.

Text A., ed. Skeat), shows us; and the Homilies noticed above have a long passage on it, from which we may quote a few lines:—

[Harl. MS. 2276, leaf 36, back.]

"for dru*n*kenesse is modir of vices: *and* makiþ a man ful dul to ve*r*tues / for whan man is ou*er*comen w*ith* drynk: where ben his wittis þanne: he fariþ as it were a queynt candle. *and* as he were deed in donge: his wit *and* resou*n* is drenchid in draftis / *and* so as þe *pro*fete seiþ: beestis roten in her donge / *and* wel mai dru*n*kelew folk be clepid beestis þ*at* lacken resou*n*. for bi þe meuyng of þe feend þei han difformid goddis ymage, þ*at* graciousli is *y*ouen to man: bi walewyng in þe foule þicke plud of dru*n*kenesse, as vnwitti *and* dru*n*ken swyn, *and* so roten in þis foule synne /"

l. 233. *Few Archers.* The efforts of Henry VIII. to revive the use of bows and practice of Archery are well known. See these Statutes, referred to in the Index:—

On Archery.	*On Cross Bows and Hand Guns.*
3 Hen. VIII. c. 3.	3 Hen. VIII. c. 14.
6 Hen. VIII. c. 13.	6 Hen. VIII. c. 13.
33 Hen. VIII. c. 9.	14, 15 Hen. VIII. c. 7.
3 Hen. VIII. c. 14.	25 Hen. VIII. c. 17.
	33 Hen. VIII. c. 6.

§ 16. The Ballad of *Nowadayes* is written in the Lambeth paper MS. 159, of the sixteenth century, after some Latin Lives of St. Dunstan, Odo, Anselm, etc. The poem is in an informal hand, and is followed by another in the same hand, Art. "30, An English poetical address to the Trinity and to the Virgin Mary. At the end the name of *Thomas Langdon* is written in fol. 264." (*Catalogue.*)

The last verse is:—

"Blessed be the ffather off lyght*es* in hevyn,
& off virgyns *the* v*ir*gyn, our lady the queyn.
Lett my hart bless the lord of all goodnes
And thirst allwaye *the* fountayn of swetnes
a And cease never.
thoms . . Amen. langdon.

But I suspect he was only the copier, as, for 'swetnes' in the last line but one, he first repeated 'all goodnes' of the line above, and then corrected it. The *Lutheran* poem, printed in this volume, follows the Virgin poem, and I think it is in Langdon's hand, but am not sure.

Then come in a different hand, and on vellum, the "Words that John Hartgyll spoke before his death" (leaf 276, back), and "Ane Epitaphe vpon the death of John Hartgyll," followed by "ffinis, Q*uod* Thomas H."

The curls to the *g* and *n*, represented in the text by the Record type g̃, ñ = g*er*, n*er*, are very small, and are to be taken as representing only a possible final *e*, and possibly nothing.

The Rev. F. W. Russell, Chaplain of Charing Cross Hospital,—and author of a most valuable work on '*Kett's Rebellion in Norfolk in* 1549, of which I unluckily did not know till this sheet was in course of revisal—first brought the ballad of *Now a Dayes* under my notice by sending me his transcript of it, (from which I find he quoted in his *Kett's Rebellion*) through our mutual friend, Mr. Fitzedward Hall, with a message that I might print it when I liked, after I had read it with the MS. and made out two or three words which had puzzled him. It was a long time before a chance offered of reading Mr. Russell's transcript with the MS., for during my visits to the Lambeth Library in Professor Stubbs's Librarianship, my time was taken up with other matters; then the library was closed altogether, but lately Mr. Kershaw's appointment has re-opened it; and here the Ballad is:—

[Lambeth MS. 159, leaf 261, ? ab. 1520 A.D.]

We Englisshemen beholde
Our auncient customs bolde[1],
more p*rec*iouser then golde,
be clene cast away,
And other new be fownd,
the which (ye may vnderstand)
that causethe all your land
So gretly to decay.

Mervell it is to here
Of noble men, *tha*t were
Among vs many a yere
Here in tyms past,
The which toke in hand
p*ro*vision to be fond[2],
How to inhabit this land,
& this was all theyr cast.

To bylde chirches strong,
W*ith* solempne bell[e]s rong,
Devine s*er*vice song,
Mans life to amend.
ther was dubbyd many a knyght;
W*ith* all ther powre and myght,
Holy churche Ryght
Sworne to defende.

[1] The *b* has a tail to make it *h*, added by a later hand. [2] Pronounce "fand."

Than made they such ordynaunce, [lf. 261, col. 2.]
that every man with Reverence,
Vnder law and obedience
ther prince should obay;
And while this people pure,
ther goodnes Dede endure,
So long, I yow ensure,
this lond myght not Decay.

Then *the* kyng sett good price
By noble men and wyse,
and after there Devise
He did govern him-self;
He wold not forsake
ther counsayll to take;
they wold no statute make
But for *the* commen welth.

then was he held in honor,
the kyng loved in gret plesur,
& among his commons gret tresur;
ffor nothing wold thei care.
then were men both freshe & bolde,
and kept noble housholde,
the people had what *the*i wolde,
ffew of them were bare.

Mery hartes was than to Ryde [lf. 261 bk. col. 1.]
thorough towne & cytees wyde,
Replenysshed on every side
With castels & towers hye.
But now are the capitayns goone,
ther ys not left the *tenth*[1] at home;
the goodly towers of lyme & stone,
A-long on the grownd *the*i lye.

Castels now be not set by:
the cawse is well knowen whi.
Sithe *the*i be Down, let them lye;
thei stopp nott my way.
thei stode my fathers tyme before;
yf they do myne, I aske no more,
and so of them men geve no store[2],
for which caus thei Do decay.

[1] MS. "left he the X." [2] MS. "strore."

the people lyve in variaunce
for lack of perseveraunce;
semple ys there governaunce,
and wors ys there intent. 68
Every man is fayne
On other to complayne:
Yf thys long Rayne,
We shall yt all repent! 72

The spirituall church, *the*ir myslevyng, [lf. 261 bk. col. 2.]
to *the* temporall, evell ensample gevyng;
& thus, ether others works reprovyng,
*the*i lyve in bate & stryfe. 76
The lay men say *that* preest*es* Iett,
alle ys ffysshe *that* commyth to *the* nett;
thei spare none *that* they can gett,
Whether she be mayd or wyfe. 80

men say *that* priors & abbott*es* be
Grete grosyers in this countre;
they vse bying & sellyng openlye;
the church hath *the* name. 84
Thei are nott content with *ther* possession,
But gapyng ever for promotion,
& thus withdrawyng mens Devotion,
vnto *the* land*es* grete shame. 88

And in lykewyse *the* commynalte
Apply themselff ryght mervelouslye
To lerne craft*es and* subtilite,
ther neybours to begyle: 92
The sister will begile *the* brother,
the childe wyll begyl the mother;
And thus on will not trust another
Yff this world last awhyle. 96

Temporall lord*es* be almost gone, [lf. 262, col. 1.]
Howsholdes kepe *the*i few or none,
Which causeth many a goodly mane
ffor to begg his bredd: 100
Yff he stele ffor necessite,
ther ys none other remedye
But *the* law will shortlye
Hang him all save *the* hedd. 104

And thus *the* people w*ith* gret cruelte
vse the law w*ith* extremyte;
The world ys w*ith*out all pite,
On god *the*i have no dredd.
In such pride *th*is world ys brought,
That vytalle me*n* *the*i sett Rygh̄t nought,
the w*hi*ch thing̃ ons wyl be forthought
Yff eu*er* to the*m* thei shall have nede.

The grete mysorder of everi cytee
Cawsythe gret derth & povertee.
Alas! Alas! yt ys gret pitee
That Rych me*n* be so blynd,
Which, for *the*r gret pride & fulsom fare,
They pluck & pull̄ ther neybors bare,
And thus the people punyshed are,
And shortly browght be-hynd.

A Rich ma*n* w*ith*owt wysdom, [lf. 262, col. 2.]
A wyse ma*n* w*ith*out discresion,
A foole naturall̄ for his p*ro*motion,
A Ruler shal become;
Than shall̄ he m*er*velous statut*es* cry,
made by his grete pollicy,
The Rich to be avaunced therby,
and *the* poore cleane vndone.

Now ys [Gods church] merchandyse,
Bying̃ and sellyng̃ benefice;
A layma*n* will̄ therin ent*er*price
That knowth nothi*n*g *the* charge.
Craft*es*-men now to kepe a cure,
that w*ith* such thing*es* was neu*er* in vre;
so he have *the* title[1], ye may be sure
the p*ar*yssh gothe at large.

The gret men now take no hede
How ill̄ so eu*er* the co*m*mons spede;
the poore Dare not speke for drede,
for nowght *the*i can Recover.
Some gracious ma*n* sett his hand
that good p*ro*visio*n* may be fownd!
Or els farwell̄ *the* welth of *th*is land,
Cleane vndone for ever!

[1] tithe.

Leve the law, and vse weⁿ; [lf. 262 bk. col. 1.]
to be p*er*iured it shaⁿ not skyⁿ,
So *that* I may my bagg*es* ffyll,
my heyers to p*ro*mote:
A nother Day, then shaⁿ he
Be a Ruler after me;
And so *the* poor co*m*inalte
be troden vnder fote.

Envy waxith wonders strong,
the Rich[e] doth the poore wrong:
God of his m*er*cy sufferiⁿ long
the deviⁿ his work*es* to worke.
The townes go down, *the* land decayes;
Off cornefeyld*es*, playne layes;
Gret m*en* makith*e* now a dayes
A shepecott in the churche.

The places *that* we Right holy caⁿ,
Ordeyned ffor christyan buriaⁿ,
Off them to mak*e* an ox staⁿ
thes m*en* be wonders wyse.
Co*m*mons to close and kepe;
Poor folk for bred [to] cry & wepe;
Towns pulled downe to pastur shepe:
this ys the new gyse!

Alyaunt*es* here have *th*er way, [lf. 262 bk. col. 2.]
And Englysshm*en* cleane decay,
the one half must nedes play;
this ys a com*o*n welth!
Other land*es* avaunced bee,
& by & sell amo*n*g vs free;
& thus ou*r* own co*m*modite
Doth clene vndo our selff.

Marchau*nt*es vse subtility,
the church livith viciously,
the co*m*mo*n*s are in poverty,
this lond goth to wast:
Marchaunt m*en* traveⁿ *the* co*n*tre,
plowmen Dweⁿ in the cyte,
W*hi*ch wyll Destroy *the* land shortly:
That wiⁿ be sene[1] in hast!

[1] "Sene" is interpolated by a later hand.

BAYERISCHE STAATS- BIBLIOTHEK MUENCHEN

To gather goode*s* gret men be wyse,
but yet *the*i can nothi*n*g Devise
That of ther own witte*s* shall aryse
Ffor a co*m*mon wele.
ther wytte*s* on *that the*i will not breke;
But yf a ma*n* agayn them speke,
Other remedy shale he none gett
but be caried strayt to *the* gayle.

straunge sikenes we have new,
the people of p*ro*myse be vntrew,
ffrom sinne *the*i may nott eschew,
But Dayly warse & warse:
Where ys no Repe*n*tawnc*e*,
God must nede*s* take ve*n*geaunc*e:*
New synne, new penaunc*e;*
Off Ryght he ca*n* no lesse.

Greate Deth & much idelnes,
lytle mony and much sicknes,
gret pryd & smale Riches,
How can these agree?
Gret auctorite & smale wisdom,
Symple officers & gret extorsion:
Lyght offenc*e* & sore correction,
An[1] end of this must bee.

A litle ma*n*, gret possession
much sinne & smal devotion,
low born & highe promotion,
this hath ben seen of late:
Muche cu*n*nyng and smale Regard,
Good se*r*vice & smale Rewarde,
lyght brayns & over charghd:
this ys *the* new estate!

Much wrong & smale Remedy,
litle besynes and smale subtilyty,
gret nede & smale charyty;
Grac*e* can not be hadd:
ffew people and much synne,
gret hayres and smale Rynne[2],
many Ieopardyes & few wynne;
This[3] ys the world ladd!

[1] MS. "and." [2] ? Rine, rind = "long hair and little wool." [3] this = thus.

moch troubl*e*, and eu*er* bar*e*;
smale avauntage & moch care,
sore labour & evyll fare;
this Dayly we may se:
litle sellyng and much pletyng,
many chyldr*en* w*ith* smale weddyng,
moch theft & more beggyng;
Such ys ther poverty!

many ga*m*mers[1] and few archers,
gay cortyars & yll warryers,
many craft*es*men & halff beggers,
both in townes & cyty:
ffrenche ware hither ys browght,
& englishe hand craft gothe to nowght.
Halff this Realme, it ys vnwrowght!
Alas, for pure pytty!

Gret frawnches & smale liberte,
new fangle & gret sca[r]cyte,
Smale favour & gret brybre,
fayned love w*ith* pryvy hate:
Gret derth and smale nede; [lf. 263 bk. col. 1.]
the more daunger, *th*e less drede;
Yet me*n* theroff take none hede
tyll *that* it be to late!

The former off heve*n* above all thi*n*g,
In *th*e celestiall court sittyng,
thre in one w*ith*owt begy*nn*ny*n*g,
the father & sonne & holy goost!
Off thy infinyt*e* mercy
send to vs some Remedy!
Or els I fear shortly
this Realm wyl be lost.

The second p*er*son in trinite,
that spred his armes apo*n* tre
apon the mou*n*t of calvery,
& all for our gylt!
W*ith* thy mother mary,
save thys our Dowry!
that in *th*is gret necessyty
thys Realm be not spylt.

[1] Gamblers, and not players at athletic games.

He *that* made this treatise
Which ys called "now a dayes,"
sheweth how *the* Realm decayes
By them *that* be vnkynd :
thowgħ yt be Rudely exprest, [lf. 263, bk. col. 2.]
Desiry*n*g to take *the* best,
vppo*n* no ma*n* to rayle ne gest,
for *that* was not his mynd.

But for them[1] who doth hit Rede,
to *the*r own fawt*es* shold take hede,
& *the*m reform, for hit ys nede ;
thus he did entend :
That peopl*e* shold ame*n*d *the*r lyvy*n*g
and love God above aħ thyng
beyng true and faythfuħ to *the* kyng
then shuld thys world ame*n*d.

Amen ffor charite.[1]

[1] "tyme" in MS.

NOTE.—The watermark is a hand and star, between 1512 and 1530? : probable date 1540? In another series of verses, occurring after the above (lf. 270), one begins "O noble prince Henry, thou prince of high progeny,"[2] and was doubtless written in the time of Henry VIII.—F. W. RUSSELL.

[1] After the poem above is written in the MS. :—

"thys ys the sygn off the moon ○ ."

[2] This 'series of verses' is the poem *Against the Blaspheming English Lutherans, and the Poisonous Dragon Luther*, printed below.

Appendix to "Nowadayes."

§ 5 of *Introduction, page* 6.
The Ballad, l. 162, *The turning of Cornfields into Pasture.*
„ „ l. 157, 167, *The Decay of Towns and Men.*
„ „ l. 100–4, *The Hanging of People for stealing from want.*

PAPERS OF HENRY VIII. Vol. IX., leaf 262, Document 431, A.D. 1514.

Petition to Henry VIII. against the Engrossing of many small Farms into one man's hands, and the consequent Neglect of Tillage for Pasture, Loss of Corn, Poultry, etc., Decay of Houses and Churches, Ploughs and Men.

To the king *our* sou*er*aigne lorde.

Pleasith it yo*ur* noble grace, by the aduice of yo*ur* lord*is* sp*iri*tuall and temporall, and Co*m*mons, in yo*ur* P*ar*liament Assembled, to consider the great indigence and scarsitie of alman*er* of vitailles necessary and behouffoll for yo*ur* pore Subiect*es* w*ith*in this yo*ur* Realme of Englond, whiche hath growen', and daily doth growe, more and more, by reason' of the great and couitous misvsages of the ffermes w*ith*in this yo*ur* Realme, whiche misvsages, and the inconvenienc*es* therof, hath not only be begon' and rysen' by diu*er*s gentilmen' of the same yo*ur* Realme, but also by diu*er*se and manye M*er*chaunt*es* adventurers, Clothmakers, Goldsmythes, Bochers, Tannars, and other Artificers, and vnreasonable Couitous p*er*sones, whiche doth encroche daily many ffermes more than' they can' be able to occupye or maynteigne w*ith* Tilth for Corne, as hath been' vsed in tymes past, forasmoche as diu*er*s of them, hath obteyned and encroched into their hand*es* x, xij, xiiij, or xvj fermes, in oon' mannes hand attons, where in tymes past there hath been' in eu*er*y fferme of them' A good house kept, and in so*m*me of them', iij, iiij, v, or vj ploughes kept, and daily occupied, to the great comforte and Relief of yo*ur* subiect*es* of yo*ur* Realme, pore and Riche. for when' eu*er*y man' was contented w*ith* oon' fferme, and occupied that well, than' was plentie and reasonable price of eu*er*y thing that belongid to mannes sustinaunce and Relief, by reason' of Tillage, forasmoche as eu*er*y acre of lond tilled and ploughed, bere the strawe and chaffe, besid*es* the Corne, Able and sufficient—w*ith* the helpe of the shakke in the Stobill—to socoure and fede as-

many great beast*es*, as horses, Oxen', and kyen', as the land wold kepe layed in leyes. And[1] further, by Reason' of the hinderflight Crappes and sedes tryed out in clensing, wynowing, and Sifting of the said Corne to make it clene, there was fedde and brought vp at eu*er*y barne dore, Hennes, Capons, Gees, Duck*es*, Swyne, and other pultrie, to the great comforte of yo*ur* people in eu*er*y Shyre w*it*hin this Realme of Englond. and now, by reason' of so many ffermes engrosed in oon' mannes hand*es* whiche can' not till them', as is aforsaid, the ploughes be decayed, and the fferme houses, and also other dwelling houses in many townes w*it*hin this Realme, So that where was in a towne xx or xxx dwelling houses, they be now decayed, ploughes and all, and all the people clene goon' and decayed, and the churches downe, and no more p*ar*isshons in many p*ar*isshes, but a nettard and a Sheppard, or a warner & a Sheppard, in the stede of iij^{xx} [60] or iiij^{xx} [80] p*er*sones. Pleasith it therfore yo*ur* noble grace, by the assent of yo*ur* lord*is* sp*irit*uall and temp*or*all, and co*m*mons in yo*ur* p*re*sent p*ar*liament assemblid, and by auctoritie of the same, to establisshe and enacte that no man*er* of p*er*sone from hensforth[2] shall haue or kepe in his owne hand*es* or possession' any moo ffermes than' oon', and that the holder of the same, or other to his vse, enhabite and dwell therupon' w*it*h their familie and houshold, the same fferme occupying yerely w*it*h tilth, in payne to forfaite xl li, tociens quociens; the oon' half therof to be to yo*ur* noble grace, and the other half to hym' that will sue therfore.

PAPERS OF HENRY VIII. Vol. IX., Document 432, leaf 264.

Draft of a Proclamation in accordance with the Prayer of the above Petition against the Neglect of Tillage for Pasturage, and the engrossing of Farms,—which produce idleness, theft, and the hanging of the thieves,—and ordering all Farm-houses to be re-inhabited.

The kyng, oure Soueraigne lorde, like a vertuouse & gracious prince, Dayly trauaylyng aboute thencrease of the Com*m*une weale of this his Realme, & his true & faithfull Subiect*es* of the same, as well by the lamentable complaynte of his said Subiect*es*, as by the credible reporte of his Justic*es* of the peace & Co*m*missione*r*s of eu*er*y Shire within his said Realme, perceyuyth*e* & graciously consyderith*e* that the longe contynuyd Scarstie, as well of grayne as of other vitailes, within this Realme, to the grete Detriment of his said louyng subiect*es* hath bene, & yet is, not only by conuertyng arable grounde vnto pasture, but allso by engrossyng of many fermes & tenement*es* of husbondry ynto the handes & possession of a fewe couaytouse persones, which*e* for their owne particuler

[1] Leaf 263.

[2] An *ſ* is made through the *n*.

lucre neglectith*e* tillage, & only applyinge the lande bilongyng to the said fermes vnto pasturage & fedyng of catell, suffrith*e* the houses of the said fermes & tenement*es* to decaye & fall ynto ruyne, vneth kepyng as many p*er*sones vppon all the saide fermes or tenement*es* as yn eu*er*y of them seu*er*ally were wonte to be kept bifore the saide engrossyng & decaye of husbondry by occasion wherof, not only all man*er* of corne & grayne hath*e* bene in a grete quantitie mynysshyd, but pultrye & oder vitaile necessary for mannys sustinaunce Decayed, which were wonte to be bradde in the saide ffermes & tenement*es* whan thei were inhabited, but allso an infinite numbre of the kyng*es* Subiect*es* for lacke of occupation hath*e* fallen, & Dayly do fall, vnto Idelnes, & consequently vnto thefte & robries, And finally by the rigo*ur* of the lawes of this Realme many of them haue ben putt to the execution of Dethe, to the grete Depopulation & waikenyng of this noble Realme, & the lamentable remembraunce & grete heuynesse vnto the kyng*es* highnes; His grace, therfore, for the zele that he hath*e* to the co*m*mune weale, desyryng to encountre with the vncharitable & couaytouse appetites, as well of them which*e* conu*er*tith*e* arable grounde in to Pasture, as of the saide Engrossers of fermes and tenement*es* of husbondry, reputyng them as Enemyes of the Co*m*mune weale of this his Realme of Englande, Straytly chargith & co*m*maundith*e* all & eu*er*y his subiect*es*, spirituall and temporall, of what estate, Degre or condicion, he or they be, which now hath, or here-after shall haue, any moo fermes or tenement*es* of husbondry than one, & intendith to kepe them in his or their own handes, or that any other p*er*sone or p*er*sones hath to his vse, that thei & eu*er*y of them do till or cause[1] to be tillyd, by the feste of saint Michel tharchaungel next co*m*myng, all suche landes lying or appertaynyng to all & eu*er*y of their saide fermes & tenement*es* of husbondry, as was occupied & vsyd for tillage[2] at any tyme bifore the first yere of the reigne of the moste noble prynce of famous memory, kyng henry the vijth.[2] And the landes being tillyd, as is bifore saide, contynuelly to exercise & vse it in tillage accordyngly. Semblably that the said Engrossers immediatly do cause all & eu*er*y of the saide houses of husbondry yet standyng, wherunto the saide land*es* to be put in tillage (as is biforesaide) doo appertayne or bilonge, to be inhabitid & Dwelt yn by husbondmen or laborars, accordyng as it was bifore the engrossyng of the said houses: And that they faile not thus to doo vppon suche greuous payne as will ensue, & as they will avoyde the kyng*es* high*e* Indignation & Displeasure.

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[1] Leaf 265.

[2] These words are between the lines of the MS. The original words, "by the space of next bifore the publisshing of this proclamation," are struck out.

Aliens. See Introduction, § 13, p. 56–9 ; *Now a Dayes*, l. 169–176.

In illustration of the Ballad's complaint about the harm done to English trade by aliens, the following Petition to Henry VIII from a large body of traders, is subjoined, with a draft of a Statute passed or intended to be in pursuance of the Petition's prayer.

[Harl. MS. 2252, leaf 15.]

To the kyng' ow*ur* Sou*er*ayne Lorde, And to the Ho-no*ur*abyll*e* Lord*is* Sp*irit*uall*e* And Temporall*e*, And to the Burgessys And co*m*mons of thys hye Cow*ur*te of p*ar*leament Asse*m*bled:

In' Moste petu*us* And Lamentabyll*e* wyse Shewen' and com-playnen' vnto yo*ur* moste exelent hyegnes, yo*ur* humbyll*e*, trewe & faythefull*e* Subgett*is*, and Contynuall*e* orat*ur*s, that ys to sey, mercers, grocers, drap*er*s, goldsmythes, skynn*er*s, habardass*er*s, Taylers, ledyrsellers, pursers, poyntmakers, g!ov*er*s, powchemakers, Sadlers, Cutlers, pewterers, Cowp*er*s, gyrdlers, founders, Cordene*r*s, vyntn*er*s, sporyars, yoyners, And all hother Chapme*n*, Retaylers, ocupiers of eu*er*y Crafte, mystery, & ocupac*i*on, in all*e* and eu*er*y yo*ur* Cetes, port*is*, Townu*s*, & Borow*us* w*ith*in þis Nobyll*e* Realme of Inglond // That where yo*ur* seyd Realme and land ys so Inhabyted w*ith* A grete Multytude, nedy pepyll*e*, estrang*er*s of dyu*er*s nac*i*ons, As Frensshemen', galymen', pycard*is*, flemyng*is*, keteryck*is*, Spaynyars, Scott*is*, Lu*m*bard*is*, & dyv*er*s hother nac*i*ons, That yo*ur* lyge pepyll*e*, englysshemen', Cannot IMagen' nor Tell*e* wherto, nor to whate ocupac*i*on, that they shall*e* vse or put there chyldre*n* to lerne, or ocupye, w*ith*-yn*ne* yo*ur* seyd Cetees, Borow*us*, port*is*, and Townu*s* of thys yo*ur* seyd Realme, w*ith* Many hother Chappmen' & pow*ur* como*n*s vsyng*e* the seyd Craft*is*, Mysterys, and ocupac*i*on in all and eu*er*y shere of thys yo*ur* seyd Realme / For The good Rule wherof / hyt ys Esstablysshyd, Made, ordeyned, enactyd and p*ro*uyded, By thasse*m*ble And Assente of hyghe Cow*ur*te of p*ar*leame*n*t in the Rayne of the Moste drade and vyctoryo*us* kyng' herry the vijth of famu*s* Memory, yo*ur* late dere fader, whom' god p*ar*don', And Also By the act*is*, ordyn*aun*c*is*, Establysshyng*is*, and p*ro*uysyons, of dyu*ers* hother Nobyll*e* And victoryo*us* kyngg*is* of thys yo*ur* Realme / yo*ur* p*re*dycessors, there Actes and Statut*is* in yo*ur* Record*is*, In' lyke wyse dothe Apere // Resytyng' that All*e* m*er*chauntes Estrang*er*s, and hother Strang*er*s, whate nac*i*on so evyr they be, Shulde kepe & be Resyaunt*is* in Cetes, portes, Townu*s*, & Borow*us*, w*ith*-*y*n' the Mansyons and habytacions of Englyshmen' / And of *þer* war*is*, good*is*, & m*er*chaundyshes, mak there porte sallers yn' grose, And yn' no manere of wyse by[1]

[1] Leaf 15 *b*.

Retayle, For the tyme of A moneth after there Fyrst ARevaile and co*m*myng to the said porte or towune // And no longer to contennewe þ*er*in' w*ith*out Specyall*e* Lycense; And yf they do p*re*sume þ^e^ *con*trary, ther said warys, good*is*, & m*er*chaundyse, whatso-eu*er* they be / To be Seissyd & Forffayted, Acordyng to the tennou*r*s, purport*is*, & effect*is* of the forsaid Act*is*, & estatut*is* or estatute, yn such*e* case p*ro*vydede, ordeyned, & *con*ffermyd yn tym*us* passed: nowe hyt ys so, moste Redowtyd Sou*er*ayne lord, that yn'-numorable nedy peple of galy men',[1] Frenshemen', &

[1] Were these Galymen those named in Kersey's ed. of *Phillips*: "*Galley-Men*, certain *Genoese* Merchants formerly so call'd, because they usually arriv'd in Galleys, landed their Goods at a Place in *Thames-street*, nam'd *Galley-key*, and traded with their own small Silver Coin call'd Galley-half-pence." In l. 12 of the Petition they are put between Frenchmen and Picards. Compare Harl. MS. 2252, fol. 14, giving the substance of the corruptly written Latin statute (?) below, which I cannot identify with any in the Statute Book. (Note, that every final ll has a line across it, which may mean a final *e*.)

"The Condission' of thys Acte ys thus: That noo marchaunte Stranger, as galymen', And hother Strang*er*s, m*er*chaunt*is*, shall not Sell no ware, But Suche as ys lefull for them: As the galymen shall sell no man*er* of Flaund*er*s ware, But onlye Suche ware as Comythe owte of there awne natyve Co*n*tre; And that they shall not goe A-Bowte to Town*us*, Borow*us*, & vyllag*is*, offeryng' there ware to Sell, to the hurte and p*re*iudyce of hother M*er*chaunt*is*, the kyng*is* Subyett*is* . And yff ony suche So be Takyn': þ^e^ Fyrste tyme, he to be convycte & Am*er*cyd . The second tyme, he to Abyde the Iugemente of the pyllory, And to forfete all such ware so fownde./ The thryde tyme, he to be Inp*r*isoned & redemyd./ The iiij^th^ tyme to forswere the Towne or Contre./ And thys to be don' of all forstallers./ And Also to them that, owthyr w*ith* Councell, helpe, or throwe favo*ur*, them' dothe Ayde or Strenthe. They to be in lyke wyse, as Afore ys seyd, to be ponysshed, et *cetera*./

ANNO REGNI REGIS E. iij^e^ & QUARTO.

M*er*catores ex*tra*neos, cu*m* rebus venalyb*us* ve*n*iente[s], Circu*m*ue*nien*t, offere*n*t, se ve*n*dicione*m* rer*um* suar*um*, suggerens eis q*uod* bona sua carius ve*n*dere pote*r*unt q*uam* vendere ponebant, & sic Arte et ingenio villam' seduc*it*, et pat*r*iam': p*r*imo conuict*us*,[1] Am*er*ciet*ur*; Sc*cun*do co*n*uinct*us*, paciat*ur* iudicium pyllerie; iij^o^, i*n*ca[r]cerent*ur*, & redima*n*tur: qu*a*rto, Abi[urent] villam'; et indicti hoc fiat de vniu*er*c*is* forstall[atoribus],[2] et sic de eis qui consiliu*m*, a[u]xiliu*m* & fauore*m*[3] p*re*stau*er*int, et *cetera*."

Are the 'patron*us* of the galyes' named in the next extract from the same MS., galymen?

"ORDYN*A*NCE IN THE CETE OF LONDON'.

Hyt ys ordayned that the patron*us* of the galyes shall kepe there howsys & there dorys shytte at the Ryngyng' of Curfue of Berkyng' Chyrche . And that they ne Any of þ*er* felawshyppe be wanderyng' Abrode ./ And þ*at* they shall in nowyse Make Retaylyng' w*ith*-in the Cete of London."

Minot, in 1352, mentions the Galaies men, or men having galleys, as if they formed a body, if they were not all of one nation. By command of Philip of Valois,

Schipmen sone war efter sent,	The galay man held up thaire handes,
To here the kinges cumandment;	And thanked God of thir tithandes
And the *galaies men* also,	[that
That wist both of wele and wo	

they were to invade England.] . . . .

[2] MS. coniu*n*ct*us*. [3] MS. forstallius. [4] MS. fauoro*m*.

odyr gret multtytudes of Alyand*is* estraung*er*s, don' Circuyte, wandere, go to & Fro, yn eu*er*y yo*ur* Citeis, port*is*, townys, & borrowghes yn all*e* plac*is*, aswell*e* wi*th*in Fraunchyses, p*re*vyleg*is*, & lybartes, as wi*th*out, to eu*er*y ma*n*nys dorr*is*, takyng vp standyng*is*, And *þer* make *þer* showys, m*ar*kett*is*, & sales of dyver*is* warys & marchaundyse to there Awne sy[n]guler p*ro*ffett*is*, advantag*is*, & advaylys, to the grete dysturbance, emporyshyng, hurt*is*, lossys, & vtture vndoyng of yo*ur* naturall*e* Subgett*is* & leege pepyll*e* yn all*e* & eu*er*y Cetie, porte, borrowe, towune, & plases of *þ*^is^ yo*ur* said Reame: And also of more Inconveniens for there Avaunce-me*n*t, The seyd Alyand*is* estrang*er*s vse to hyre them' s*er*uant*is* of there awne nac*i*on', or hother estraung*er*s, to go A-bowte, wandyr, And Retayle in all*e* Cetes, port*is*, Town*us*, & borow*us*, and all*e* other plac*is*, to bye, sell*e*, Retayle, and ocupye featis And M*er*chaundyc*is* at there pleasurs, wi*th*-owte lawfull*e* Awtoryte or lycens, contrary to the seyd act*is* & Statut*is* Afore prouided, And Contrary to the Charter*s*, lybertees, co*n*stytucyons, and co*n*fyrmac*ion*s, made, gevyn', & grauntyd by yo*ur* seyd nobyll*e* p*re*dycesso*ur*s Afore Rehersyd; By Mean' of whyche vnlawfull*e* Retaylyng' so Custu*m*mabely hauntyd, vsyd, and ocupyed, yo*ur* lyege pepyll*e* and naturall*e* Subgiet*is*, theire wyff*is*, Chyldren', and s*er*u*au*nt*is*, byn' vtt*er*lye decayed, enpowryshed, & vndon' in thys[1] worlde, onlesse yo*ur* excelent & benyng g*ra*ce, of yo*ur* tendyr pety, be vnto yo*ur* said subgett*is* gracyously at *þ*is tyme showed[2] yn thus behalff. And wi*th*-out A Shorte Remydy be had heryn', yo*ur* said Subgett*is* be not Able, nor Shall*e* not be of power, to paye there Rent*is*, nor also to mayntayne there pow*ur* howsold*is*, And to bere lotte and Scotte, and all hother prest*is* Benevolens, and Charg*is* in tyme of nede and warre for the defence of yo*ur* grace, And of thys yo*ur* seyd Realme, for the Repressyng', subdewyng', And venquysshyng' of yo*ur* Auncyente enemyes, Frensshemen', & all*e* hother there Adheren*tis*, & Banysshed men' owtward*is*; wherfor, wyll*e* hyt pleas yo*ur* exelente hyghnes, By the Advyce of the hono*ur*abyll*e* lord*is*, and hother in thys yo*ur* hyghe Cowrte of p*ar*leame*n*t Asse*m*bled To-ged*er*, To see and p*ro*vyde that no Alyand Strang*er*s Be suffred From' hensefor*th*e To ocupye, or retayle, contrary to theffecte of the seyd act*is* and statut*is* Aforseyd; And over thys, that none Alyand galyman', Frensheman', ne hother estrang*er*s, p*re*sume or Take vppon' hym' to make hys m*ar*kett, sale, or shewe hys good*is*, in ony place wi*th*in Frau*n*chys or lybarties, or wi*th*oute Frau*n*chys

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Then wen[t] thai theder all bidene,
The *galayes men*, with hertes kene,
viij. and xl. galays and mo . . . .
Bot *galay men* war so many,
That Inglis men wex all wery . . .
etc.

Political Poems and Songs, Edw. III to Ric. III, ed. T. Wright, i. 64–5.

[1] Leaf 16.

[2] MS. "be showed."

or lybarte, Vppon' payne *con*teyned yn' the forsaid Act*is*; by mene wherof yo*ur* said leege pepyll*e* may the bettyr lyve, to Sustayn' & maynteyne *per* wyff*is* & howssold, Aswell For thessuste-[n]*au*nce of eu*er*y p*er*sone/ As for the Subduyng of the said estraunger*is*, To the wele & encrece of thus yo*ur* said Realme; And thys yn' the wey of Cheryte: And they shall*e* praye Fore the Longe p*reser*vacion, of yo*ur* noble Estayte &c.

Theffecte of Another Statute.

Wherfor the kyng' ow*ur* Souerayne Lord, By thavyce And Assente of the Lordys sp*irit*uall*e* and Temporall*e*, at the prayer of hys seyd Comons in the seyd p*ar*leament Assemblyd, And by the Awtoryte of the same, hathe ordeyned and p*ro*uyded that no merchaunte Straung*er*s, aft*er* the feste of Est*er* now nexte co*m*myng', Bryng' in to thys Realme of ynglond to be solde, Any Man*er* gyrdyll*is*, nor Any harnys wrowghte for gyrdyll*is*, poynt*is*, lac*is* of led*er*, pursys, powchys, pynn*us*, glovys, knyvys, hang*er*s, taylo*ur* sherys, sesars, Andyrens, Cobord*is*, tong*is*, Fyre fork*is*, gyrdyrens[1]; Stocke, lock*is*, keyes, hyng*is*, and garnet*is*, Sporys; paynted pap*er*s, paynted focers, payntid IMag*is*, paynted Clothys, Any betyn' golde, or betyn' Sylu*er*, wroughte in pap*er*s for paynt*er*s; sadyll*is*, Sadyltrees, horse harnys, Booc*is*, Bytt*is*, Steropp*us*, Bokell*is*, Chayn*us*, laten' naylys w*it*h yren' shank*is*, Turret*is*, Standyng' Candylstyck*is*, hangyng Candylstyck*is*, holy wat*er* Stoppus, Chafyng' dysshys, hangyng' lav*er*s, Curten' rynng*is*, Cardys for wulle (exsept & Rone Cardys), Clasp*us* for glovys, Bokell*is* for shoys, Brochys, Bell*is* (exsepte Bell*is* for hauk*is*) spon*us* of tyn And Lede, Cheyn*us* of wyre, as well*e* of Laten' as of Iren, grat*is*, hures, & Lanterne horn*us*, or ony of these forseyd warys, Redy made & wrowghte, p*er*teyny*n*g' to the seyd Craft*is* Above Specyfyed, or Any of them', vppon' payne of forfeture of all the warys, and of ev*er*y of them, so Browght in-to thys Realme, To be contrary to thys Acte. or the valew of them/ In whose hand*is* they or ony of them' shall*e* be Founde/ the on' halff of such*e* Fynys, Forfayturys, & penaltes, And eche of them', be vnto the kynge owere sou*er*ayn' lorde/ And that othyre halff to be vnto hym or thaym' of the kyng*is* subgett*is*, the which*e* shall*e* seas the same, or sue For the same, by Accion' of dett/ by wrytte or/ bill*e* At Comen lawe, by bill*e* or playnte, Aft*er* the Custu*m* of the Cetie [or] towne, wher yt shall*e* happyn' her, Aft*er* ony such*e* Fynes.

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[1] MS. "gyrdyrens, gyrdyrens."

Vox Populi Vox Dei.

(A.D. 1547-8.)

[Harleian MS., 367, leaf 130.]

INTRODUCTION.

THE first print known to us of this most interesting poem, which sums up, in the first years of Edward VI.'s reign, the social evils of Henry VIII.'s, is that of 1821[1]; but its title-page declares it to be a reprint, "Re-printed by G. Woodfall, Angel Court, Skinner Street." The text, however, refers to the Harleian MS. 367, as if it were printed from that; but this is quite consistent with the fact of there being an earlier printed edition, though none has yet turned up.

The second edition of the poem was by Mr. Dyce, in the Appendix to his 'Skelton,' ii. 400. He edited it from the MS. 2567 (Bishop More's) in the Cambridge University Library, collated with the Harleian MS. "The latter," he says, "though it contains a very considerable number of lines which are not found in the former, is on the whole the inferior MS., its text being greatly disfigured by provincialisms." Mr. Dyce's reason for printing the poem in his Appendix to 'Skelton' was that the Cambridge MS. attributes the poem to Skelton, "ffinis quothe Mr. Skelton, Poete Lauriate;" but, says Mr. Dyce, it "was evidently composed by some very clumsy imitator of his style."

Passing over the American reprint, or edition, as it is called, of Mr. Dyce's book, we come to the third English print of the poem, that in vol. iii. of 'Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of England,'[2] p. 267. So far as I can see, this is a mere reprint of

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[1] Privately printed, intended by Sir Joseph Littledale for the Roxburghe Club; but for some reason Skelton's Interlude of Magnyfycence was substituted, and the whole impression, consisting of 104 copies, was sold in his library in 1843. *Bohn's Lowndes.*

[2] A most useful and interesting collection, which I recommend all our Members who have not got it, to buy,—the 4 vols. only cost £1—though I comment adversely on one Introduction in it.

Mr. Dyce's text, omitting his collations—except one, which is mis-stated, the right being made wrong,—his notices of lines missed, and sense wanting, in parts of the poem, and also omitting *one* line, l. 81, "What wolde ye any more?" which Mr. Dyce had inserted in his text from the Harleian MS. The omission of this one line is thus heralded in the Editor's Introduction to the poem:—"Occasionally, however, he has been obliged to exclude the additional matter, which was sometimes interwoven, of course by a later hand, without much regard to the sense or the context."

The Editor then proceeds to comment on Mr. Dyce's reasoning powers and poetic judgment:—"The reason which Mr. Dyce gives for thinking that it [the poem] was not Skelton's, does not seem a very good one; for, although an event is mentioned in the poem which did not occur till after Skelton's death (1529), it ought to be borne in mind that 'additions' were made to MS. poems, as well as to dramas, by later pens; and of this the Harleian copy is proof, if one were required. The Cambridge MS. itself may have been the work of a copyist." Now, the reader has seen that Mr. Dyce's "reason," not for "thinking," but for stating positively, that the poem was not by Skelton, but by some very clumsy imitator of his style, is contained in the word *evidently*. Having the critical faculty himself,—how largely we all know,—he just said to all others having it, "the thing is self-evident;" and so it is.

How, then, has this Editor mixed the matter up with this question of dates? By confusing it in his own mind, I imagine, with what Mr. Dyce has said at p. 413 on "The Image of Ipocrysy," a poem which Mr. Dyce rejects as Skelton's upon the evidence of dates:—"to say nothing of other passages, the mention of certain writings of Sir Thomas More and of 'the mayde of Kent' (Elizabeth Barton [executed April 21, 1534]), which occurs in the third part, would alone be sufficient to prove that it was the composition of some writer posterior to his time."

Having thus cleared off this little fog, we may proceed to discuss a date which has been suggested for *Vox Populi*. "The original appearance of 'Vox Populi Vox Dei' may perhaps be assigned to some period between 1515 and 1520, when the exactions of Wolsey were rendering him exceedingly unpopular." A more desperately unlucky shot, one more completely out of the line of fire, and wide of the mark, could hardly have been made. It is just as if some future editor of Tennyson were to say that the poet's touching lines on Prince Albert, for his virtues, were probably written on George IV for his vices. There is not a line in "Vox Populi" that can be applied to Wolsey; there are two appeals to the King's Protector to redress and correct excesses (ll. 631 and 769). Just fancy Henry VIII, when from twenty-four to thirty, with a Protector! And the characteristic

of the poem, as contrasted with others of the kind, is its shor dwelling on the oppressions of the King's officers, its long stay on those of landlords and traders and usurers. Of the only two passagès that speak of the Government evils, one is an insertion of the Harleian MS. :—

> "For pawre men dayly sees
> How officers takes their fees." [l. 384–5.]

While the other is only an enumeration of those "that do holde the substance and the golde and the treasure of this realme;" and, after naming the lawyer and the landlord, names the great men and the "record," and then specifies who are included in the term "record," namely,—

> "Lorde Chancellour & Chancellours,
> Masters of Myntes, & monyers,
> Secondaryes and surveyours,
> Auditors and receivours,
> Customers and comptrollers,
> Purveyours and prollers."
> [ll. 708–13.]

These (among others) the Protector is appealed to, to help of their pleurisy in section 12. But the joke of attributing the poem to Wolsey's time, when his exactions were making him unpopular, will be further apparent to the reader when he sees that the following passage is in it:—

> "Godes worde is well sett forthe;
> It never was more preached,
> Nor never so playnly teached...
> We have banyshed superstycion...
> We have sent awaye all cloysterers,
> We have taken theire landes for theire abuse,
> But we convert theym to a wourse use.
> [Section 1. ll. 531–544.]

Still it may be answered, "All these passages, which fix the date so plainly to the two first years of Edward VI's reign, and to Somerset's protectorate, that no one who reads the poem with the slightest care or the smallest head, can avoid seeing it,—all these may be interpolated lines, which never formed part of the Remonstrance at the outset. The Harleian version shows that the poem has been tampered with." No doubt the part of Hamlet may have been interpolated in the play of 'Hamlet,' but until we have some evidence of it, we may as well conclude that Shakspere put it there; and until we have evidence that the Protector and Reformation passages of "Vox Populi," which all exist in the Cambridge MS. as well as the Harleian, were interpolated in both, we had better, I think, assume that the writer of the poem put them there, where they are quite in harmony with the rest of the poem, and not indulge in gratuitous assumptions without a shadow of foundation. Let any one who wants to see how people wrote against Wolsey, read Roy's "Satire," Skelton's "Why come ye nat to Courte?" (Dyce, ii. 26), "The Impeachment of Wolsey," in the present volume, etc. In short, there is no reason whatever to suppose that the poem applies to Wolsey or his taxes, or was written in his day.

Fog number two being thus cleared off, we now come to the subject of the poem. Whether the old printed title in the edition of 1821, and on the back of the Harleian MS., "A Complaynt of the Comons against Taxes," meaning against the oppressions of the King's taxes, rightly describes that subject, may be safely left to the intelligence of any careful reader. The only sense in which this title can be true is this, if we grant that part of the burden of the poem—

> "Your powr men thus doe saye,
> If they hade yt, they wold paye,"—

applied to a then present or threatened tax. The poem does not either dwell on, or even name, such tax; but shows mainly the other wrongs, not governmental, under which the poor suffer; and the causes, not directly governmental either, by which they are rendered unable to pay.

Section **1** complains that the land of the country is in so few men's hands that neither farmer nor poor have malt or meal, bacon, beef, or veal, but are ready to steal for pure need (cp. *Now a Dayes*, p. 5, and p. 95, l. 101), and the Commons can hardly keep a cow or sow.

§ **2** says the Commonalty are in such great penury on account, chiefly, of the too many sheepmasters who turn arable land into pasture (cp. p. 4–37, and p. 101–3, above), and make poor men weep for the storing of the sheep. The landlord and the lawyer are special sinners this way, and raise the price of meat, so that the butcher must charge 12*s.* or a mark (13*s.* 4*d.*) for the bare carcass of a sheep (without its offal and fleece), and £4 (or £5, according to a later hand) for an ox.

§ **3.** This misuse of their sheep and oxen by the Lords is what makes the Commons cry. They alone feel the extremity of it. And if God were to send rain to spoil the harvest, all would know that it was His punishment for the great men's transgressions.

§ **4.** Not long ago, one or two preachers told throughout the land how the poor man was tost from pillar to post; the labourer, husbandman, handicraftsman, and yeoman (cp. l. 191, and the extract from Ascham p. 113), who used to have plenty of kine and cream—butter, eggs, cheese, honey, wax, and bees (adds the later text)—are all gone to wrack; they, the stay of the realm, its only defender against foreign foes. So the Commons declare; and I, a poor shepherd, but write their words anew. Here the later text introduces one hundred and two lines saying that the devourers of the poor are upstart gentlemen who lately supped out of an ashen cup, but have now plate worth £200, or £2000, as the later hand writes in the margin. And also that merchants stay at home and lend money to gentlemen, and jockey

them out of their lands, instead of going to sea and trading abroad boldly, as they ought to do. No merchant should be allowed to buy over £40 or £50 of land—by the year, seemingly.

§ **5.** The covetous Lords think only of getting large fines for leases[1], enclosing commons, and hoarding up their gains. And, says the later text, poor men daily see how officers take their fees, which deserves God's curse. By each seeking his own gain, our weal is undone.

§ **6.** Moreover, coin is very scarce, and so much debased, that merchants, when exchanging a pound on the other side of the sea, find it no better than the foreign pound, though formerly it "was better than theires by nyne."

§ **7.** The poor say that when they have any suit, they get put off, and the rich men who can pay, get heard; and the poor man gets turned out of his farm—unless he'll pay double rent, and a fine too,—and the arable is turned into pasture, because that pays the landlord better. Also the farmer must sell his goose to pay his rent, or be turned out, with wife and child, at Lady Day, for which they curse the covetous landlord.

§ **8.** True, that God's word was never so plainly taught as now; but then it was never so little followed. We've got rid of the monks, and have taken their lands, *but we've turned them to a worse use.* O King, consider well this thing!

§ **9.** All is not well. Ambition reigns so among the great. How can those who buy office for £2000 (?) rescue poor men out of their trouble? Instead, they get back their money by craft and extortion.

§ **9** *b.* Our isle is suddenly decayed, and poor men so overlaid, that I fear the stroke of God. Take care, then, my Lords, that we are not checkmated. For it is not one, but an infinite number of poor men who make piteous moan. O Protector of the King, first of the realm under him, redress this excess! Take no excuses; punish these abuses of fines and new uses, and suppress this shameful usury, now called husbandry.[2]

§ **10.** If you want to know the holders of the treasures of the realm, I'll tell you who they are: the Lawyer, the Landlord, the great Reeve, and the Record,—that is, all who hold office under the King,—graziers, sheepmasters, and clothiers; but especially the lawyers; these have money enough not only to pay for a year's war, (though you have to fight both France and Scot-

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[1] Cp. Harrison, in 1577, cited in Percy Folio, ii. 182:—"Forget not also such landlords as vse to value their leases at a secret estimation giuen of the wealth and credit of the taker, whereby they seeme (as it were) to eat them vp, and deal with bondmen, so that if the leassee be thought to be worth an hundred pounds, he shall paie no lesse for his new terme, or else another to enter with hard and doubtfull couenants."

[2] This is no petition to remit, or not to put on, taxes, be it observed.

land), but will then retain more than their patrimony. These men will yield you enough, even if you take no penny from your poor Commonalty. Their wealth is yours by right; take it then. If the poor had it, they would give it with a better will than these rich underlings.

§ **11.** O worthiest Protector, and you Lords of the Council, if you do not redress this covetousness, there will be such an outbreak as never was seen in any old man's time. Relieve these rich men of the pleurisy and gout of their wealth. And then God speed your Swepestake and Mynyon, and the rest of your fleet (to Scotland!). O King, *Miserere mei!* have pity on the poor in their distress!

I repeat, then, that the point of the poem, as I see it, is not complaint against taxation, but against social evils,—sheepfarming, raised rents, raised prices, etc., and among them this, that as to the possessions of the monasteries,—

> "We have taken their landes for theire abuse,
> But we convert them to a worse use,"

"so that we may say of our miseries what Ascham said, when writing to the Duke of Somerset on November 21, 1547,—the very year our poem was written in,—

"Qui auctores sunt tantæ miseriæ? . . . Sunt illi qui hodie passim, in Anglia, prædia monasteriorum gravissimis annuis redditibus auxerunt. *Hinc omnium rerum exauctum pretium:* hi homines expilant totam republicam. Villici et coloni universi laborant, parcunt, corradunt, ut istis satisfaciant . . . Hinc tot familiæ dissipatæ, tot domus collapsæ. Hinc, quod omnium miserrimum est, nobile illud decus et robur Angliæ, nomen, inquam, *Yomanorum Anglorum* fractum et collisum est. NAM VITA, QUÆ NUNC VIVITUR A PLURIMIS, NON VITA SED MISERIA EST."

(Ascham's Works, ed. Giles, i. 140–1.)

"And we declare to your Grace of Somerset, 'the good Duke,' our Protector, that the chief holders of these monastery lands are,—besides the Lawyer, Reeve, & Landlord,—those who serve the King."

Of the poem generally, Latimer's Sermons are a good illustration. Three extracts are on p. 27 here; and I add a few more on the raising of rents, the lawyers, the scarcity and dearness of food.

I doubt most rich men have too much; for without too much we can get nothing. As for example, the physician: if the poor man be diseased, he can have no help without too much. And of the lawyer, the poor man can get no counsel, expedition, nor help in his matter, except he give him too much. At merchants' hands no kind of ware can be had, except we give for it too much. You landlords, you rent-raisers, I may say, you step-lords, you unnatural lords, you have for your possessions yearly too much. For that here before went for twenty or forty pound by year, (which is an honest portion to be had gratis in one lordship of another man's sweat and labour,) now is let for fifty or an hundred pound by year. Of this "too much" cometh this monstrous and portentous dearth made by man, notwithstanding God doth

send us plentifully the fruits of the earth, mercifully, contrary unto our deserts: notwithstanding, too much, which these rich men have, causeth such dearth, that poor men, which live of their labour, cannot with the sweat of their face have a living, all kind of victuals is so dear,—pigs, geese, capons, chickens eggs, &c. These things, with other, are so unreasonably enhanced; and I think verily that if it thus continue, we shall at length be constrained to pay for a pig a pound.

Sermons, ed. 1844, p. 99 (; and see Carte's Hist. of England, iii. 233, quoted in the notes).

On the debasement of the coin complained of in lines 414, etc., of "Vox Populi," William Strafford enlarges with great force in his 'Certeyne Complaints,' quoted above, p. 30. He thinks it the one chief cause of all the troubles his countrymen complain of, and gives Elizabeth due praise for removing it, and restoring the coin to its proper standard. But I quote only from him a passage [leaf 44, back] in which he shows how the debasement of the coin operated to raise rents and prices:—

"whereas immediately after the basenesse of our Coyne in the time of kyng Henry the eight, *the* prices of all things generally among al sorts of people rose: it must needes happen here withal (as yee know), that our gentlemen which liued onely vpon *the* reuenues of their lands, were as neare or nearer touched (as is before proued) with the smarte hereof, then any other, of what order or estate so euer. Thys therefore being take*n* as most true, the Gentlemen, desirous to maytaine theyr former credite in bearing out *the* Porte of theyr Predecessors, were driuen of necessity, as often as whensoeuer any Leases deuised for terme of yeares by the*m*selues of their Auncestors were throughly expyred, & fel into theyr handes, not to let them out agayne for the most part, but as the rents of them were farre racked beyond the old: Yea, this rackynge and hoysting vp of Rentes hath co*n*tinued euer since *that* tyme, vntill this present day: Hereupon the husbandman was necessarily inforced, whereas his rent was now greater than before, (and so continueth vnto this day,) to sel his Victayles dearer, & to continue the dearth of them: and likewise other artificers withall to maintaine the like proportion in theyr wares, wherefore as this dearth at the fyrst time (as I said before) sprange of the alteration of the coyne, as of his firste and chiefest efficient cause: so doe I attribute the continuance of it hitherunto, and so forwarde, partely to the racked and stretched rentes which haue lasted, yea, and increased euer since that time hetherunto, & so are like to continue, I know not how long."

Lines 463–4, how the rich men win their law-suits, are also illustrated by Latimer's Second Sermon before Edward VI. (ed. 1844, p. 127):—

I must desire my lord Protector's grace to hear me in this matter, that your Grace would hear poor men's suits yourself. Put them to none other to hear, let them not be delayed. The saying is now, that *money is heard everywhere; if he be rich, he shall soon have an end of his matter.* Others are fain to go home with weeping tears, for any help they obtain at any judge's hand. Hear men's suits yourself, I require you in God's behalf, and put it not to the hearing of these velvet coats, these upskips. Now a man can scarce know them from an ancient knight of the country. I cannot go to my book, for poor folks come unto me, desiring me that I will speak that their matters may be heard. I trouble my lord of Canterbury; and being at his house, now and then I walk in the garden, looking in my book, as I can do but little good at it. But something I must needs do to satisfy this place. I am no

sooner in the garden, and have read awhile, but by & by cometh there some one or other knocking at the gate . Anon cometh my man, and saith: "Sir, there is one at the gate that would speak with you." When I come there, then it is some one or other that desireth me that I will speak that his matter might be heard; and that he hath lain this long at great costs and charges, and cannot once have his matter come to the hearing: but among all other, one specially moved me at this time to speak. This it is, Sir. A gentlewoman came to me and told me, that a great man keepeth certain lands of hers from her, and will be her tenant in the spite of her teeth; and that in a whole twelvemonth she could not get but one day for the hearing of her matter; and the same day when the matter should be heard, the great man brought on his side a great sight of lawyers for his counsel; the gentlewoman had but one man of law; and the great man shakes him so, that he cannot tell what to do; so that when the matter came to the point, the judge was a mean to the gentlewoman, that she would let the Great Man have a quietness in her land.

I beseech your grace that ye will look to these matters. Hear them yourself. View your judges, and hear poor men's causes. And you, proud judges, hearken what God saith in his holy book: *Audite illos, ita parvum ut magnum.* "Hear them," saith he, "the small as well as the great, the poor as well as the rich." Regard no person, fear no man: why? *Quia Domini judicium est.* "The judgment is God's." Mark the saying, thou proud judge. The devil will bring this sentence at the day of doom.

Latimer recurs again and again to the magistrates and judges taking bribes, and letting off rich offenders for them. At p. 139 of the 1844 edition, we find,

Bribery is a princely kind of thieving. They will be waged by the rich, either to give sentence against the poor, or to put off the poor man's causes. This is the noble theft of princes and of magistrates. They are bribe-takers. Now-a-days they call them gentle rewards: let them leave their colouring, and call them by their christian name, bribes. . . . Wo worth these gifts! they subvert justice everywhere. Giffe-gaffe was a good fellow; this Giffe-gaffe led them clene from justice. "They follow gifts."

A good fellow on a time bade one of his friends to a breakfast, and said, If you will come, you shall be welcome; but I tell you aforehand you shall have but slender fare: one dish, and that is all." "What is that?" said he. "A pudding, and nothing else." "Marry," said he, "you cannot please me better; of all meats, that is for mine own tooth; you may draw me round about the town with a pudding." These bribing magistrates and judges follow gifts faster than the fellow would follow the pudding.

At p. 157, Latimer again dwells on the judges' duty, and at p. 190 states a fact that he could testify-to himself:—

I know where a woman was got with child, and was ashamed at the matter, and went into a secret place, where she had no woman at her travail, and was delivered of three children at a birth. She wrung their necks, and cast them into a water, and so killed her children: suddenly she was gaunt again; and her neighbours suspecting the matter, caused her to be examined, and she granted all. Afterward she was arraigned at the bar for it, and despatched, and found not guilty, through bearing of friends, and bribery of the judge; when, at the same sessions, another poor woman was hanged for stealing a few rags off a hedge, that were not worth a crown.

On l. 468–74, "my lord is not at leisure; the poor man at the door stands like an Iceland cur," compare Latimer:—

Ye noblemen, ye great men, I wot not what rule ye keep. For God's sake,

hear the complaints and suits of the poor. Many complain against you, that ye lie a-bed till eight, or nine, or ten of the clock. I cannot tell what revel ye have over-night; whether in banqueting, or dicing, or carding, or how it is; but in the morning, when poor suitors come to your houses, ye cannot be spoken withal: they are kept sometimes without your gates; or if they be let into the hall, or some outer chamber, out cometh one or other, "Sir, ye cannot speak with my lord yet; my lord is asleep; or he hath had business of the king's all night." And thus poor suitors are driven off from day to day, that they cannot speak with you in three or four days, yea, a whole month: what shall I say more? yea, a whole year sometimes, ere they can come to your speech, to be heard of you. For God's love look better to it. Speak with poor men when they come to your houses; and despatch poor suitors, as indeed some noblemen do; and would Christ that *all* noblemen would so do! But some do. I went one day myself betime in the morning to a great man's house to speak with him in buisness that I had of mine own; and methought I was up betimes; but when I came thither, the great Man was gone forth about such affairs as behoved him, or I came. Well; yet, thought I, this is well, I like this well: this Man doth somewhat regard and consider his office and duty. I came too late for mine own matter, and lost my journey and my early rising too: and yet I was glad that I had been so beguiled. For God's love follow this example, ye great men, and arise in the mornings, and be ready for men, to speak with them, and to despatch suitors that resort unto you.

On Surveyors, l. 710, Latimer says (*ib.* p. 102):—

Surveyors there be that greedily gorge up their covetous goods; hand-makers, I mean: honest men I touch not; but all such as survey, they make up their mouths, but the commons be utterly undone by them; whose bitter cry ascendeth up to the ears of the God of Sabaoth, the greedy pit of hell-burning fire, without great repentance, doth tarry and look for them. A redress, God grant! For surely, surely, but that two things do comfort me, I would despair of redress in these matters. One is, that the king's majesty, when he cometh to age, will see a redress of these things so out of frame; giving example by letting down his own lands first, and then enjoin his subjects to follow him. The second hope I have, is, I believe that the general accounting day is at hand, the dreadful day of judgment, I mean, which shall make an end of all these calamities and miseries.

The outrage threatened in the last section of the poem l. 766–71, occurred two years after its date; "a summer of popular tumult and confusion such as had not been known in England since the rebellion of Jack Cade, almost exactly a hundred years before." (Macfarlane, Cabinet Hist. vii. 160.) Somerset himself reports the causes of this in the following extract from a letter of his, now in the Cotton MS. Galba B. xii. leaf 115, printed by Burnet in Col. of Rec., and cited from him by Macfarlane, but here from the MS.:—

"the Causes and pretences of thes vpprores and Risyngs are diueres and vncerteine, and so full of varietye almoste in Euery Campe, as they Call them, that it is hard to write what it is; as ye knowe is lyke to be of people without heade and Rulle, And that wold have that they wotte not what . some Criethe 'plucke doune inclosures and parkes'; some for their Comones; otheres pretende the Relygeone; A number wold Rulle an other whille, and directe things as [the] gentlmene have done; And, in deed, all hathe Convayed a wnderfull hate againste gentlmen, and takethe them all as their Ennemyes. the Ruffens among them, and souldyeres Cases, w*hi*ch be the Chefe doeres,

looke for Spoylle, so that it seemethe noe other thinge but a plage and a fury amonge the vileste and worste soarte of mene."

But Holinshed attributes the immediate cause of the outbreaks to Somerset's Proclamation against Enclosures:—

HOLINSHED'S CHRONICLES. (Vol. iii. p. 1002.)

A proclamation for the laieng open of inclosures.

"So it was, that the kings maiestie, by the aduise of his vncle the lord protector, and other of the councell, thought good to set foorth a proclamation against inclosures, and taking in of fields and commons that were accustomed to lie open, for the behoofe of the inhabitants dwelling neere to the same, who had greeuouslie complained of gentlemen and others for taking from them the vse of those fields and commons, and had inclosed them into parks and scuerall pastures for their priuat commodities and pleasures, to the great hinderance and vndooing of manie a poore man. This proclamation tending to

The meaning of the foresaid proclamation.

the benefit and releefe of the poore, appointed that such as had inclosed those commons, should vpon a paine by a daie assigned laie them open againe. But how well soeuer the setters foorth of this proclamation meant, thinking thereby peraduenture to appease the grudge of the people that found themselues grieued with such inclosures; yet verelie it turned not to the wished effect, but rather ministred occasion of a foule and dangerous disorder. For wheras there were few that obeied the commandement, the vnaduised people presuming vpon their proclamation, thinking they should be borne out by them that had set it foorth rashlie without order, tooke vpon them to redresse the matter: and assembling themselues in vnlawfull wise, chose to them capteins and leaders, brake open the inclosures, cast downe ditches, killed vp the deare which they found in parkes, spoiled and made hauocke, after the maner of an open

Commotions in Summersetshire, and other places.

rebellion. First they began to plaie these parts in Summersetshire, Buckinghamshire, Northhamptonshire, Kent, Essex, and Lincolneshire. In Summersetshire they brake vp certeine parks of sir William Herbert, and the lord Sturton: but sir William Herbert assembling a power togither by the kings commission, slue and executed manie of those rebellious people. In other places also, by the good diligence and policie vsed by the councell, the rebels were appeased and quieted. But shortlie after, the commons of Deuonshire and Cornewall rose by waie of rebellion, demanding not onelie to haue inclosures laied open,

Rebellion in Deuonshire. *Iohn Fox* in Acts & Monuments.

and parkes disparked: but also thorough the instigation and pricking forward of certeine popish priests, ceased not by all sinister and subtill meanes, first vnder Gods name & the kings, and vnder the colour of religion, to persuade the people to assemble in routs, to choose capteins to guide them, and finallie to burst out into open rebellion."

The Norfolk rebels under Kett fortunately stated their grievances in their own words in their Petition to Edward VI; and this is printed in the Appendix at the end of *Vox Populi*, to which the reader should turn. The rebels ask, among other things, that all who are bond shall be made free. Compare pp. 14, 15, above.

Lastly, we may notice that of the nine ships mentioned in lines 791–8, six, the 'Swepestake,' 'Mynyon,' 'Herte,' 'Swallow,' 'Gallye,' and 'Henry Grace,' are known as ships of Henry VIII's navy.[1]

[1] Patten does not give, in his interesting account of Somerset's Expe-

We will take first the Harte, Swallowe, and Gallye, and give the number of their men, guns, and war-stores, from a fine roll among the Additional MSS in the British Museum, pointed out to me by Mr. Brock, which has a fine picture of each ship, with flags and reefed sails:—

Addit. MS. 22,047.

THE HARTE | Tunnes | iij^{c}.

Men.

Souldiours, marrynnars	Clxx	ij^{c}.
Gonnars . . .	xxx	

For The Harte.

Ordenaunce, Artillary . Mvnicions, Habillimentis for The Warre, For The Armyng, And in the deffence, of the sayd galias to the See.

Gonnes of Brasse.

Demy Cannon	j
Culueryns	iij
Summa . . .	iiij

Gonnes of yron.

Demi Culueryns . . .	iij
Sakers	ij
Porte pecys	iiij
Slyng*is*	ij
Baessys	xij
Hayle shotte pecys . . .	xij
Handgonnes complete . .	xij
Toppe pece	j
Summa . .	xlviij

Gonne powder.

Serpentyn powder in Barrell*is* .	xij
Grosse corne powder in Barrell*is*	ij
Fynne corne powder .	xxiiij^{lb}

Shotte of yron.

For *Demi* Cannon . . .	lx
For Culueryns . . .	Cl
For *Demi* Culueryns . .	Cxx^{ti}
For Sakers	lx
For Slyng*is*	lx
Dyce of yron for hayle shotte .	iiij^{c}
Crossebarre shotte . . .	xij
Somma . . viij^{c}lxij	

Shotte of Stoen And Leade.

For porte pecys . . .	lxxx
For Toppe pece . . .	xx^{ti}
For Baessys, shotte of leade	CCC
For handgonnes, shotte of leade	CC
Summa . . .	vjc

Bowes, Bowestryng*is*, Arrowes, Morrys pykes, Byllys, & Daert*is* for toppis.

Bowes of yough . . .	C
Bowe stryng*is* . . .	ij groce
Lyuere[1] Arrowes in shevis .	Cl
Morrys pykes	C
Byllys	C
Daert*is* for toppis .	vj douse*n*

Mvnicions.

pycke hamers	vj
Sledgys of yron . . .	iiij
Crowes of yron	vj
Comaunders	iiij
Tampions	vj^{c}
Canvas for Cartowches .	xiiij ellys
Fourmes for Cartowches . .	iiij

Habillimentis For the warre.

Ropis of hempe for woling and brechyng . .	vj Coyl[es]
Naylis of sundre sort*is* . .	vj C
Bagg*is* of ledder . . .	iiij
Fyrkyns w*ith* pursys . .	ij
Lyme pott*is* . . .	ij Dous*en*
Spaer whelys . . .	ij payer
Spaer truckell*is* . .	ij payer
Spaer extrys	iiij
Shepe skynnys	iiij
Tymber for forlock*is* and koynnys . . .	xxx Foet

THE SWALLOWE | Tunnes | CCxl

Men.

marrynars . .	Cxxx	Clx
Gonnars . .	xxx	

dition, a list of Lord Clinton's ships by name. He mentions that the English recovered the 'Mary Willoughby' and 'Antony of Newcastle,' and took the 'Bosse' and seven more.

[1] ? Delivery: but MS. may be 'Lynere.'

FOR THE SWALLOWE, ORDENAUNCE, ARTILLARY, MVNICIONS, HABILLIMENT*IS* FOR THE WARRE.
For The Armyng And in the deffence of the sayd galias to the See.

GONNES OF BRASSE.

Demy Cannon	j
Demy Culueryn	j
Sakers	iiij
Summa	vj

GONNES OF YRON.

Demy Culueryn	j
porte pecys	vj
Demy Slyng*is*	iij
Baessys	xx
Tope pece	
Hayle shotte pecys	xij
Handgonnes complete	xij
Summa	lv

GONNE POWDER.

Serpentyn[2] powder in barrell*is*	xxiij
Fynne corne powder	xxx lb.

SHOTTE OF YRON.

For *Demi* Cannon	l
For *Demi* Culueryn	lx
For *Demi* Slyng*is*	lxx
For Sakers	Cxx
Dice of yron for hayle shotte	iiij C
Crosse barre shott	xx
Summa	vijCxx

SHOTTE OF STOEN AND LEADE.

For porte pecys	Cxx
For the tope pece	xx
For Baessys, shott of leade.	iij C
For Handgonnes, shott of leade	ij C
Summa	vj Cxl

BOWES, BOWESTRYNG*IS*, ARROWES, MORRYS PYCK*IS*, BYLLYS, DAERT*IS* FOR TOPPYS.

Bowes of yough	C
Bowestryng*is*	ij groce
Lyuere Arrowes in shevis	Cl
Morrys pykes	l
Byllys	l
Daert*is* for toppis	vj Dous*en*

MVNICIONS.

pyckhamers	vj
Sledgys	iiij
Crowes of yron	iiij
Comaunders	iiij
Tampions	vC
Canvas for cartowches	xij ellys
Fourmes for cartowche	iij

HABILLIMENT*IS* FOR WARRE.

Ropis of hempe for woling & brechyng	vi Coyles
Naylis of sundere sort*is*	iiij C
Bagg*is* of Ledder	iiij
Fyrkyn w*ith* pursys	ij
Lyme pott*is*	iiij Dous*en*
Spaer whelis	j payer
Spaer truckell*is*	iiij
Spaer extrys	iiij
Shepe skynnys	iiij
Tymber for forlock*is*	xxx Foet

THE GALIE SUBTILLE | TUNNES | CC

MEN.

MARYNARS	CCxlij	CCL
GONNARS	viij	

FOR THE GALIE SUBTILLE . ORDENAUNCE, ARTILLARY, MONICIONS, HABILLIMENT*IS* FOR THE WARRE, For The Armyng, And in the deffence, of the sayd galie to the See.

GONNES OF BRASSE.

Cannon	j
Sakers	ij
Summa	iij

GONNES OF YRON.

Fowlers	ij
Baessys	xiiij
Hayle shott pecys	xij
Handgonnes complete	l
Summa	iiij[xx] xij

GONNPOWDER.

Serpentyn[2] powder in *half*[1] barrell*is*	xviij
Fynne corne powder *half*[1] barell	j

SHOTTE OF YRON.

For Cannon	l
For Sakers	iiij[xx]
Dice of yron for hayle shotte	vC
Summa	vjCxxx

SHOTTE OF STOEN AND LEADE.

For Fowlers	xl
For Baessys, shott of leade	vC
For handgonnes, shotte of leade	iij C
Summa	viijCxl

[1] MS. Di.

BOWES, BOWESTRYNG*IS*, ARROWES, MORRYS PYCK*IS*, BYLLYS, DAERT*IS* FOR TOPPIS.

Bowes of yough	C
Bowestryng*is*	ij groce
Lyuere Arrowes in shevis	Cl
Morrys pykes	lx
Byllys	lx
Daert*is* for toppis	ij Dous*en*

MVNICIONS.

pyckhamers	iij
Sledgys	iij
Crowes of yron	ij
Comaunders	ij
Tampions	iiij C
Canvas for cartowches	vj ellys
Fourmes for cartowche	iij
paper Ryall	j qwayer

HABILLIMENT*IS* FOR WARRE.

Ropis of hempe for woling & brechyng	j Coyle
Naylis of sundre sort*is*	ij C
Bagg*is* of ledder	ij
Fyrkyn *with* pursys	j
Lyme pott*is*	iiij Dous*en*
Spaer truckell*is*	ij
Spaer extrys	ij
Shepe skynnys	iiij

This 'Galie Subtille' may not however be the 'Gallye' of *Vox Populi*. The whole list of the ships in the Rolls is as follows:—

The Graunde Masterys
The Anne Gallante
*The Harte
The Antelop
The Tegar
The Bulle
The Salamander
The Vnicorne.
*The Swallowe
*The Galie Subtille
The Newe Barcke.
The Graye Hounde
The Iennet
The Lyon
The Dragon

The 'Henry Grace' was Henry VIII's famous big ship of fifty-two guns, of which there is a large, spirited engraving, dated May 14, 1756, representing her in full sail, her guns projecting from the port-holes, four men in the scuttle of her mainmast, and plenty on deck. Full particulars of her building in 1514 are given in Mr. Brewer's 'Calendar,' vol. i.; and the engraving refers to Camden's 'Britannia,' fol. 223, for a full account of her. She was burnt on the 27th of August, 1553. The 'Mynyon' may have been so called from its carrying cannon of that name. "*Minion* poiseth eleauen hundred poundes, and is three inches and a halfe wide in the mouth." (Harrison's *Descr. of Britain* p. 198, col. 2.) The 'Swallow,' or its successor of the same name[1], is among a list of Elizabeth's ships in 1575, printed in 'Household Ordinances,' p. 267; and in Harrison, A.D. 1577, p. 201, col. 1. Was the 'Antelope' in these lists our 'Roe?' The 'Hart' and 'Sweepstake' are also mentioned in the following MS. list of some of Edward VI.'s ships, and the wages of some of his seamen, etc., in A.D. 1548:—

[1] It was, and still is, I believe, the custom in the navy to continue old names by giving them to new ships when the old ones are broken up. We find the 'Swallow' at least as early as 1345 A.D., for in that year Edward III., "in the afternoon of Sunday the 3rd of July, sailed from [Sandwich] in his flute called the *Swallow*." (Nicolas, Hist. Royal Navy, to A.D. 1422, ii. 85.) A *flute* or *fluve* was a large vessel of the only kind "stated in naval accounts to have had two masts and two sails. It would seem that they had also two rudders, probably one at each end, rather than the old rudders or paddles at the side." (*Ib.* 162.)

[Harl. MS. 353, leaf 55.]

The Charge of wages to be Dewe to Certaine Capitayns, Maisters, Marriners, and Gonners seruinge in diuers of the Kinges Ma*iesties* Shipps arriued in Irlande, and in other his highnes Shippes Purposede thither, the xiijth Daye of Aprill an*no* .5. *Regis* Edwardi Sexti ./.

Sea wages.

Shippes.
The Hart.
The Newe barke.
The Gerfawcon.
The Barke of Bolloigne.

Inprimis for the Dyettes of .iiij. Capitaines servinge in the same Shippes, by the space of .vij. weekes. begun the first Daye of March Last, and to ende the xviijth Daye of this present Aprill, at xlij^{s} everie of them, is xiiij^{li}. xiiij^{s}. And More For wages of CCCC and iiij^{xx} Souldiers, Marriners, and Gonners, servinge vnder them, for like tyme, at xiiij^{s} every Man. Deadshares, and rewardes in the same accompted, is CCCxxxvj^{li}

Soma is §——CCCl^{li} . xiiij^{s}.

Wages in harboro.

The great Barke.
The Pawncey.[1]
The Sweepstake.
The Antelop.
The Mvrryon.
The Mary Hamboro.
The Phawcon.
The Moone.
The Seven Starrs.
The last Made pyn*n*as.

Item for wages of one mCCCxxx. Maisters Marynners and gonners, servinge the kinge his Ma*iestie* in the same Shipps by the space of .v. weekes begune the xvjth Daye of March last, and to ende the xixth Daye of this present, at .x^{s}. everie Man. Deadshares, and rewardes in the same accompte.

Some is—— § vij^{C} . xv^{li} ./.

Conduct Money. /.

Item for the Conducte of viij^{C}. lxxx. Marryners and Gonneres to be Discharged ouer and besides. CCC. men appointed to serve in the Anteloppe, and the Fawcõn for Wafters. And CCl men appointed to serve in the Shipps, for the transeport of Grayne at vij^{s} vj^{d} euerie Man: Some is §——CCCxxx^{li} ./.

Some Totall of all the Charge aforesaid } mCCCiiij^{xx} . xv^{li} . xiiij^{s}.

Here I meant, at first, to have ended this Introduction; but on further consideration I could not bring myself to put forth a poem which deals so much with the condition of the poor in the middle of the sixteenth century as this *Vox Populi* does, and yet not notice the fierce Poor Law in force when the poem was written. The savagery of the provisions of that Poor Law must astonish any one reading them for the first time. It enables any one who finds a man idling for three days together, or running away from service, to take such man before two Justices, and have him branded on the breast with a hot iron V, and afterwards keep him as a slave for two years, put a chain round his neck, arm, or leg, and beat him to make him work; and if the slave run away twice, then he is to be put to death. The Act also enables any one to take away from a beggar his or her child, and on undertaking to bring it up to some honest labour, to use the child as a servant or apprentice, till twenty years old if it is a girl, and till twenty-four if it is a boy; and if the child runs

[1] A.D. 1547 "hostilities between the two countries [England and Scotland] recommenced with an encounter between an English vessel called the *Pansy*, commanded by Sir Andrew Dudley, brother to the Earl of Warwick, and the 'Lion,' a principal ship of Scotland." (Macfarlane, vii. 115, referring to Hayward.)

away before such age, then his master may chain him, and use him (or her) as a slave. The master is also empowered to let out, sell, give or bequeath the labour of any such slave, servant or apprentice, adult or not. The material comfort of the vagabond poor under these arrangements, Mr. Froude will doubtless admit, was *not* greater than that of our paupers now.

1 Edw. 6, cap. 3.

An acte for the punishment of Vagabondes and for the Relief of the poore and impotent parsons.

. . . . . be it therfore enacted, ... First, that all Statutes and Actes of p*ar*lament heretofore made for the punishment of vagaboundes and sturdie beggers, and all articles comprised in the same, shalbe from hensfurth repealed, voyde, and of none effecte: Secundlie that who so ever, after the first daie of Apryll next following, man or woman, being not Lame, Impotent, or so aged, or diseased with sicknes, that he or she can not wo*u*rke, not having Landes or Ten*e*m*e*nt*e*s, Fees, An*n*uityes, or anny other yerelie Revenues or Profitt*e*s wheron theie may fynde sufficientlie their Living, shall either, like a servinge man wanting a maister, or lyke a Begger, or after anny other suche sorte, be lurking in anny howse or howses, or loytringe, or Idelye wander by the highe waies syde, or in Stretes in Cities, Townes or Vyllages, not applying them self to some honnest and allowed arte, Scyence, service or Labour, and so do contynewe by the space of three dayes or more to-gither, and not offer them self to Labour with anny that will take them according to their facultie, And yf no man otherwise will take them, doo not offer them self to wo*u*rke for meate and drynck, or after theie be so taken to wo*u*rke for the space agreed betwixt them and their maisters, doo leave their worck out of convenyent tyme, or runne awaye, That then everie such parsone shalbe taken for a Vagabounde; and that it shalbe lawful to everie suche Maister, ... and to anny other parsone espying the same, to bring, or cause to be brought, the saide parsone so living Idelye and loyteringlie, to twoo of the next Justices of peaxe there Resyaunt or abyding, who, hearing the proefe of the Idle living of the saide parsone, by the saide space living idelye as is aforesaid, approved to them by twoo honnest witnesses, or confession of the p*ar*tie, shall im*m*ediatelie cawse the saide loyterer to be marked with an whott Iron in the brest, the marke of V., and adjudge the said parsone living so Idelye, to such presento*u*r, to be his Slave, To have and to holde the said Slave to him, his executors or assignes, for the space of twoo Yeres next following, and to order the saide Slave as followethe, That is to saie: to take such parsone adjudged a Slave, with him, and onelye giving the saide Slave breade and water, or small dryncke, and suche refuse of meate as he shall thincke mete, cawse the saide Slave to wo*u*rke, by beating, cheyninge, or otherwise in suche wo*u*rke and Labo*u*r, how vyle so ever it be, as he shall putt him unto; And yf anny manner of Slave, either for loytring or for the cawse before rehearsed, so adjudged, shall within the Space of the saide twoo yeres here appointed, runne awaye, dep*ar*te, or absent him from his saide M*aister* by the space of xiiij dais to-gither withowt Lycence, it shall not onlie be lefull to his saide Maister to pursue and fetche him againe, by vertewe of this Acte, but allso to punishe suche faulte by chaynes or beating, as is aforesaide, ... And further, everie such M*aister* shewing and proving by twoo sufficyent witnesses the saide offence or faulte of his runnynge awaie, before twoo Justices of peaxe of the same Countye, wherof one to be of the Quo*rum*, the same Justices shall cawse suche Slave or loyterer to be marked on the forhed, or the ball of the cheke, with an hote Iron, with the Signe of an S. that he may be knowen for a loyterer and runneawaye, and shall adjudge the loyterer and runawaye to be the saide M*aister*s Slave for ever; And yf suche Slave shall the Seconde tyme runne awaye, or absent him self, yf the saide M*aister* shall approv the same Second runnynge awaie, with twoo sufficient witnesses, be-

fore the Justices of Peaxe in their generall and Quarter Sessions, then everie suche faulte and runninge awaie to be adjudged fellonie, and suche loyterer and runneaway to be taken as a fellon, and therof being lawfullie indicted and attaynted, or otherwise condempned, to suffer paynes of death, as other fellons ought to doo.

Section 3.

And Forasmuche as divers wemen and men goeth on begging wayefaring, of the which so*m*me be impotent and lame, and some hable enoughe to Labour, which doo carrye children abought w*i*th them, some foure or five Yeres of age, or yonger or elder, which, brought upp in Idelnes, might be so rooted in it that hardelie theie maye be brought after to good thrifte and labour, Or yf anny childe above thage of five Yeres, and under thage of xiiij yeres, go Idelie wandering abowt as a vagabounde, Be it enacted . . . . that yf anny manner of p*ar*son will take anny such childe, be it male or female, of and from anny suche begger, being the mother therof, nourcer, or Kepar, wheither theie be willing or not, or without anny suche nourryce, mother or keper, by him self wandering, and bring the saide childe, so taken awaie, before one of the Constables of the p*ar*ish, and twoo other honnest and discrete neighbo*ur*s, witnesses, and before anny Justice of Peaxe there Resiaunt and abiding, and promesse to bring the same childe upp in some honnest Labour or occupac*i*on till he or she come to thage, of twentie Yeres the woman childe, or xviiij^{ti} the man childe, That then and im*m*ediatlie the said Justice of peaxe and Conestable shall adjudge, by vertewe of this Acte, the saide childe, unto the ages before specified, to be *s*erva*u*nt*es* or apprentices to the saide p*ar*sons so taking and promising, to be used and ordered in all point*es* according as the Lawe and Custome of this Realme is of *s*erva*u*nt*es* and apprentices, to what Labo*u*r occupac*i*on or *s*ervice so ever the said M*aist*er shall appoint him or her during the said tyme: And yf it shall fortune such childe so adjudged to runne awaye at anny tyme, ons or two tymes, from his or her Maister or Maistres, That then it shalbe lawfull for everie such M*aist*er to take the said childe againe, and to kepe and punishe the said child in chaynes or otherwise, And use him or her as his Slave in all poynt*es* for the tyme before rehersed of thage of such childe. . . . .

Section 4.

Provided allwaies that anny M*aist*er either of the men or of the women so adjudged Slaves, or of the children adjudged apprentic*es* or *s*erva*u*nt*es*, maye lett, sett furthe, sell, bequethe, or give, the *s*ervice and labour of suche Slaves or *s*erva*u*nt*es* so adjudged as is aforesaide, to anny parsone or parsones to whome so ever he will, uppon suche condic*i*on, and for such tyme of yeres, as the saide parsons be adjudged to him for Slaves, *s*erva*u*nt*es*, or apprentices, after suche like sorte and manner as he maye doo of anny other his movable good*es* or Catell*es*, And theie for the saide space of tyme to be bownde to all poynt*es* and constructions to suche Lessee, donnee, Vendee, or assigne, as theie were to their first apprehenders and Maisters, by vertewe of this Statute.

Section 16.

And be it ordeyned and enacted by thauctoritie abovesaide, that it shalbe lawfull to everye p*ar*son to whome anny parsone . . . . shalbe adjudged as Slave, to putt a rynge of Iron abowt his Necke, Arme, or his Legge, for a more knowledge and suretie of the kepinge of him; and that yf any parsone or p*ar*sones doo take or helpp to take, anny suche bonde of Iron from anny suche Slave, that then everie parsone so doing withowt the Lycence or assent of his M*aist*er shall forfaite for everie suche defaulte Ten Poundes ster*ling*.

My reason for printing the later Harleian MS of *Vox Populi* instead of the earlier Cambridge one, was, that Mr. Dyce had already printed the latter, though with insertions from the former. I also wanted the former complete, on account of its provincialisms, which may be of use to some critic some day. Besides, it is always well to get two MSS of a poem in type.

/Thus./

e. s. */To the kinges most Exellent Maiestie/*

I praye you, be not wrothe [Harl. 367, leaf 130.]
for tellinge of the trothe!
for this, the worlde, it gothe
bothe to lyfe and to lothe.
as god him-Self he knothe,
and as all men vnderstandes,
bothe lordeshipes and landes
are now in few mens handes;
bothe Substance and bandes
of all the whole realme
are now consumed Cleane—
as moste men exteme—
frome the fermer and the powre
to the towne and the towere,
which makethe them to Lowere,
to See that in theire flowere
is neyther malte nor meale,
bacon, byfe, nor veale,
Crocke, mylke, nor keale,[1]
but redy for to steale
for very pure neede.
Youre commenes saye in dede, [leaf 130, back.]
they be not abell to fede
In there stable skant a stede,
to bryng vp nor to brede,
Nor skant abel to brenge
to the markett any thynge
Towardes there howsse-kepinge;
and skant haue a cowe,
nor to kepe a powre sowe/
thus the warlde ys nowe!
and to here the relasion
of the powre menes comminycasion,
vnder whatt sortte and faschyon
thaye make there exclamasyon,
yow wolde haue compassion.
thus gothe ther protestation,

[1] *Crock* is a pot or earthen vessel; *crockery*, a collection of the same; *crock butter* is potted or salt butter; but as *crock milk* could only mean sour butter-milk, I suppose that *crocke* above is a pot, and *keale*, a keel or cooler. (Nares.)

Sayenge, that suche and suche
that of latte are mayde Ryche,
Haue to, to / to myche,
by grasyng and Regratynge,
by powlyng and debattynge,
by rollyng and by Dattyng,
by cheke and cheke-matynge,
with[1] Delays and Debatynge,
with cowstomes and tallynges,
forfayttes and fore-stallynges,
So that youre pourmen[2] saye
they styll paye, paye,
most wyllyngly alwaye,
but yett thay se noe staye
of this owtt-rage a-raye.
vox populi / vox Dei:
O most nobell kynge, [leaf 131.]
Consider well this thynge /

.2.

And thus the woyse dothe mvltyplye
amownges your grasis commynalte:
they are in suche grette penvry
that thay cane nether sell ner bye,
Such ys there extreme powertey.
experyenes dothe it veryfye,
as trwthe yt selfe dothe testyfye,
this is a mervellvis mesirie[3]/
for grasiares, and Regrateres,
with soe many shepe-maisteres
that of erabell grounde make pasteres,
are they *that* be thes wasteres
that wyll vndoe this Lande,
yf thay contyniv[4] and stande;
as ye shall vnderstonnde
by this lytell bowke.
yf youre grace it over-lowke,
And over-lowke it agayne,
Hit wyll tyll yow soo playne

---

[1] Lines 45–47 are not in the Cambridge MS.

[2] This word was originally *comenes*: the *c* was altered into *p*; *r* written over the *o*; and the *es* contraction scratched out. See line 125.

[3] Camden adds, "And trewe thei saye, it is no lye;" and in a later hand, in the Harleian MS., is written at the side, "and trw they say it is no lye." (Dyce.)

[4] ? *for* continw.

the tenvre and the trowthe,
Howe this warld now gowthe
with my neghtbore and my nost,
in every cowntre/ towne, and cost,
w*ith*in the cercu*m*visione*s*
of your grasis Domynyone*s*;
and whye the powre men wepe
for stawryng[1] of suche shepe,
for that soo many kype
Suche nvmber and suche stawre,[2] [leaf 131, b.]
and never was sene before.
what wolde ye any more?[3]
the ingresse[4] was never more:
thus gothe the woyse and rawre,[5]
and trewth it ys in dede;
for all men now Doo brede,
that cane chache[6] any lande
owtt of the powre men*es* hande.
for whoe is soe grett a grosier
as the lorde and the laweer?
for every Drawyng Daye
the bocher more most paye
for his fattyng ware,
and to be the more Redyer
a nother tyme to craue,
when he more shepe wolde haue;
and to elywatte the pryce,
S*u*me-whatt he most rysse,
with a synke or a syssce;
Soo that the bocher cane not spare—
Towardis his charges and is fare—
to sell the vere carchasse bare
vnder xij*ses* or a marke,
wiche is a pytyfull werke![7]
be-syde the offall and the flice;
The flice and the fell,
thus he dothe it selle.

---

[1] Written *stawryng* and altered to *storyng* by the later hand.
[2] The *a* is turned into *o* by the later hand.
[3] This line is not in the Cambridge MS.
[4] encrease (C.).
[5] *rawre* altered to *rowre*.
[6] ketche (C.).
[7] This line is not in the Cambridge MS.

A-las! A-las! A-las!
this is a pitywo*us* chasse[1]!
Whatt powre man nowe is abell [leaf 132.]
to haue mette one is tabell?
ane oxe at fyve[2] pownde—
yf he be any thing rownde,—
or ell*es* come not in the grownde,
Suche labore for to waste:
this is the new caste,
the new cast frome the olde;
this co*m*men price thay holde!
wiche is a were[3] rewthe,
yf men myght saye the trwth.
youre po*u*rmen[4] thus Doo saye:
[5]yf thaye haue it, thows thay paye.[5]
vox populi vox dei:
O most nobell kynge,
Consyder well this thynge!

.3.

Howe saye ye to this my lordes?[6]
are not thes playne recordes?[6]
ye knowe as well as I,
this makes the co*m*mone*s* crye,
this make*s*[6] them crye and wepe:
mysevsyng[7] soe there shepe,
there shepe, and eke ther beffes
as yll and worse; they theffes![8]
vnto a comon welth,
this is a vere stelth!
But yow that wyll[9] this bett,
yowe lord*es*[10] that be greett,[11]
yow wold not paye so for yo*ur* mette

---

[1] case (C.). [2] *first* 'four' fourre (C.). [3] very (C.).
[4] The original "comene*s*" of the MS.—*es* being erased—has been altered by the writer to "pormen," as in line 48.
[5] They are not able to pay
But *miserere mei*. (C.)
[6] These *s*'s are represented by the usual contraction for *es*.
[7] Misusing (C.).
[8] "As yll or wourse then theaves." (C.) *Theaf* is a special name for some kind of sheep,—see Philol. Soc. Dictionary Slips—so it may be a pun. (E. Brock.)
[9] welthe (C.). [10] landlordes (C.). [11] Originally written graett.

except your grasyng ware soo swett;
Or ell*es*,[1] fere me I, [back of leaf 132.]
[2]yowe fynde some remedy
In tyme,[2] and that right shortlye.
but yett, this extremyte,
non felys it but the comynaltye.
A-las! ys there noe remede
to helpe them of there mesire?
yf there showld come a rayne
to make a derthe of grayne,—
as god maye sende it playne,
for our covitis[3] and disdayne,—
I wolde knowe amownge*s*[4] all
what he where *tha*t showlde not fall,
And sorowe as he wente,
for god*es* ponyshementte?
A-las! this were a plage
for powertes passession,
towardi*s*[5] ther suppression,
for the grett men*es* transsgressyon.
A-las, my lorde*s*![5] for-see
there maye be remede!
for youre powre comen*es* saye
thay haue noe more to paye.
vox populi vox Dei:
O most nobell kynge,
Consyder well this thyng!

.4.

And yett not lowng agoo
was prechar*es* one or tooe[6]
that spake it plene enowgh
To yow, to yow, and to yowe, [leaf 133.]
"that it was reght tyme to repente[7]
this develysche in-tente,
of covitis the convente."[8]

---

[1] elles I (C.).

[2-2] "In tyme" is in a later hand. "Ye wold fynde remedye." (C.)

[3] "Both MSS. have *covetous*," Hazlitt, iii. 273. The Harl. MS. has certainly *covitis*.

[4] Among vs (C.).

[5] This *s* is represented by the contraction for *es*.

[6] Compare line 102 in the next Ballad, "The Ruyne of a Reame," p. 161.

[7] This line is crossed out; and in its stead 'highe tyme for to repent' is written in a later hand in the margin.

[8] This line is not in C.

frome skottland into Kente
this precheng was be-sprent;
and frome the est frunt
vnto saynt mychelles montte[1],
this sayeng Did surmownte
a-brode to all menes heres,
and to youre grasys peres:
that frome pyllyr to post,
the powr man he[2] was toste;
I mene the laboreng man,
I mene the husbande man,
I mene the plowghe man,[3]
I mene the handy-craft man,
I mene the vy[tay]lyng[4] man,
and also the gud yoman
that some tyme in this realme
hade plente of key and creme,
[5]butter, egges, and chesse,
hony, vax, and besse[5];
but now, a-lacke! a-lacke!
all thes men gowe to wrake,
that are the bodye and staye
of youre grasis realme alwaye.
al-waye and at lenght
they most be youre strenght,
youre strenght and your teme[6]
for to defende youre realme.
Then yf thes men appall, [leaf 133, back.]
and lack when ye doe call,
Wiche waye maye youe,[7] or shall,
Resyst youre enymes all,
thet over ragynge stremes
wyll wadde frome foren realmes?
for me to make Iudiciall,
This matter ys to mysticall.
Iuge yowe, my lordes / for me, ye shall;
youres ys the charge that governes all,

---

[1] Mount (C.).
[2] *he* is put in between the lines by the later hand.
[3] C. adds another line, "I meane the playne true man."
[4] victualing (C.). [5] Not in C.
[6] A.S. *teám*, issue, offspring, race.
[7] y^{u}e in MS.

for 'vox populi' / me thay call,
that maketh but reersall[1]
de parvu*m*, but not De totall,
de locis, but not locall;
Therfore ye most not blame
the wyght that wrott the same;
for the come*nes*[2] of this Lande
hath sone[3] this in there sande,
plowghyng it with ther hande.
I fonde it where I stonnde,
And I ame but the hayne[4]
that wrythe new[5] agayne
The copy, for to see,
that also lerneth me
to take there-by good hede
my shepe howe for to fede;
for I a sheparde ame,
A sory powre man;
Yett wolde I wysche, my lordes, [leaf 134.]
this myght be youre record*ies*,
and make of it nowe[6] Dreme;
for it ys a worthey realme;
a reme that in tymes paste
hath made the prowdes[7] a-gaste.
and now[8], my lordes all,
note this in especiall,
and haue it in memoryall[9]
with youre wysse vnyversall,
that nether [for] faver nor effection,
yowe grawnt youre protection
to suche as hath[10] by election,
[who] shall rewle by erection,
and Doth gett the perfection
of the powre men*es* refection,
wiche ys a grett innormyte
vnto youre grasys co*m*mynalte.

---

[1] Reherssall (C.). [2] Altered by a later hand to "poremen."
[3] sowen (C.). [4] hande (C.).
[5] wryttes yt newe (C.). [6] no (C.).
[7] prowdest (C.). [8] Therfore (C.).
[9] The Cambridge MS. omits the next 102 lines, down to "comonwelthe," l. 342.
[10] "There appears to be some corruption here." (Dyce.)

for thay that of latt did supe(a)
owtt of an aschyn cuppe,
are wonderfully sprowng vpe:
That nowght was worth of latt,
Hath now a cubborde of platt,
his tabell furnyscheyd tooe
with platt be-sett I-nowe,
p*ar*sell gylte and sownde,
Well worth *two hundred pound*.(b)[1]
with castinge cownter*es* & ther pen,[2]
Thes are the vpstart gentylmen; [leaf 134, back.]
thes are thay that Dewowre
all the good*es* of the pawre,
And makes them dotysche Davys[3],
vnder the cowler of the keng*es* lawys.
and yett an[4] nother decaye
to youre grasys Seetes alwaye:
for the statte of all yowre marchant men
vndo most parte of yowre gentyll men,
and wrape them in suche bandes
that thay haue halle ther land*es*,
and payeth but halfe in hande
tyll thay more vnderstownde
of the profett of there lande;
and for the other halfe
He shalbe mayd a calfe,
excepte he haue gud frende*s*,
wiche well cane waye bothe ende*s*;
and yet with frende*s* tooe
he shall haue mvche to Doe:
wiche ys a grett innormyte
to youre grasys regallyte.

a–b Compare these lines with the well-known passage in Harrison's 'Description of Britain, A.D. 1577,' vol. i. p. 188, about the farmer of his time, who, though his old rent of £4 were raised to £40, £50, or £100, would yet have, towards the end of his lease, six or seven "yeares rent lieng by him, therwith to purchase a new lease, beside a fine garnish of pewter on his cupbord, with so much more in od vessell going about the house, three or foure featherbeds, so manie couerlids and carpets of tapistrie, a silver salt, a bowle for wine (if not an whole neast), and a dozzen of spoones to furnish vp the sute!"

[1] 'CC li' crossed out and 'towo thousand pounde' written in the margin by the later hand.

[2] Calculations were formerly made with counters as well as with the pen; and we find works published to instruct beginners in the art of reckoning "with the pen or with counters" (Hazlitt). [3] Daws. [4] MS. and.

lett marchant men goe sayle,
for that ys ther trwe waylle;
for of one .C. ye haue not ten
that now be marchant*es* ventring men,
that occupi grett in-awnder*es*[1]
forther then into flander*es*,—
flawnder*es* or in-to france—
for fere of some myschance,
but lyeth at home, and stand*es*
by morgage and purchasse of land*es*
Owtt of all gentyll men*es* Handes, [leaf 135.]
wiche showld serve alwaye your grace
with horse and men in chasse:
wiche ys a grett dewowre
vnto youre regall pawre.
what presydente cane thay shewe.
that fowre skore yeres agooe,
that any marchant here,
A-bove all charges clere,
In land*es* myght lett to hyre
too thowsant markes by yere?
other[2], where shall ye fynde
a gentyll man by kynde,
but that thay wyll ly in the wynde
to breng hyme fer be-hynde?
Or ell*es* thay wyll haue all,
yf nede*s* thay hyme[3] for-stall,
wiche ys the hole Decaye
of your marchant men, I saye,
and hynder*es* youre grasys costome
by the yere a thowsant pawnde,
And so marryth—the more petye—
the comon welth of yche Sytte,
and vndoth the cowntre,
as prosse[4] doth make prop*er*tie:
this matter most spesyally
wolde be loked one quiclye.
yett for ther recreation
in pastime and procreation,

[1] inawnderes, (Dyce): ? meaning "adventures," "ventures."
[2] or.
[3] ? MS. hyne.
[4] "Prosses," process, legal proceedings. "Pross" is talk, conversation. (Halliwell's Glossary.)

in tempore nesessitatis,
I wysche thay myght haue grattis [leaf 135, back.]
lysen*es* to compownde,
To purchasse fortie pownde,
or fyfte, at the moste,
by fyne or wrytte of post.
and yf any marchant man—
to lyve his occupieng then—
wolde purchasse any more;
lett hyme forfett it therfore.
then showld ye se the trade
that marchant men frist mayde,
whyche wysse men marshall
for a welth vnyversall,
yche man this lawe to lerne,
and trewly his good*es* to ywr[n]e:[1]
the landlord with his terme,
the plowght man with his ferme,
the kneght wyth his fare,
the marchant with his ware;
then showld increse the helth
of yche comon welthe.
therfore be not yow wrothe[2]
for tellyng of[3] the trothe;
for I dooe here it eviry daye,
howe the comon*es* thus doe saye:
yf thaye hade it, thay wolde paye.
vox populi, vox dei:
O most nobell kynge,
Consyder well this thing!

5 [leaf 136.]

But howe, Robyn! howe!
wiche waye dothe the wynde blowe?
Herke! herke! herke!
ys not this a pityvis warke,
the grounde and the pithe[4]
off all this myscheffe?
for oure covitis lordes
dothe mynde noe other Recordes

[1] Dyce corrects to "yerne."
[2] C. begins again, with And be not withe me wrothe.
[3] you (C.). [4] cheiffe (C.).

but framyng fynes for fermes,[1]
with to myche, as some termes,
with rent*es* and remaynder*es*,
w*ith* Surwaye and Surrender*es*,
w*ith* com*m*on*es* and com*m*on Ingender*es*,
with inclosier*es*[2] and extender*es*,
with hurd-vpe, but noe spender*es*:
for a comon welth,
this is a vere stelth.
prove it whowe shall,
to make there of triall,
thus gowthe there Diall:
I knowe not what[s][3] a cloke
but by the cowntre coke,[4]
the mone[5] ner yett the prime,
wntyll the sowne[6] dooe shyme
or ell*es* I colde tyll
Howe all thing*es* showld be well.
the compas maye stande a-wrye,
but the card wyll nott lye.
Haale in your mayne shete![7]
this tempeste is to grett;[8]
for pawre men Dayly see*s*
how officers takes their fees,[9]
Sume yll, and some yet worse; [leaf 136, back.]
as good right as to pike there purse!
Deservethe this not god*es* curse?
there consyen*es* ys sooe grett,
theye fere not to dischare[10]
yf it were as mvche more,
Soe thay maye haue the stowre.
thus is oure we[l]the vndone
by synguler com*m*odome[11]
for we are in dyvision
bothe for reght and religion;

[1] Compare Harrison, p. 189, in 'Percy Folio Ballads,' ii. 181–2. See "Now a Dayes," p. 97, l. 165, and also p. 3–37, 54–6. [2] hoard.
[3] whates (C.). [4] cocke (C.).
[5] *mone* in both MSS., but ? none (Dyce). [6] sonne (C.).
[7] Altered by a later hand from "graett shepe."
[8] The next 21 lines, to *knewe*, l. 401, are not in the Cambridge MS.
[9] This line is written by the later hand.
[10] There is some error here; and perhaps a line or more has dropt out (Dyce). Quære: not if *dischare* applies to the officers taking fees.
[11] Latin *commodum*, advantage.

and, as some saythe,[1]
we stagger in o*ur* faythe.[1]
but excepte in shortt tyme
we drawe by one lyne,
and[2] agre with one accorde,—
bothe the plowgh-man & *the* lorde,—
we shall sore Rewe
that ever this statte we knewe.
the co*m*mon*es* thus doth saye,
yf thaye hade it thay wolde paye.
vox populi vox dei /[1]
O most nobell kenge,
Consider well this thing!

6

Thus Runnys the rwmer abowtt
A-mownge*s* the holle rowtt:
thay cane nott bryng a-bowtt
[how this thyng shuld be,][3]
hit hathe suche hight Degree:
the cowne[4] it ys soo skantt[5]
That every man dothe wantt,
and some thynke not soo skarese,
but even as mvch to basse.
your marchant men doe saye,
thaye fynde it daye by daye
to be a matter strange,
when thay showld make exc[h]ange
one thother syde the see,
thay are dryven to there plee.
for were[6] oure pounde some tyme
was better then theres by nene,[7]
now our*es*, when it co*m*mythe forthe,
no better then ther*es* is worthe,
noe, nor skant sooe gude:
they Saye so, by the roode.
how may the merchant man
be able to occupye then,
exept, when he comes here,
he sell his ware to Dyre[8]?

---

[1] These lines are added in a later hand.
[2] MS. amd.
[3] From the Cambridge MS.
[4] coyne (C.).
[5] The *a* looks like *u* in the MS.
[6] where (C.).
[7] nyne (C.).
[8] too dear.

he needes must haue a lyvinge
or ell*es*, fye one the wyning!
this Coyne by alteracyon
hathe brought this Desolac*i*on,
w*hi*ch is not yet all knowen,
what myschiff it hathe sowen.
they saye, "wo worthe[1] that man
that fyrst that Coyne began,
to putt in anye heade
the mynde to Suche a reed,
to come to suche a hiere
for covites Desyre!" [leaf 137, back.]
I knowe not what it menythe;
but thus thay saye and dremethe,[2]
ve ille p*er* quem skandalu*m* venit!
but this wyll axe graett pene
be-for it be well agayne,
graett pene and sore
to make this as [it][3] was before.
youre co*m*mon*es* thus Doe saye,
yf thay hade it, thay wolde paye.
vox populi, vox Dei:
o most nobell[4] kenge,
Consyder well this thinge!

7

This matter is to trewe,
that many a man Dothe rewe
thesse sowrowes doe in-sewe;
for, pawre men, thay doe crye,
and saye it ys a-wrye;
thay saye thay cannott be herde,
but styll frome Daye [to daye] Differed;
when thay haue any swtte,
they may gowe blowe ther flwtt;[5]
thus gothe the comon brewtt.
the riche man wyll come in,
for he ys sure to wyne,
for he cane make is waye,
With hand in hande to paye, [leaf 138.]

---

[1] be to; A.S. *weorðan*, to become.
[2] deamythe (C.).
[3] it as it (C.).
[4] MS. nebell.
[5] flute (C.).

bothe to thycke and thyne :[1]
or elles, to knowe the[ir][2] plesure,
my lorde is not at lesure :[3]
the pawre man at the dur
standes lyke an yslande[4] cur,
and Darre not ones sture,
excepet he gowe is waye
and come another Daye ;
and then the matter ys mayde,
that the powre man withe his spade
mvst no more his ferme in-wayde,
but most gowe vse some other trade ;
for it ys soe agreyd,
that my ladey, maisteres mede,[5]
shall hyme expulse with all spede,
and our maister the landlord
shall haue it all att his accorde,
his howsse and ferme agayne,
to make there-of his vttmost gayne ;
for is wantage wylbe more,
with shepe and cattell it to[6] store,
and not to plowgh his ground no more,
except the fermer wyll arere
the rente hyer by a holle yere.
yett mvst he haue a fyne, toe,
the bargayne he may the [better][7] knowe ;
wiche maketh the markett now soe Dere
That there bye[8] fewe that makes good chere* ;
for the fermer most sell his gosse, [*leaf 138, back.]
as he maye be abell to paye for his howse ;
or elles, for non payeng the rente,

---

[1] "A line, or perhaps more, has dropt out here" (Dyce).
[2] their (C.).
[3] A line borrowed from [or occurring in] Skelton's *Why come ye nat to Courte*, l. 622, vol. ii. 46. (Dyce.)
[4] Island (C.). "Iceland Dogs: shaggy, sharp-eared, white dogs, much imported formerly as favourites for ladies, etc. 'Pish for thee, Iceland dog, thou prick-ear'd cur of Iceland, *Henry V.* ii. 1.'" (*Nares.*)
[5] The writer, perhaps, recollected that Skelton had mentioned "mayden Meed" in *Ware the Hauke* l. 149, vol. i. 160. (Dyce.) Shall we add, that Skelton perhaps recollected the fine scenes between "Meede þe Mayden," or "Mayden Meede," and Conscience, the King, and Reason, in Passus II.–IV. of *The Vision of Piers Plowman* (pp. 17–51, ed. Skeat, 1867, Text A.)? That Skelton owed much to the *Vision* and the *Creed*, I cannot doubt.
[6] MS. itto. [7] may better (C.). [8] be (C.).

a-voyde at oure laydye daye in lent:
thus the pawre man shalbe shente;
and then he and his wyffe
with there chilldren, all there lyfe,
Dothe crye owtt and ban[1]
vppon this corsede covitys man.
I swere, by god omnipotent,
I fere that this presydent
wyll make ws all for to [be][2] shent!
trowe yow, my lordes that be,
that god doth nott see
this ryche manys charyte
per speculu*m* Inigmate?[3]
yes, es, yowe ryche lord*es*!
hitt is wrytten in christ*es* record*es*
that divis[4] lay in the fyre
with belsabube his Syrre;
and pawper, he a-bowe[5] satt
In the Sett[6] of abram*es* lape,
and was taken frome this troye
to lyve allwaye with god in yoiye.[7]
yowr comon*es* thus do saye;
yf thay hade it, thay wold paye:
vox populi, vox Dei:
o most nobell kenge,
Consyder well this thing!

8

The prayse no lesse ys worthe, [leaf 139.]
godd*es* worde is well sett forth;
hitt never was more preched,
ner never so playnely techede;
hitt never was soe halloed,
nor never soe lyttell fowloed
both of hyght and lawe,[8]
as many a man dothe knowe.
for this ys playne perskrypsyon,

---

[1] band (MS.); ban (C.). [2] be (C.).
[3] This line in MS. C. is added by a different hand; and in MS. Harl. by the later hand. (Dyce.)
[4] Dives (C.). [5] above (C.). [6] seate (C.).
[7] joy. [8] lowe (C.).

we haue banyschyd superstysyon,
but styll we kepe ambysyon ;
we haue showtt awaye all cloystrees,[1]
but styll we kepe extorsynares ;
we haue taken there landes for ther abbwese,[2]
but we haue convertyd theme to a worse vse.
yf this talle be noe lye,
my lordes, this gothe a-wrye :
a-wrye, a-wrye, ye gooe,
with many thenges mooe,
quytt frome the kenges hy-waye !
the commones thus Doe saye,
yf thay hade it, thay wold paye.
vox populi, vox Dei :
O most nobell keng,
Consyder well this thyng !

9.

And of all this sequell,
the fawtt I cane not tell :
put yowe together, and spell, [leaf 139, back.]
my lordes of the cownsell.
I fere albe[3] not well,
amebyssyon So Dothe swell—
as it gothe by reportte—
amowngges the grettes[t][4] sortte ;
a wonderfull sortt of cells[5]
that wox populi telles[6]
of thes bottomelesse welles[7]
that are est, west, and so forth,
bothe by south and also north,
with ryche, rycche, and ryche,
with riche, and to myche.[8]
the pawre men to be-gylle,
with saccke and paccke to fyle,
with suche as we compownd
for an offys ij thowsant pownde.
howe maye suche men do reght,
youre pawre men to requytt

---

[1] "We have sent awaye all cloysterers" (C.).
[2] abuse (C.).
[3] all be (C.).
[4] greatest (C.).
[5] sylkes (MS.) ; selles (C.).
[6] tyltyes (MS.) ; telles (C.).
[7] weltis (MS.) ; welles (C.).
[8] Cp. Latimer's 'too much,' p. 113, above.

owtt of there trowbell and payne ?
but thay most gett it agayne
by craft, or such coarsyon,
by bryberey and playne exstorsyon,
with many farlys mooe
that I colde trewly schewe :
ther never was Suche mesyre,
nor never soe moche ewzery.[1]
yowr powr men thus doe saye,
yf thay hade yt, thay wold paye.
vox populi, vox Dei :
O most nobell keng,
Consider well this thing !

[9 *b*.][2]

And thus this yll of brwtt*es*, [leaf 140.]
most plentyfull of frewtt*es*,
ys sudenly Decayed ;
powre men all-most Dysmayd,
thay are soe over-layde.
I fere and ame afrayde
of the stroke of gode,
wiche ys a perelos rodde.
praye / praye / praye /
we never see that Daye !
for yf that Daye doo cume,
we shall desseuer and rune,
the father agaynste the sonne,
and one agaynst an[3] nother.
by god*es* blessed mother,
or they begyne to hugger,
for godessake looke a-bought,
and staye be tymes this rought,
for feare they do come owte.
I put yo[u] ought of dought,
there is no grett trust,
yf trothe shoulde be discust.
therefore, my lordes, take heede
that this gere do not breede,
at chesse to playe a maett,
for then it ys to latt ;

[1] vserye (C.). [2] 10 (C.). [3] MS. and a (C.).

we maye well prowe a cheke,
but we shall haue the werke.[1]
ytt ys not to be wondrede,
for thay are not to be nvmbred;
hitt ys not one alone
that thus dothe grownt and growne,
and makethe this pitious[2] mone;
for it ys more then wonder
to here the infynytte nwmber
of powre men, that doo showe [leaf 140, back.]
by resoune hitt most be Sooe,
thay wysche, and doo connector,[3]
that my lord*es* grasse and protector,
that cheffe ys nowe erector,
and formost of the renge
vnder oure nobell kenge,
that he wold see redresse
of this most graett excesse;
for he ys callyd Dowttlesse
a man of graett pro*ue*s,[4]
and soo dothe bere the fame,
and dothe desyre the same.[5]
his mynde (thay saye) is good,
yf all wolde folowe his mode.
nowe for to sett the frame,
to kepe styll this good name,
he most delay all excusis,
and ponysche thesse graett abbusis
of thesse tynys and new ewsis,
that haue soo many mvsis.
and frest[6] and prinsipally
Suppresse this shamfull ewzere[7]
co*m*menlye callyd husbandrye.
so[8] yf there be noe remedye,
in tyme—and that reght shortly—

---

[1] neke (C.), which inserts five lines after l. 615, and then begins a fresh Section 11.

"This the poore men saye,
yf thei hadde yt, thei wold paye,
Vox populi, vox Dei:
O most noble kyng,
Consydre well this thynge!" (C.) from Dyce.

[2] pitivys, altered to pitious. [3] *or* connector . . coniector (C.), desire.
[4] prowesse (C.). [5] MS. fame, as before. [6] first (C.).
[7] vsurye (C.). [8] For (C.).

yt wyl brede to a plewryse,
wiche ys a graett innormyte
to all youre grasis com*m*ynaltye;
for ther is noe smalle nwmber
but that this fawlt Dothe incu*m*ber.[1]
youre powre men thus doo saye,
yf they hade it, they wolde paye.
vox populi, vox Dei,
O most nobell kenge, [leaf 141.]
Consyder well this thyng!

10.

Nowe, at youre grasis laysure,
yf ye well See the sezare
of all the cheffe treasure—
heped withe-owght mesure—
of the substan*es* of youre reme,
as it were in a Dreme,
I well make an esteme,
in the hand*es* of a fewe,
the trewthe you to shewe,
howe this matter dothe gooe;
for I wyll not spare
the troythe to Declare;
for troythe, trewly ment,
was never yett shente,
nor never shent shalbe,
note this texte of me:
yf[2] a tyme be framed
for fere so*m*me showld be blamed;
but it wyll not be shamed;
hitt ys of Suche a strenghe,
hit wyll ower-come at lenghe.
yf now I shall not fayne,
the troythe to tell youe playne,
of thoosse that doo holde
the substan*es*, and the goolde,
and the tresure of this reme;
and shortly to calle,
all-most they haue all;
att lest, they haue the tradde
of all that maye be mayde.

[1] C. adds "yt is a wordly wondre."

[2] Yt may (C.).

And frist to declare [leaf 141, back.]
a[1] breffe what they are, 688
to make short rehersall,
as well spyrytuall as te*m*prall :
the lawer*es* and the lawlorde,[2]
the graett ryve and the recorde,— 692
the Recorde I mene, ys he
that hathe offys, or ell*es* fee,
to serve oure nobull kenge[3]
in his accomtt*es* and reconnyng 696
of his treasure Surmo*u*ntyng—
lorde chawncler and chawnclar*es*,
maister*es* of mynt*es* and monyar*es*,
Secundar*es* and Surwayer*es*, 700
awdater*es* and Receveer*es*,
customer*es* and cowntroller*es*,
purvayer*es* and prowller*es*,
marchant*es* of graett sallys, 704
withe the maister*es* of woddsayles,
withe grassyer*es* and regratter*es*,
withe mr. wyllyam*es* of schepe-maister*es*,
and Suche lyke co*m*men[4] wasteres 708
that of errabell grownd mak*es* paster*es*,
and paye-mast*e*rs, suche as bythe[5]
with Trappes yo*u*r golden Smythe,[5]
with iij or iiij grett cloytheer*es*, 712
and the holle lybell of lawer*es* :
withe thesse and there trayne,—
to be breffe and playne,—
of there to[6] myche gayne 716
that they take for ther payne,
hit ys knowin by certayne stowrys[7]
that they maynetene yo*u*r grasis warys
by the space of a holle yere— 720
be it good chepe or dere,—
ye, thowght[8] we showlde w*i*t*h*stande
bothe france and skottlande,
And yett to leve enowght [leaf 142.]
of money, ware, and stuffe, 725

---

[1] By a (C.); but *a* may mean *on*, *in*.
[2] landelorde (C.).
[3] ? MS. renge, kyng (C.).
[4] commonwelthe (C.).
[5] These lines are in the margin in a later hand.
[6] to to (C.).
[7] sterres (C.).
[8] Yea, though; C. reads Thoughe.

bothe in cattell and corne,
to more then they were borne
by patoromony[1] or blude,
to merett soo mvche gude.
be-cause thay be soo basse,
thay welbe nedey and skarsse;
for q*uo*d natura dedit,
frome Ientyll blude they[2] ledeth;
and to forsse a chourlyche best,
nemo attollere potest.
yett Rather then they wold goo before,
they wolde helpe yo*ur* grace w*ith* some-what more,
for they be thosse that haue the stawre;
thosse be they wyll[3] warrant ye,
thowght ye take never a peney
of youre powre co*m*mynalltey:
this is trwe vndowttydlye,
I dare afferme it Sertenly.
for yf this warlde doo holde,
of forse ye most be bolde
to bowrowe ther fyne golde;
for they haue the stowre,
your co*m*mon*es* haue no more.
ye maye it call to lyght,
for it ys your awne reght,
yf that your grase haue nede:
beleve this as youre crede,
the powre men [so][4] doo saye,
yf they hade it, they wold paye
with a better wyll then thay.
vox populi, vox Dei:
O most nobell keng,
Consider well this thing!

11.

O [w]ortheyest protector,
be [he]reyn[5] corrector!
And yow, my lord*es* all,
lett not your oner[6] apall,
but knowke be tymes, and call

[leaf 142, back.]

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[1] Tho first *o* appears to be crossed out; patrimony (C.). [2] them (C.).
[3] I wyll (MS.); wyll (C.). [4] so (C.). [5] herin (C.). [6] honor (C.).

for thes graett ewsyres[1] all!
ye knowe the prinsipall:
what nedes more rehersall?
yf yow doo not redresse
be tymes this covitisnes,
my hede I wold to gage,
ther welbe[2] grett owt-rage,
Suche rage as never was sene
in any olde man*es* tyme.
also, for this perplexsite,
of thes that are most welthé,
hit were a dede of charite
to helpe them of ther pluryse:
hit com*m*es by Suche grett fytt*es*
that it takes [a]waye ther witt*es*,
bothe in ther tresure and tellyng,[3]
or ell*es* in byeng and selleng.
yf they of this were eesed,
your grasse showlde be well plesed,
and thay but lyttell dysesed
of this covitous dropsye
that brenge*s* them to this pluryse,
bothe the plwryse and the gowt,
vncurabell to be holpe [out],[4]
except your grasse, for petie,
proved[5] this forsayd remedie,
as docter*es* holde opinion,
bothe ambrosse and tertullyon,
with the swipstake and the mynyon,
[The Herte and the Swallowe,
and all the rest that followe,][6]
the[7] gally and the roo
that soo swyft dothe gooe;
Goo,[8] and that a pasce,
by the herry grace,
the herry and the Edward:
god send[1] them all well forward,
w*ith* all the hole fleet!
whosse cowncell complett
Sayth it is full mett

---

[1] vsurers (C.).
[2] wylbe (C.).
[3] Treasure tellynge (C.).
[4] out (Dyce).
[5] Provyde (C.).
[6] From the Cambridge MS.
[7] Withe the (C.).
[8] too (MS.); Goo (C.).

that graett hed*es* and dyscrett
showld looke well to ther fett.[1]
amen! I saye, so be it!
as all your co*m*mon*es* praye
for youre lonke[2] helth awaye.
yf thay hade it, thay wolde paye
with a better wyll then thay.
vox populi, vox Dei:
thus doth wrytt, and thus dothe saye,
with this salme, 'myserere mei.'
o most nobell keng,
Consyder well this thinge!
god saue the kenge!

FINIS Q*UO*D VOX POPULI VOX DEI.[3]

[1] feate (C.). [2] long (C.).
[3] ffinis, quothe Mr. Skelton, Poete Lawriate (C.).

L. 703, *Purveyors.*—"The purveyor alloweth for a lamb worth two shylynges, but xij*d*; for a capon worth xij*d*, six pens; and so after that rate: so that after that rate there is not the poorest man that hathe any thyng to sell, but he loseth half in the price, besides tariyng for his money, which somtyme he hathe, after long suyte to the officeres, and great coste suyng for it; and many tymes he never hathe it: so that he is dryven to recover his losses by sellyng deerer to the kynges subjects." *State Paper Office—Domestic—Edw. VI*, vol. v. p. 20. See *Archæologia*, vol. viii, for an interesting article on purveyors. *Russell's 'Kett's Rebellion in Norfolk,'* p. 2, note (4).

Vox Populi was most probably known to Robert Greene. In his *Quip for an Upstart Courtier*, 1592, he alludes to some of the subjects of our poem when describing his knight,—whom, like Chaucer, he makes a fine character, and says:—

"this knight is mortall enimy to pride, and so to me [Velvet-Breeches]: he regardeth hospitality, and aimeth at honor with releeving the poore: you may see, although his landes and revenwes be great, and he able to maintain himself in great bravery, yet he is content with home-spun cloth, and scorneth the pride that is now adaies used among young upstarts: he holdeth not the worth of his gentry to be and consist in velvet breeches, but valeweth true fame by the report of the common sort, who praise him for his vertue, justice, liberality, housekeeping, and almes-deeds. *Vox Populi vox Dei:* his tenants and farmers would, if it might bee possible, make him immortal with their praiers and praises. *He raiseth no rent, racketh no lands, taketh no incombs* [premiums from incoming tenants?], *imposeth no mercilesse fines*, envies not an other, *buyeth no house over his neighbours head*, but respecteth his country, and the commodity [welfare] thereof, as deere as his life. Hee regardeth more to have the needy fed, to have his boord garnished with full platters, then to famous himselfe with excessive furniture in apparel." (P. 48–9, *Collier's reprint.*)

Appendix to Vox Populi.

The Grievances of the Norfolk Rebels in 1549.

Many of the grievances complained of in *Vox Populi* are so well illustrated by the Petition or List of Grievances drawn up by Kett and the Norfolk Rebels in 1549, that I print the Petition here from the incomplete and charred MS. (Harl. 304, leaf 75) from which Mr. Russell also printed it in his "Kett's Rebellion in Norfolk; being a History of the great civil commotion that occurred at the time of the Reformation, in the reign of Edward VI. Founded on the '*Commoyson in Norfolk*, 1549,' by Nicholas Sotherton; and the '*De Furoribus Norfolciensium*' of Nevylle: and corroborated by extracts from the Privy Council register; documents preserved in the State-Paper, and other Record Offices; the Harleian and other MSS.; and Corporation, town, and Church Records. By the Rev. Frederic William Russell, M.A. &c. &c. With Illustrations. London, Longmans, &c. 1859."

The list of the hundreds and their representatives is imperfect at the beginning.[1] Among the latter is a namesake of the present President of the Reform League, Edmond Belys (Beales)*. Our modern reformer seeks his ends by gentler means than his rebel predecessor.

[Harl. MS. 304, leaf 75.]

[the hundred] of [n]orwich	
the hundred of ffourehoo[2]	Robert Kett, Thomas Rolff, William Kett
The hundred of north grenehowe[3]	Edmond fframyngham, William Tydde
The hundred of South erpyngham	Reynold Thurston, Iohn? wolsy
the hundred of est fflegge *and* west flegge	Symond englysshe, william pecke
The hundred of landryche[4]	George blomefild, william herryson?
the hundred of Eynsforth[5]	Edmond belys*, Robert Sendall

[1] Nevylle says twenty-six hundreds were represented; whereas only twenty-[four] are mentioned in the MS., twenty-[three] in Norfolk, and one from Suffolk. *Russell*, p. 48; and see p. 203–4.

[2] Forehoe.—*R.* [3] Greenhoe.—*R.* [4] Launditch.—*R.* [5] Eynesford.—*R.*

	the hundred of humbleyard	Thomas prycke henry hogekynges
	the hundred of [nor]th erpyngham	Rychard Bevis William Dowty
	[th]e hundred [of T]auerham[1]	Thomas Garrod William petyr
	[the h]undred of brothercrosse	Robert mans[. . . .] Robert Ede
	The hundred off Blowfeld	Iohn^{9} Spregey Elys hyll
	The hundred off walsham	Iohn^{9} kytball Thomas Clerke
	The hundred of Tunsted	Iohn^{9} herper Richard lyon^{9}
	The hundred of happyng	Edward Ioye Thomas Clocke
	the hundred of hensted	william mowe Thomas hollyng
	the hundred of holt	Iohn^{9} Bossell valentyn^{9} moore
	The hundred of loudon^{9} and knaveryng[2]	Robert lerold Richard ward
	the hundred of north grenehowe	Edward Byrd Thomas tudenhn^{93}
	the hundred of metforth[4]	Symond Nevell william howlyng
	The hundred off ffrebrygge[5]	william heydon^{9} thomas Iacker
	The hundred of Callowe	Robert Cottes Iohn^{9} Oxwyk
[leaf 75, back.]	The hundred of depewade	william Browne Symond Sendall
	. . . . .	. . . . .
	Suff— Co—[?]	Richard wright

"We pray your grace, that where it is enacted for Inclosyng, that it be not hurtfull to suche as haue enclosed saffren^{9} grounde*s*,[6] for they be gretly chargeablye to them, and that ffrome hensforth noman^{9} shall enclose eny more.

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[1] The name of *Taverham* hundred occurs in *Blomefield's Hist. of Norfolk*, (ed. 1809) vol. x. p. 467.

[2] Loddon and Clavering.—*R.*

[3] ?h*a*m.

[4] Mitford.—*R.*

[5] Freebridge Lynn.—*R.*

[6] See Harrison's chap. 8, bk. 3, on Saffron, *Descr. of England*, p. 232: "In Norffolke and Suffolke they raise but once in seuen yeares: but as their saffron is not so fine as that of Cambridgeshire and about Walden, so it will not cake, ting, nor hold colour withall; wherein lieth a great part of the value of this stuff." (P. 233.)

"We certifie yo*ur* grace, that where as the lord*es* of ther manours hath byn^{9} Charged w*ith* certe*n* ffre rent, the same lord*es* hath sought meanes to charge ther ffre-holders to pay the same rent, contrarye to right.

"We pray yo*ur* grace, that no lord of no mann*er* shall comon^{9} vppon^{9} the Comons.

"We pray that prest*es* frome hensforth shall purchase no lond*es*, neyther ffre nor Bond; and the lond*es* that they haue in possession^{9} may be letten^{9} to temporall men^{9}, as they wer in the ffyrst yere of the reign^{9} of kyng henry the vijth.

"We pray that Rede-ground *and* medowe grounde may be at suche price as they wer in the first yere of kyng henry the vijth.

"We pray that all marshysshe that ar holden^{9} of the kyng*es* maiestie by ffre rent or of eny other, may be ageyn^{9} at the price that they wer In the ffirst yere of kyng henry the vijth.

"We pray that all Busshell*es* w*ith*in yo*ur* realme be of on^{9} scice, that is to sey, to be in mesure viij gallons.

[lf. 76.] "[We] pray that [the parsons] or vicars that be nat able to preche *and* sett forth the woorde of god to hys p*ar*issheners may be clerely putt from^{9} hys benyfice, and the p*ar*issheners there to chose an^{9} other, or ell*es* the pateron^{9} or lord of the towne.

"We pray that the paymente*s* of castillward rent, *and* blanche fferme, and office land*es*, whiche hath byn^{9} accostomed to be gathered of the tenamente*s*, where as we suppose the lord*es* ought to pay the same to ther balyff*es* for ther rente*s* gatherynge, *and* not the ten*an*te*s*.

"We p[r]ay that noman^{9} vnder the degre of a knyght or esquyer kepe a dowe house, except it hath byn^{9} of an^{9} ould au*n*chyent costome.

"We pray that all ffreholders *and* copieholders may take the p*ro*fight*es* of all comons, *and* ther to comon^{9}, *and* the lord*es* not to comon nor take p*ro*fight*es* of the same.

"We pray that no ffeodorye w*ith*in yo*ur* sheres shalbe a counceller to eny man^{9} in his office makyng, wherby the kyng may be trulye s*er*ued, so that a man^{9} beeng of good consyence may be yerely chosyn^{9} to the same office by the comons of the same sheyre.

"We pray yo*ur* grace to take all libertie of lete into yo*ur* owne hand*es*, wherby all me*n* may quyetly enioye ther comons w*ith* all p*ro*fight*es*.

"We pray that copiehould lond*es* that is onresonable rented, may go as it dyd in the ffirst yere of kyng henry the vij; and that at the deth of a ten*an*te, or of a sale, the same land*es* to be charged w*ith* an^{9} esey ffyne, as a capon^{9}, or a resonable some of money, ffor a reme*m*br*a*nce.

[lf. 76 b.] "[We] pray that no prest [shall be a chaplain residential, steward,] nor no other officer to eny man^{9} of honor or whorshypp*e*, but only to be resydent vppon^{9} ther benefic*es*, wherby ther p*ar*issheners may be enstructed w*ith* the lawes of god.

"We pray thatt all bonde men^{9} may be made ffre,[1] for god made all ffre w*ith* his p*re*cious blode sheddyng.

"We pray that Ryvers may be ffre *and* comon^{9} to all me*n* for ffysshyng *and* passage.

"We pray that no man^{9} shalbe put by yo*ur* Eschetour *and* ffeodarie to ffynde eny office, vnles he holdeth of yo*ur* grace in cheyff or capite aboue x^{li} by yere.

"We pray that the pore mariners or ffysshereme*n* may haue the hole p*ro*fight*es* of ther ffysshyng*es*, as purpres, grampes, whalles, or any grett ffysshe so it be not p*re*iudiciall to yo*ur* grace.[2]

"We pray *tha*t eu*er*y p*ro*priatorie p*ar*son^{9} or vicar havyng a benifice of x^{li} or more by yere shall eyther by the*m* selues or by some other p*er*son^{9} teche pore mens chyldren^{9} of ther p*ar*isshe the boke called the cathakysme[3] *and* the prym*er*.[4]

"We pray that it be not lawfull to the lord*es* of eny manner to purchase lond*es* frely, *and* to lett the*m* out ageyn^{9} by copie of court roll, to ther gret advaunchement, *and* to the vndoyng of yo*ur* pore subiect*es*.

"We pray that no p*ro*priatorie p*ar*son^{9} or vicar (in considera-

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[1] The time had not yet come for "bonde men" to obtain their freedom; years, many years, of fierce contention and of deadly strife would have to pass away, and many a hard-fought field be won, before this precious boon would be secured to all. The blow thus aimed at the feudal system at present was of no avail; but after the great Puritan struggle, one of the earliest acts [of] Charles II. was to abolish the iniquities and oppressions which had, in the course of time, been grafted upon it . . . 12 *Car. II. c.* 24. *Russell's Kett's Rebellion in Norfolk, p.* 51–2.

[2] One of the King's prerogatives was, and still is: "The King shall have Wreck of the Sea throughout the Realm, Whales and great Sturgeons taken in the Sea or elsewhere within the Realm, except in certain Places privileged by the King."—17 *Edw. II. stat.* 1. c. 11; or, *The King's Prerogative.*

I am indebted to Chas. John Palmer, Esq., F.S.A., for the following interesting information on this Grievance:

"Great Yarmouth, 1*st May*, 1859.

*** "Whales, sturgeons, porpoises, dolphins, and other fish, having in them a great or large thickness of fatness,' are called 'Fishes Royal,' and from ancient time have, by right or custom, belonged to the Crown. In 1559, Queen Elizabeth, by charter, made a grant to the town of Yarmouth, of all fishes royal taken between Winterton Ness in Norfolk, and Easton Ness in Suffolk, which grant was confirmed by James I. in 1608, and the town enjoyed the privilege, such as it was, till 1835, when the Municipal Corporation Act abolished all local admiralty jurisdictions.

"A few years since (1857), a whale came on shore at Winterton, and I, as receiver of droits for the Crown, reported the circumstance, and was instructed to assert the Queen's right to the same, which I did, although the parties who had got possession of it were allowed to retain it."—*Russell.* (I take only a few of Mr. Russell's notes.)

[3] "A Breife Catechisme and Dialogue betwene the Husbande and hys Wyfe:" also, "The instruccyon of the truthe: wherein he teacheth the unlearned man."—*N. d., but published* 1545.—R.

[4] "A goodly prymer in Englysshe, newely corrected and prynted, with

cion of advoydin[g] trobyll *and* sute bet[w]yn^{o} them *and* ther pore p*ar*isshners, whiche they daly do p*ro*cede *and* attempt,) shall from^{o} hensforth take for the full contentac*i*on of all the tenthes whiche nowe they do receyue, but viij^{d} of the noble, in the full discharge of all other tythes.

[lf. 77.] "[We pray that no man u]nder the degre of a [knyght?] shall kepe any conyes vpon^{o} any of his owne ffrehold or copiehold, onles he pale them^{o} in, so that it shall not be to the comons noysoyus.[1]

"We pray that no p*er*son^{o}, of what estate degre or condicion^{o} he be, shall from hensforth sell the adwardshyp*e* of eny chyld; but that the same chyld, if he lyve to his full age, shalbe at his owne chosyng concernyng his mariage, the kyng*es* ward*es* only except.

"We pray that no mann*er* of p*er*son^{o} havyng a mann*er* of his owne, shall be no other lord*es* balyf, but only his owne.

"We pray that no lord, knyght, nor gentleman^{o}, shall haue or take in ferme any spirituall p*ro*mocion^{o}.

"We pray yo*ur* grace to gyve lycens and aucthorite by yo*ur* gracious comyssion^{o} vnder yo*ur* grett seall, to suche comyssioners as yo*ur* pore comons hath chosyn^{o}, or to as many of them as yo*ur* maiestie *and* yo*ur* counsell shall apoynt and thynke mete, for to redresse *and* refourme all suche good lawes, statut*es*, p*ro*-clamac*i*ons, *and* all other yo*ur* p*ro*cedyng*es*, whiche hath byn^{o} hydden^{o} by yo*ur* Iustic*es* of yo*ur* peace, Shreues, Escheatoures[2], *and* other yo*ur* officers from yo*ur* pore comons, synes the ffirst yere of the reign^{o} of yo*ur* noble grandfather kyng henry the seventh.

"We pray that those yo*ur* officers *tha*t hath offended yo*ur* grace *and* yo*ur* comons, and so p*ro*vid by the compleynt of yo*ur* pore comons, do gyue onto those pore men^{o} so assembled iiij^{d} eu*er*y day so long as they haue remayned ther.

We pray that no lorde, knyght, esquyer, nor gentleman^{o}, do g[rase] nor fede eny bullock*es* or shepe, if he may spend fforty pound*es* a yere by his land*es*, but only for the p*ro*vicion^{o} of his howse.

"By me Rob*er*t Kett
By me Thomas Aldryche Thomas Cod."

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certeyne godly meditations and prayers added to the same, very necessarye and profytable for all them that ryghte assuredlye understande not the latine and greke tongues." *N. d., but published in* 1535.—R.

[1] *I. e.* "to the commons'" (evidently here meaning tenants and small farmers) "annoyance or injury."—R. ?'noxious.'

[2] ? MS. It looks like 'Escheatoza,' the final *a* ending with a flourish.

Bondmen, p. 149.—On this subject we may note that Harrison in 1577 uses the word of 'men in bonds,' and says, "And as for slaues and *bondmen*, we haue none, naie, such is the priuilege of our countrie by the especiall grace of God, and bountie of our princes, that if anie come hither from other realms, so soone as they set foot on land, they become so free of condition as their masters, whereby all note of seruile bondage is vtterlie remooued from them."—*Descr. of England*, bk. ii. chap. 5, p. 163, col. 2.

The Ruyn' of A Ream'.

[Harl. MS. 2252, leaf 25.]

But for the language, part of this poem might have been written in Wycliffe's time, by a disciple of his who had read his tract against Prelates,[1] and who, while reiterating his master's denunciations against the wolfish herds of God's flock, still desired to proclaim that one faithful shepherd was to be found among the faithless, one true preacher who fed his flock on the sweet herbage of the knowledge of God, plainly declared to every man his faults, and alleged Scripture for every sentence (or opinion). Before the Reformation the poem was written, when prelates sent money for bulls and honour to Rome, when clerics ruled the land, and were bringing it to decay. The chief outward symptom of the prelates' sins that the writer denounces, is their gorgeous apparel, like that of Dukes and Earls of the temporalty (l. 123), or disguised like men in a play (l. 73), rather than the plain cloth that their predecessors used. This sprang from their pride; to feed which they were ruining the realm. Stanza XXVI likens them to the gurgoyles on a wall, which grin and stare, and think all the weight that they do bear:

There hert*is* in p*r*ide ys sette so hye,
  þ*a*t noman^{9} w*i*t*h* them^{9} they thynke may co*m*pare.
Rydyng^{9} Alone, they loke so solemly
  as gargell*is* in A wall, whyche gryn^{9} & stare,
  And thynke All the peyse that they do bere:
    So thynkythe the p*r*elatt*is*, Above all men^{9}
    þ*a*t the wysedom^{9} of thys Realme Restythe all on^{9} them^{9}.

[1] In the third chapter, [of his Treatise *De Conversatione Ecclesiasticorum* or *of Prelates*,] Wycliffe censures, with great freedom, the gay equipage, the profanity, the gluttony and drunkenness, of many among the prelates, and speaks of their establishments, and their general manners, as proclaiming them members of the "devil's church," rather than of "holy church." Prelates, he writes, "rob the poor liege men of the king by false excommunications, put forth under colour of holy correction, but giving men leave to dwell in sin from year to year, and from one seven years to another seven years, and commonly all their life long, if they pay by year twenty shillings, or something more or less." . . . . In the 8th & 9th "chapters the same subject is continued. Prelates are rebuked as men deriving their chief revenue from the sins of the people. Is it because there are so many sins to be confessed, that "the rotten penny" is demanded continually: and by such means "a proud name in the

Roy's *Satire* may well be compared with the *Ruyn*' throughout. Though the ballad—if so it can be fairly called—includes a general lamentation over other people's vices, the prelates' sins are its special theme. In faltering verse it bewails them, and promises punishment for them; and ends with an appeal to all men to pray for our noble king, our gracious queen, and all their progeny.

Though this word *progeny* seems a large term to describe one daughter, yet I believe that the writer of the Ballad referred to the Princess Mary (born 18th February, 1516), and the other expected issue of Henry VIII. and his first Queen, Catherine of Arragon, who seems to have had three miscarriages, and to have borne four children. (*Froude*, i. 104, note.)

So also I assume that lines 34–42,

> "hyt ys apar(e)nte to ev*e*ry mann*us* Iee
> þ*a*t sp*i*r*i*tuall men° vndowtydly
> dothe Rule þ*i*s Realme, now broughte to mysery,

refer to Wolsey's influence, dating especially from Dec. 1515 when he was made Chancellor; and that the many lines against Prelates' richness of apparel (l. 73, 122, etc.) include his well-known magnificence in dress, and all other appointments of house and person. Roy in his *Satire*, though writing principally against Wolsey, takes care to include the rest of the religious, the 'many' of stanza 17 here:—

> Moreover there is the Cardinall /
> Of whose pompe to make reherceall /
> It passeth my capacite.
> With stately bissoppes a greate sorte /
> Which kepe a mervelous porte /
> Concernynge worldely royalte.
>
> Prestes also that are seculer /
> With monkes and chanons reguler /
> Abownde so in possession,
> That both in welfare and wede /
> With-oute doute they farre excede /
> The nobles of the region.
>
> (P. 35 of Pickering's reprint.)

(See, as to Wolsey, '*An Impeachment of Wolsey*' in this volume.) The kneeling of the nobles, too, in line 64, was, most likely, to Wolsey. Skelton and others witness it. Line 152 may refer to Wolsey's appointment as Cardinal in 1515, and as papal legate in 1526.

The complaints in the early part of the Ballad about the decay of great households (l. 16), and of archery, while gaming increases (l. 23–5), with other points, agree so well with those of *Now-a-Dayes*, l. 46, 98, 233–4, etc., that one can hardly doubt that both ballads belong to nearly the same time, though *Now-a-Dayes* goes more to the root of the matter than the *Ruyn*, and may be a little later. The "Sufferance," which the latter, in l. 56, declares "hathe Cawsyd this Realme to decay," is, I suppose, not the suffering and distress of the commons, but the putting up

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world, and great householding" are sustained." (*Vaughan's Tracts and Treatises of Wycliffe*, pp. 14–16.)

with the grievances of Henry's rule—looked on as Wolsey's,—the want of a parliament from 1515 (to 1523: there was none again from 1523 to 1530,) and the political and social evils connected with it.

The one famous divine of line 102, who will not incline to the vices of the rest of the Prelates and Clergy, may have been Cuthbert Tunstall or Tonstal, Bishop of Durham, whose first work[1] bears the date of 1518, though his celebrated Sermon before Henry VIII. was not preached till Palm Sunday 1538. Or this divine may, says Professor Brewer, have been Standish, a friar popular both with the commonalty and Henry VIII., and of whom Pace writes to Wolsey on 12th April, 1518. "Pace to Wolsey . . Has been told to-day that the King will give "Sancte asse to Freier Standyche; wheroff I wolde be ryght sorye, for the goode service he was lyke to do to the churche. Erit tamen difficile huic rei obstare (ut mihi videtur) quia majestas regia illum mihi jampridem laudavit ex doctrina, et omnes isti domini aulici eidem favent de singulari quam navavit opera ad ecclesiam Anglicam subvertandam." Abingdon, 12 April." (*Brewer's Calendar*, vol. 2, Part 2, p. 1263, No. 4074.)[2] If Standish was the man meant, it must have been before he took part against the Reformers. Roy shows him up (in 1527?) for his treachery about Tyndale's translation of the New Testament, and sketches his character thus :—

Wat. ¶ Who played the parte of Judas?
Jef. ¶ The wholy bisshop of Saynct Asse/
A poste of Satan's iurisdiccion,
Whom they call Doctour standisshe/

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[1] Cuthberti Tonstalli in Laudem Matrimonii Oratio, habita in Sponsalibus Mariæ, potentissimi Regis Angliæ Henrici Filiæ, et Francisci christianissimi Francorum Regis primogeniti. Lond. R. Pynson, 1518, 4to. (*Bohn's Lowndes.*)

[2] Compare Pace's letter of 14 April 1518 to Wolsey in *Ellis*, 3rd Series, i. 185. Wolsey wanted William Bolton, the Prior of St. Bartholomew's, a great builder, and repairer of buildings, to have the Bishopric, but, says Pace of the King, 'affore the receptt off your Graces lettres he was myndydde to geve the sayde bushoprycke to a freer, and doith still persevere in the same mynde, sayynge that your Grace doith knowe the sayde freer to be a grete lernydde man and an honest man . . Hys Grace wolde not name the sayde freer unto me, but itt is surely Standyche: to my greate discomforte, in so muche that I dydde neuyr wryte Lettres in my lyffe more to my displeasor than thiese: parte for your Graces causes, and parte for the sayde Priors, whoo is more wurthy to have greter promotion than thys, than is the other to be in lyffe.' However, Standish got his Bishopric on 18 April 1518, in opposition to Wolsey's wishes. In the *Original Letters*, 3rd Series, i. 189, Pace says to Wolsey: 'Thys daye His Grace haith yevyn the bushopryche off St. Asaph to Doctor Standyche, and com*m*aundydde me to advertise your Grace theroff, and to desyre the same in hys name to be goodde lorde unto the sayde doctor . . Ex Wudstokke xviij. Aprilis.' If Sir Hy. Ellis's account of Standish's attack on Erasmus, and his zeal on behalf of Popery (i. 188), be correct, I doubt whether he can be the divine alluded to by our Ballad.

Wone that is nether flesshe nor fisshe /
  At all tymes a com*m*en lyer.
He is a bablynge Questionist /
And a mervelous grett sophist /
  Som tyme a lowsy graye fryer.
Of sto*m*make he is fearce and bolde /
In braulynge wordes a very scolde /
  Menglynge vennem with sugre.
He despyseth the trueth of god /
Takynge parte rather with falcehod /
  Forto obtayne worldly lucre.
In carde playinge he is a goode greke /
And can skyll of post and glyeke[1] /
  Also a payre of dyce to trolle.
For whordom and fornicacions /
He maketh many visitacions /
  His Dioces to pill and polle.
Though he be a stowte divyne /
Yett a prest to kepe a concubyne /
  He there admitteth wittyngly,
So they paye their yearly tribute*s* /
Unto his dyvlisshe substitute*s* /
  Officiall / or co*m*missary.
To rehearce all his lyvynge /
God geve it yvell chevynge[2] /
  Or els some amendment shortly.

(P. 134–5, *Pickering's reprint.*)

If we may bring the date of the Ballad to 1524, the divine meant may have been Tyndal.

But it is possible to assign an earlier date to the Ballad than Henry VIII.'s reign, and Mr. Gairdner is inclined to put it in Henry VII.'s. For, first: in the MS which contains it, it comes before a list of "The Namys of the Knyghts, Cetezens, Barons of the V Ports, and Burgesses, comynge to the Parleamente summonde at Westmynstre one Monday the 17th day of Octobre the 7th yere of the Reygne of Kynge Henry the VIIth" (*Harl. Catal.*), that is, in the year 1491. This list follows the *Ruyn*, and begins in the middle of a page (the front of leaf 28), and looks at first as if it had been taken down at the time. But as an Ordonnance for the Cowpers of London in 22 Hen. VII, A.D. 1506, is given 10 pages before, and is followed by another "Ordynaunce copyed from the Boke of our Lady of Wol-chyrche-hawe, by the Stocks in Londone for the good rule ofe the same Paryshe: made A.D. 1457," and, as the dates are much mixed by him in other parts of the MS., I think it quite certain that Mr. John Colyn, Citizen and Mercer of the Parish of St. Mary Wolnoth, London, who wrote the later entries, etc., in the MS., copied them from

[1] *Post*, the stakes at cards or dice. *Gleek*, a game of cards, played by three persons with forty-four cards, each hand having twelve, and eight being left for the stock. *To gleek* was a term used in the game for gaining a decided advantage. *To be gleeked* was the contrary. A *gleek* was three of the same cards in one hand together. *Halliwell.* [2] thriving.

such documents as he got hold of, quite irrespective of their succession in time. And thus the List of A.D. 1491 following our Ballad, in no way implies that the Ballad was of or before that date. I may say here that the MS consists 1. of certain old pieces, in a Henry VI hand, like the *Lyfe of Ipomydon*, printed by Weber in his *Metrical Romances*, and *Le mort Arthure*, printed by Mr. Ponton for the Roxburghe Club, and by me for Messrs. Macmillan; and 2. a lot of copies of City ordinances—some of which *must* have been copied from earlier documents—Skelton's Poems, a list of Mayors of London reaching over 130 years, etc. etc., all seemingly in the hand of John Colyn, down to A.D. 1533, at least.

Secondly: the internal evidence, though vague, suits better, in some points, Henry VII.'s time than Henry VIII.'s. The *progeny* of the King and Queen is more likely to refer to Henry VII.'s many children, Arthur, Henry, Margaret, etc., than to Henry VIII.'s one daughter. The description of the Queen—

> "Owur gracious quene endewed with pete,
> By whose good levyng—ye se hyt dayly—
> Thys realme ys kepte from all Captyvite,—"

suits better Henry VII.'s queen, Elizabeth of York, the *Lady Bessy*, sung by ballad writers (see *Percy Folio Ballads*, vol. iii. p. 319), than Henry's Catherine of Arragon, whom the people hardly cared for till his injustice to her made them pity her. Again, the allusions to the persons before whom the nobles kneel and crook, are not in the singular, as if Wolsey were meant, but in the plural, as if Cardinal Morton and Bp. Fox (?) of Henry VII.'s time were rather aimed at. Lines 41–2 also say:—

> "þat spirituall *men* vndowtydly
> dothe Rule þis Realme now browghte to mysery."

But to this it may be answered, that if Sir Thomas More's opinion of Morton—above, p. 4—is anything like the truth, the Ballad's reproaches do not suit him well; that Sir Reginald Bray, who, as minister with Morton, kept Henry VII.'s rapacity within bounds[1] before Dudley and Empson let it loose, was not a spiritual man; and that if the writer of the Ballad was writing against Wolsey, and dreaded the weight of his hand, the plural form of writing would be a convenient shield.

Further, if it be urged that the breaking up of noblemen's households, and the sale of their estates, mentioned in lines 15–24, suits better than the reign of Henry VIII that of Henry VII, in which the power of disentailing settled estates was sanctioned by statute, and of which Hume says:—

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[1] Remember that Sir R. Bray shared with Morton, though unjustly, the imputation of being the *cause* of the King's exactions. *Gairdner.*

"the most important law in its consequences, which was enacted during the reign of Henry, was that by which the nobility and gentry acquired a power of breaking the antient entails, and of alienating their estates."[1]

By means of this law, joined to the beginning luxury and refinements of the age, the great fortunes of the barons were gradually dissipated, and the property of the commons encreased in England. It is probable that Henry [VII] foresaw and intended this consequence; because the constant scheme of his policy consisted in depressing the great, and exalting churchmen, lawyers, and men of new families, who were more dependent on him. (*Hist.* iii. 421-2, ed. 1767.)

If, I say, this argument be pressed in favour of the Henry VII date, I answer that the like process was going on in Henry VIII's reign, and with greater speed at the Field-of-the-Cloth-of-Gold time, as noticed above, p. 89–90, and that in Edward VI's days we have Latimer complaining of the *upskips* (p. 114, l. 6 from foot, above) who had skipped up into the places of the old gentry.

Though then there is force, more or less, in these arguments for Henry VII's reign, and specially in that of the Queen and her progeny, on the whole I hold to the time of Henry VIII and Wolsey—say, before 1520 – as the probable date of the Ballad.

Instead of side-notes, I add an abstract of the poem:—

(1) Rulers now oppress the commons; (2) the old conquering rulers, noble, big, well-mannered, have gone; (3) nobles leave the country, and crowd the court to dally with ladies, leaving poor men to famish. (4) Jousting and archery are given up for cards and dice; and lands are sold for gaming. (5) Lords who used to fight for their king, now walk about with a boy and a page, in gowns of gold. (6) The ministers of justice who spoke for the common weal are gone, and spiritual men now rule this realm brought to misery. (7) See how the mischievous living of the Romans brought them from wealth to poverty! (8) And I tell you, "Sufferance hath caused this realm to decay!" (9) In old times, men of honour who cared for the poor, died for the common wealth; but now they kneel and crook. (10) For what? To gain the favour of men with untellable vices, (11) whose pride ruins the realm. The spiritualty are dressed in new-fashioned array; (12) they live viciously, and oppress poor men to keep up their state. (13) Instead of cloth, as in former days, they are now clad in rich array, (14) they covet advancement, their vainglory is indescribable, (15) they give learned doctors benefices to make them hold their tongues. But there is one preacher whom they cannot silence, (16) who tells every man his faults plainly, and denounces to prelates their abuses; (17) for they are proud, and ride pompously; (18) they live viciously, and dress

[1] 4 Hen. VII., cap. 24. The practice of breaking entails by means of a fine and recovery was introduced in the reign of Edward the 4th; But it was not, properly speaking, law, till the statute of Henry the 7th.; which, by correcting some abuses that attended that practice, gave indirectly a sanction to it.

more like dukes and earls than divines. (19) They get riches by extortion, and all their affection is set on lucre; (20) they live abominably, and do not preach, (21) but ride on mules in gowns of silk, and love to bear rule in great men's houses; (22) and they send money to Rome for bulls and honours. (23) Justice is gone, Truth banished, the Commons are oppressed; (24) Perjury is committed, the Lantern of Light is clean put out; the vicious living of these prelates, no tongue can declare. (25) But God will punish them sooner than they think, because they have so sore disobeyed his commandments. (26) So proud are they, that, riding alone, they think all the wisdom of the realm is in them, just like the staring gargoyles on a wall, which grin, and think they bear all the weight of the building. (27) The realm is full of pomp and vainglory. (28) O God, remember this realm brought to decay by the vices of prelates, (29) vain fools who protect not their flock, but spill their blood, like wolves. (30) Prelates, your sins and avarice shall make you sore repent! (31) Go, little book! Tell to all my mind; defy the vicious; (32) salute all, and ask them not to be discontented with my boldness; (33) I owe it to my country to rebuke the vices of those who are bringing it to nought. (34) Farewell then, best and noblest of realms, whose fame is beginning to pale! May God immortal save thee from utter decay! (35) It were endless for me to recount all the vices of my time. (36) This only I say, Gracious God, remember this realm now turning from wealth to misery! Give us grace to mend our lives; and preserve our noble King (37) and our Queen,—whose good life saves this realm,—and all their progeny.

The former caution—that the curls and lines of the Record types cannot mean more than a final *e*, and probably mean nothing,—holds good for the present poem, and all the others in this volume.

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here begynnyth the Sorowfull *com*playnte for the Ruyn of A Realme.

I.

Sythe[1] p*ro*founde Sorow My harte ys sore grevyd,
  Remembryng þis Realme, my natyfe Contre,
w*ith* Manyfolde vyc*is* to be destreyed
  & fallyng in decay—I here & see hyt playnly—
  By Reason of Rulers þ*at*[2] haþ[e] no petye
    to oprese the Com*m*ons there mat*er*s to co*m*pas:
    ow*ur* Como*n* welthe dekeyeth; þ*is* ys an hevy Cace!

[1] ? for "With": or "sythe" = after. [2] ? MS.

II.

Thys Realme in All p*ar*ties was Countyd pryncipall
for manly *con*quest*is* had in grete hono*ur*,
There worthy act*is* shyne the world ov*er* All,
There p*erson*u*s* were pyghte, none bett*er* of stature,
nor none more goodly of there behavo*ur*,
As these men were whych lately Reyned;
But now they be gon; thys Realme ys decayed!

III.

Somtyme nobyll men levyd in þ*er* Contre,
And kepte grete howsold*is*, pore men to socow*ur*;
But now in the Cowrte they desyre for to be;
W*ith* ladys to daly, thys ys þ*er* pleasure;
So pore men dayly may famyshe for hung*er*
or they com home home on monyth to remayn[1];
Thys ys the trowthe, as I here Certeyne.

IV.

Before thys tyme They lovyd for to Iuste,
and in shotyng chefely they sett þ*er* mynde;
But þ*er* landys & possessyons now sell they moste,
And at Card*is* & dyce ye may them ffynde,
These vnhappy vyc*is* do them so blynde:
þ*at* playnly (I thynke) p*er*seyve ye may,
Thys Realme Begynnythe sore to dekey.

V.

Where ben the lord*is* of valeaunte Corage
þ*at* Somtyme were wonte to s*er*ve there kynge?
now go they dayly w*ith* A boy & A page
in gown*u*s of golde & Ryche Clothyng;
There land*is* they consume, good*is* & All thyng; [leaf 25 *b*.]
So þ*at* I thynke no*n* Can denye
Thys Realme decayeth: ye se hyt playnly.

VI.

Where be the Rulers & mynesters of Iustyce
That S*u*mtyme Spake for the Com*m*on wele?
Now they be gon! Thys mat*er* wyll suffyce
for my purpose, I speke hyt Brevely;

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[1] Probably an *e* has been cut off by the binder.

hyt ys Apar[e]nte to ev*er*y mann*us* Iee
þat sp*irit*uall men vndowtydly
dothe Rule *þis* Realme now browghte to mysery.

VII.

I Rede of late the Romans Storye,
how welthye they were; & *þer* dystruccion,
and how they fyll in extreme pov*er*te:
whoo Redythe *þe* boke, hyt makythe m*en*cion
whate vyc*is* Reyneđ, & whate was the occasyon:
marke well my saying, Reporte me not Amys,
There myschevo*us* levyng Browght them to *þis*.

VIII.

The Cyrcu*m*staunce of *þis* Story I wyll not expres;
Whoo fyndythe hym grevyđ, he may hyt see;
Therfor in me Take none vnkyndnes
Thow *þat* yo*ur* vyc*is* be Towchyd playnly,
Whych fyrste began Throw yo*ur* foly;
ye, *þis* thynge opynly I dar well say,
"Sufferaunce hathe Cawsyd *þis* Realme to decay."

IX.

Worthy men of hono*ur*, levyng[1] pore men*us* helthe,
Before *þis* tyme haue takyn grete payne,
ye, & suffryđ dethe, for A Comyn welthe:
hyt ys of Trowthe, I Rede hyt for certayn,
And in Story playnly hyt do*þ*[e] Remayne;
but now in ow*ur* dayes none dar speke ne loke;
they ar all Abasshyd, & glade to knele & Croke.

X.

Before whom knele they, & in whate place?
Whan? whye? wherfor? & to whate purpose?
Trulye for nowhte else But to stonde in grace
of Suche p*er*son*us*, whose vyc*is* to dysclose,
A Ryghte good Clerke hyt wolde well Apose
yff he shulde w*re*te hyt seryowsly,
W*ith* whate myschefe co*m*mytted, & w*ith* whate Tyranny.

[1] So in MS. ? "lovyng'."

XI.

Thys Realme now decresyth—p*er*seyve hyt ye may— [leaf 26.]
By Reason of þ*er* p*r*ide And grete Abusyon̄.
The spyrytualte ys dysguised̄ lyke men̄ in A play,
And say that hyt ys the new fassyon̄;
And Alas! thys ys A grete Abhomynac*i*on
To see p*r*elatt*is* And doct*ur*s of diuenite
Thus to̊ be blyndyd̄ w*ith* p*r*ide & Iniquite!

XII.

O vnvyse men̄, wanderyn̄g in ignorans,
for whose Abusyon̄ ponisshyd̄ be we daylye!
o synfull̄ p*r*elat*is*, destytute of prudens,
yo*ur* vicio*us* levyn̄g Aperythe playnly!
yo*ur* Reason ys Blyndyd,—noman̄ Can deny,—
pore men to oppres, yo*ur* hono*ur* to purches;
yo*ur* vic*is* do Apere in ev*er*y place!

XIII.

Not lon̄g tyme passyd̄ hyt hathe byn̄ sene—
who redythe old̄ storys, p*er*seyve he may—
That p*r*elat*is* dyd were clothe Ryghte fyne;
But nowe they be Clothyd̄ in Ryche Araye,
By whose ensampyll the devyll̄ hathe hys pray.
The Trowthe dothe Apere; yet for my purpose
more of þ*er* vyc*is* I wyll̄ dysclose.

XIV.

To haue Suffyciente, They sette nowght bye,
But Covete in hono*ur* hygher to be;
There p*r*ide encresyth Aboundantly;
I Can not dyscryve there vayne glory,
nor þ*er* Covetou*s* mynd*is* enfecte w*ith* Symony;
no prechyn̄g wyll̄ s*er*ue them̄, ye se hyt playnly;
Thys Realme ys scorgyd̄ for there grete mysery.

XV.

Nobyll̄ doct*ur*s of lernyn̄g, in s*er*uyce they Retayne—
whoo lyste to be-holde, dayly hyt ys sene—
gevyn̄g them̄ Benefic*is* þ*er* Tong*is* to Refrayne:
yet on̄ þ*er* ys, A fam*us* devyne,
whyche to þ*er* vyc*is* wyll not enclyne,
as by hys prechyn̄g p*er*ceyve ye may,
saying̊ thys Realme begynnythe to decay!

XVI.

Whyche laboreth, studyethe, & p*re*schythe[1] daylye,
fedyng menus Sowlys with swete devyne syence,
and every mannus fawtis declaryng playnly,
Aleggyng scrypture for every sentence: 109
Þis profounde man of lernyng & sapyens
Shewith to þe prelatis þer grete Abusyon;
Therfor Among them he ys had in derision. 112

XVII.

Cryste wolde we had many of thys sorte, [leaf 26, back.]
in levyng & prechyng from vyce vs to gyde;
Þat were to thys Realme grete treasure & comforte;
But many be Rootyd so sore in pryde, 116
Settyng there delyte, pomposely to Ryde,
not for there travell the Comyn welthe to procure,
But all only for there vngracious pleasure. 119

XVIII.

There vycious lyvyng I cannot declare,
ne yett comprehende with my Capassyte,
for with them in Apparell nomañ may compare,
More lyke dukis & Erlys of the temporalte 123
Than to be doctors of lawe or of devenite;
And Temporall maters They moste Redres,
oppressyng the Comons, whyche ys grete hevynes. 126

XIX.

dayly, of Ryches to them Commythe Aboundance,
Som, I thynke clerlye, By playne extorcion,
Som them selfe by Symony Advaunce,
Evyr more gapyng after promocion, 130
And on lucre ys sette All þer Affeccion,
for they may not speke with owte money;
Ambycion dothe Reyne, grete pride & mysery! 133

XX.

Whate nedythe me for to dysclose
There lyfe Abhomynabyll, & consyens so wyde,
no-thyng Regardyng Ierom & Ambrose,

---

[1] MS. "preschyche."

whych ev*er*more prechyd when hyt was nede?
But prechyng from these men ys clerely sett Asyde,
So *þat* I Thynke but fewe of them Can
Scarsely knowe neythyr god n*ur*e man,

XXI.

For in gown*us* of Sylke, & Rydyng on there Mulys—
whoo takethe hede, may evydently See—
ys there Chefe delyte, And to bere A Rule
In grete menn*us* howsys of hye Autoryte,
And of there Councell nere for to be;
By Reason of whose vyc*is* Thys Realme ys Browghte
In-to grete Ruyn, And Almoste to nowghte.

XXII.

Fyrste, for there Bull*is*, To Rome they moste sende
Certeyn Sum of money, whyche long hathe byn vsyd
But now they Cannot w*ith* *þat* make an ende,
for thowsand*is* thedyr goethe, ye may be Asuryd;
Theyre hono*ur*s to opteyne, ow*ur* lawys be Subv*er*tyd
evyr*e* worse & worse,—ye see hyt playnely—
Throwe the defaute of the Rulers only.

XXIII.

Where ys Astrea, that fayre lady Iustyce? [leaf 27.]
Where ys the Equyte That Sumtyme Reyned?
Trowthe ys banysshyd; eche man dothe hyr dyspyce;
m*er*cye ys put backe & vtt*er*lye Refusyd;
Frawde now dothe Rayne, & dysseyte ys enhaunsyd;
and vnd*er* colo*ur* of faythe And Relygion,
The Comyns ar put to grete oppressyon.

XXIV.

Nowe in thys Realme Co*m*myttyd ys p*er*iury,
And men wrongyd by grete extorcion;
of Bothe Sort*is* the Rulers ar blyndyd w*ith* folye,
Sum Currupte by gyfte And Adulacion,
Sum in Synguler welthe Sette All there Affeccion;
But the lanterne of lyghte[1], eche man dothe sey
ys Clene extyncte, *þat* makythe vs decay.

[1] Cp. "A Lanterne of Li*ght*," Harl. MS. 2324.

XXV.

No herte Can thynke, nor tonge declare,
  þer vycio*us* levyng, I yow Assure;
therfor to shewe hytt I wyll not spare,
  Thowe *þat* hyt torne me vnto dyspleasure.
  god wyll them ponysshe, & yett p*er*aventure
    Sonn*er* then they thynke, by cawse they be necligente,
    & haue dyssobeyed so sore hys co*m*maundme*n*t.

XXVI.

There hert*is* in p*r*ide ys sette so hye,
  þat noman with them they thynke may co*m*pare.
Rydyng Alone they loke so solemly
  as gargell*is* in A wall, whyche gryn & stare,
  And thynke All the peyse[1] that they do bere:
    So thynkythe the p*re*latt*is*, Above all men
    þat the wysedom of thys Realme Restythe all on them.

XXVII.

Whye shuld I not playnlye now expresse
  many ho*þer* vyc*is* dayly vsyd?
I fere no dyspleasure for *þis* my Besynes,
  becawse *þis* Realme w*ith* wyc*is* ys Replenisshed,
  w*ith* pompe & vayne glorye on every syde;
    wherfor I Syghe and am Ryghte sory,
    Seynge *þis* Realme so gevyn to mysery.

XXVIII.

o glory*us* god! moste hygheste gov*er*now*ur*!
  Remembyr *þis* Realme, hertely I desyre,
and owe hyt now thy graciow*us* favo*ur*!
  Browght in decay, playnlye hyt do*þ*[e] Apere,
  by Reason of *þer* hert*is* w*ith* vyce sette on Fyre,
    So *þat* *þ*[e] p*re*latt*is* haue loste All diuinite,
    And now they Remayne In vyc*is* only.

XXIX.

o glorio*us* folys, so vayne & varyabyll, [leaf 27, back.]
  Regardyng all only, yo*ur* synguler pleasure,
yo*ur* fonde desyre ys nothyng semlabyll

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[1] Fr. *poids*, peise, weight. *Cotgrave.*

To A good herdman̄ whoo hathe charge & cure
of the Flocke! ye devoure owte of All measure
the Sympyll lambys, and Cause them̄ to be slayne;
there Blode to spylle, As wolves ye not Refrayne.

XXX.

Whate dothe your Synfull lyfe And tyrannye portente,
your Covetous myndis Edyfyed in golde?
ye Ryde & goe As to hevyn̄ ye wold Assende.
Take hede of Crassus, the story trewe & olde;
Rede of dyonisyous, whate of hym̄ ys tolde.
I fere me gretly your Averowus Intente
shall Cawse yow at the laste Ryghte sore to Repente.

XXXI.

ffarwell lytell Boke! goe, opon̄ þis my mynde
To all & every; loke þat thow fere none.
good vertuus men̄ Shall with the no fawte fynde;
And as for the vicius, deffye them̄ echone,
& specially all suche as wolde overgon̄
and trede vndyr fote The commyn̄ welthe, I say,
For these wrechys be they þat make vs to decay.

XXXII.

And forther to the I geve in commaundment,
Euery man̄ to salute, after hys degre,
desyrynḡ them̄ not to be dyscontent
Thow thowe enterprice To Com so boldly,
with-owte there lycens, Among̃ them̄ sodenly.
perauenture they wyll sey Thow arte but A geste;
yet pray them̄ of the maker To speke þe beste,

XXXIII.

Acceptyng̃ hys good wyll & hole Intente,
whyche þat he owghte vnto hys natyfe Contre.
for ony man̄ to horte, he dothe not Assente,
Thowe Some mennus vycis be Towchyd playnly,
By whose yvyll meanus Thys nobyll Realme daylye
In̄ desolacion & Ruyn̄ ys browghte,
To pouerte, penury, And Almoste to nowghte.

XXXIV.

ffarwell, of Realm*us* the nobyllyste & the beste;
for I see thy fame begy*n*nythe to Appaꝧꝧ.
ffarwell myrthe, Ioye, quietnes, & Reste!
now they of w*ith*-owte no leng*er* drede þ^e^ shaꝧꝧ,
whaꝫ they vnd*er*stond how thy welthe dothe faꝧꝧ.
wherfor, inmortaꝧꝧ god, vnto the I pray,
saue þ*is* nobyꝧꝧ Realme fro*m* vtt*er*myste decay!

The Awtur.

XXXV.

Endles truly for me[1] hyt were to w*re*te [leaf 28.]
duryng my lyfe of my vic*is* aꝧꝧ
whyche dayly ar vsyd: of themꝫ I endyte,
as playnly Apere, bothe to grete & smaꝧꝧ;
Reherse them I Cannot, as they in ordyr faꝧꝧ;
devyde themꝫ as ye thynke beste in yo*ur* mynde,
evyr as ye do themꝫ in my boke fynde.

XXXVI.

Nomore as nowe: But þ*is* onꝫ worde I sey,
"o graciou*s* god, moste fuꝧꝧ of Clemen*s*y!
Remembyr thou[2] þ*is* Realme now ffallyngꝫ in decay,
Tornyngꝫ fromꝫ welthe to extreme mysery!
here now my prayer, Chefe well of m*er*cy!
good lorde, gyve vs grace to Amendꝺ o*ur* levyngꝫ,
& ev*er* more p*reser*ue ow*ur* moste nobyꝧꝧ kyngꝫ!"

XXXVII.

Wherfor I Conclude, And speke hyt Brevely:
"Ih*es*u p*reser*ue ow*ur* famou*s* kyngꝫ so myghtye,
ow*ur* graciou*s* quene endewed w*ith* pete,
By whose good levyngꝫ—ye se hyt dayly—
Thys Realme ys keptefromꝫ all Captyvite.
To pray for themꝫ bothe, & all þ*er* pr*o*geny,
god gyve vs Aꝧꝧ grace Incessantlye!

fynis.

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[1] MS. "for me. for me."

[2] MS. "thys."

The Image of Ypocresye.

[Written A.D. 1533.]

This is an invective, or satire after the manner of Skelton, by a layman (l. 196–7, 283, 354)—whose mind is not to lie, but to write plainly against hypocrisy (l. 1273–5)—against the whole crew of the Clergy and Religious Orders, and all under them, or connected with them, from the Pope (l. 18 and 762–1157) to the summoner (l. 2019) and bell-ringer (l. 2042). The names of those who come under the writer's lash are too many to be numbered here; the reader must go to the poem itself to count them. The First Part (p. 181) deals with the clergy generally; the Second (p. 200) with Bishops, Popes, and Cardinals, (including a Protest against the excommunication of England in King John's time); the Third (p. 226) with Preachers and Prelates; and the Fourth (p. 240) with Ecclesiastical Officers and their underlings; but mainly with Monks and Friars.

The work with which one is tempted both to compare and contrast this *Image of Ypocresye*, is *The Vision of Piers Ploughman* by William—whether 'of Malvern' or 'Longland.'[1] To compare it in subject, to contrast it in spirit; for in the one the words differ less widely than the other. Though in William's noble poem, he summons all England for judgment before him, and passes sentence on the vices of layman as well as cleric and 'religious,' yet it is on the clergy, monks, and friars,—especially the latter,—that his stern doom falls, his fierce and righteous wrath is spent. Let us hear on this point one well entitled to attention, the gentle and accomplished scholar whom we have lately lost, whose classical training and refined taste did not prevent his doing justice to the homely speech and rugged strength of the author who has never yet received his due meed of honour in England, though Dean Milman's tribute (see below, p. 172) is a pledge that the time for the full rendering of that meed is near.

[Milman's "Hist. of Latin Christianity," vol. ix., 4th edit. 1864. pp. 236, 237.]

"Langland is Antipapal, yet he can admire an ideal Pope, a general

[1] See also the character of *Fals Semblant* in Chaucer's *Romaunt of the Rose*, Works, ed. Morris, vol. vi, from p. 187. Compare too Skelton's *Colyn Cloute*.

pacificator, reconciling the Sovereigns of the world to universal amity.[1] It is the actual Pope, the Pope of Avignon or of Rome, levying the wealth of the world to slay mankind, who is the object of his bitterest invective.[2] The Cardinals he denounces with the same indignant scorn; but chiefly the Cardinal Legate, whom he has seen in England riding in his pride and pomp, with lewdness, rapacity, merciless extortion, insolence in his train.[3] Above all, his hatred (it might seem that on this all honest English indignation was agreed) is against the Mendicant orders. Of the older monks there is almost total silence. For St. Benedict, for St. Dominic, for St. Francis he has the profoundest reverence.[4] But it is against their degenerate sons that he arrays his allegorical Host; the Friars furnish every impersonated vice, are foes to every virtue; his bitterest satire, his keenest irony (and these weapons he wields with wonderful poetic force) are against their dissoluteness, their idleness, their pride, their rapacity, their arts, their lies, their hypocrisy, their intrusion into the functions of the Clergy, their delicate attire, their dainty feasts, their magnificent buildings,[5] even their proud learning; above all their hardness, their pitilessness to the poor, their utter want of charity, which with Langland is the virtue of virtues. Against the Clergy he is hardly less severe;[6] he sternly condemns their dastardly desertion of their flocks, when during the great plague they crowded to London to live an idle life: that idle life he

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[1] "Sithen Prayed to the Pope—have Pity of Holy Church,
And no Grace to Grant—till Good love were
Among all Kind of Kings—over Christian people,
Command all Confessors—that any King shrive,
Enjoin them Peace for their Penance—and Perpetual forgiveness."
(Whitaker's text, modernised.—Skeat.)—p. 85.—M.

[2] "Simony and Civil go to Rome to put themselves under the Pope's protection.—Passus iii. p. 36. (Whitaker's text: not in Wright's.—Skeat.)

'And God amend the Pope—that Pilleth Holy Church,
And Claimeth by force to be King—to be Keeper over Christendom,
And Counteth not though Christian Men—be Killed and robbed,
And Findeth Folk to Fight,—and Christian blood to spill.'

Compare p. 297."—M. —*Do Best*, Passus 1, p. 389.—M.

[3] "The Country is the Curseder,—that Cardinals Come in,
And where they Lie and Linger,—Lechery there reigneth.'
—*Wright*, p. 421.—M.

[4] Pass. v. p. 70. (Whitaker.)

[5] "He scoffs at those who wish their names to appear in the rich painted windows of the Franciscan churches. The Friar absolves Mede (Bribery):—

'And sithen he seide,
We have a window in werchynge.
Woldestow glaze that gable,
And grave therinne thy name,
Syker sholde thi soul be
Hevene to have.'—*Wright*, p. 46.

There is a full account in 'the Creed' of a spacious and splendid Dominican Convent, very curious. 'The Creed' is of a later date, by another author, an avowed Lollard."—M.

[6] "He declares that the Clergy shall fall as the Templars had fallen.—*Do Bet.*, (Whitaker) i. p. 297. [Milman's other reference here, to '*Wright*, i. p. 233' is beside the question, as *Clergie* there means learning, literature, the art of writing, etc.—Skeat.]

describes with singular spirit and zest. Yet he seems to recognise the Priesthood as of Divine institution. Against the whole host of officials, pardoners, summoners, Archdeacons, and their functionaries; against lawyers, civil as well as ecclesiastical, he is everywhere fiercely and contemptuously criminatory."

Now,—except that our layman-author of *The Image* does not believe in a Pope or monk of *any* kind (in his own time), and does denounce the Monks almost as strongly as he does the Friars,—the sketch given above may stand for that of the main lines of the present poem. After the general denunciation of the clergy in the First Part,—for the ill means by which they win advancement (l. 71–162), their pride (l. 163–174), their forbiddal of prayers in the vulgar tongue, and the sacramental bread (?) to the laity (l. 177–185), their juggling tricks to get pelf (l. 188–242), their presumption (l. 243–95), their avarice in heaping-up possessions (l. 296–374), their fine dresses and pomp (l. 375–438), their lechery and lust (l. 439–82), their skant hospitality to the poor (l. 514–28), their tyranny (l. 545), and their adultery (l. 567–78), though their tricks are now found out (l. 601–7),—we come to the picture of each Order in the Second, Third, and Fourth Parts. Part II: The BISHOPS are first sketched (l. 615–716), their violence and prosecution contrasted with St. Paul's description (pages 201, 203; lines 628–714) of a bishop as he should be; Christ's poverty on earth contrasted with the Romish bishops' getting money anyhow in order that they may sit in Peter's Chair: everything is sold for silver and gold (l. 717–59). The POPE, the Antichrist of Rome (l. 762), the Sire of Sin (l. 766) the Crocodile (l. 782), the Whore of Babylon (l. 855), the enemy of Christ, the foe of his Cross, and the Devil's holy priest (l. 858): what ills do not spring from him? He eats sin as meat (l. 772); he and his devour towns to fulfill their lust (l. 775–82); they claim authority above the Deity (l. 794), take the Bible for a riddle, and alter its words (l. 806). This Pope sets himself up to grant places in heaven or hell (l. 819–23), and, as his liars say, can command a thousand Angels to convey a man's soul from decay (l. 825–40), provided only that you pay down your money for it (l. 841). Fill his coffers, and you may ask what you will (l. 850). His decrees swarm with lies (l. 866); his yoke is so heavy, that no man may bear it (l. 877). His bulls and his interrogatories feed his foul carcase and papal dignity (l. 895–927); his judges and advocates with all their commissions and proceedings, are just to steal our money (l. 928–1025), O keeper of whores and helper of harlots! *you* the vicar of Christ! Liar, you're the Devil's vicar. Farewell! (l. 1130–57.)

CARDINALS, you are carnal, you are greedy as cormorants (l. 1159–65); you wallow in wealth like hogs in a sty (l. 1174), stuffing your bellies (your god,) with venison and tarts (l. 1175–

9). You sell dispensations (l. 1185), you fornicate with Kate, Maud, and Bess (l. 1192); you rob and extort to gratify your lusts (l. 1194–1204). Wherever you come, the country is the worse for five and ten years afterwards, and men curse you (l. 1205–11). To get money, you sell heaven and hell, and think it a good joke (l. 1237–66). Some BISHOPS do so too; and their pomp and pride are such that they'll take no rebuke from Prince or Duke, and hardly care for a King (l. 1288–1300). The great bloodsucker, the Pope, is their refuge (l. 1304–6), and they oppress countries with their bell, book, and candle (l. 1316), as they did our English king, John (l. 1320), just to make him their underling (l. 1404). These prelates and legates with their shaven pates, conquer all estates of men (l. 1439–43). What a pity that laymen cannot see it (l. 1448)!

Part III. (p. 226) starts with the PREACHERS. Many are Pharisees (l. 1450); some bark like hounds (l. 1457–62), some are blind buzzards (l. 1463–7), some are soft and still (l. 1468), some cry and yell (l. 1470), some hold up yea and nay (l. 1474), some don't know what to say, their wits are so weak (l. 1481). Others pry on books, but don't understand them (l. 1490); they say one thing openly, and another secretly (l. 1494–5). They call true men, heretics (l. 1525), and say—

> Away with these Bibles,
> For they be but riddles!
> And give them Robin Hood,
> To read how he stood
> In merry green wood,
> When he gathered good
> Before Noah's flood. (l. 1528–34.)

The Testament was sent to enable them to gather in their rents (l. 1535–7); laymen are but louts, and know nothing about the matter (l. 1540–3), for they are ignorant of Aristotle, and Averroes (l. 1544–54). So we laymen are told by Doctors Bullatus (l. 1555), Dorbellous (l. 1570) Sym Sotus (l. 1573), Bonbardus (l. 1583), Checkmate (l. 1599), and Tom-too-bold[1] (l. 1613) a mockaniste (l. 1625), and an old Papist (l. 1628). Now too we have a knight (Sir Thomas More), with his Apology for the Prelacy (l. 1629–39), his Dialogue (l. 1643) and Debellation (l. 1664), helping these naughty hypocrites with legends of lies (l. 1673–5), brought out of Utopia to the Maid of Kent (l. 1684–5). As this witch helps them by her jugglery (l. 1699), so does More by his tyranny, cruelly causing simple men to die (l. 1703–5). Yes, a man must either recant or stand with his faggot on his neck at Paul's Cross, and suffer execution from the fiery fume (l. 1711–57). I acknowledge that men may and should be punished, when

[1] Mr. G. Waring suggests that Dr. Tom-too-bold is Father Peto. See his note below.

it's done justly (l. 1758–74); but you Papists try to trap and blind men (l. 1789), you are accusers and judges too (l. 1800): it is against all Justice (l. 1803)! The King must change your law, put civil for ecclesiastical, and try clerks as well as laymen (l. 1807–35). PRELATES, you stop those who would preach God's truth (l. 1838–52). I pray God to open to us his word; and then, unless you work you'll get no pay, but lose your places (l. 1853–92). If, however, you will preach the Gospel, then you may keep your benefices; and layman and priest, poor man and lord, shall live together in love (l. 1895–1923). But mind, God's word we must have (l. 1924–34).

Part IV. (p. 240) deals with the Ecclesiastical Officers, and the Religious Orders, and the underlings of each. As in the days of Christ were many sects—Pharisees, Essenes, Sadducees, etc., —with many hypocrites (l. 1937–52), so now are twenty times more,—Pope, Cardinals, Legates, Archbishops, Bishops, Precentors, Chaplains, Vicars-general, Subdeacons, Provosts, Prebendaries, Summoners, Apparitors, etc. etc. (l. 1957–2021); Inquisitors, worse than Mamelukes, who catch us with their crooks, and burn us and our books (l. 2027–30); Serving Priests, and priests with a cure and a secured living (l. 2036–8); Singers and Bell-ringers, who collect their living with their bags, eat and drink freely, and get drunk with vagabonds (l. 2042–54); Abbots fat and greedy, rank as any bull (l. 2055–9); Priors black and white, with sisters and pretty girls (l. 2060–7); Ministers and Rectors, and a hundred more (l. 2069–77), MONKS, of whom I give you the names of 70 Orders and more (l. 2082–2174), including the Knights of Rhodes, who fight for the faith with dice (l. 2175–8).

Now I come to a mangy matter (l. 2181), the FRIARS, who dwell in hell (l. 2184–5). The first of them is their High Provincial, with Custos and Warden (l. 2191–6), then come father-Prior and Subprior, with all the convent (l. 2197–9), whom I name in lines 2201–84, and then denounce right to the end of the poem, l. 2544. Drone-bees you Friars are (l. 2313), demons devouring us (l. 2328–9), blinding us with bobs (l. 2335), causing woe wherever you resort (l. 2350–3), frightening folk with Purgatory, three miles off Hell, out of which souls cannot come unless a virgin friar say a Trental of Masses, and a Scala Cœli; and so you make us keep your lasses (l. 2356–2412). God knows, you Friars have always set your whole delight

> In Lust and Lechery,
> In Theft and Treachery,
> In lousy Lewdness,
> In Sin and Shrewdness, (l. 2419–22.)

You cumber the world (l. 2438). You tell us we must call you Fathers Seraphical and Angelical (l. 2458–9): you, who are

brute and bestial, babes of Belial, the dregs of all dirt, bound to the devil's skirt (l. 2461–7); promiscuous in bedding (l. 2488); bowsing and bowling (l. 2519), keeping and catching (l. 2526)! Unless God sends you grace to amend, the Devil 'll take you to his den for ever. And so I make an end (l. 2534–44).

Postscript. The hypocrites say, 'If we could but catch the writer of this Treatise, we wouldn't spare him (l. 2545–56)! The author answers "I am who I am. God is able to make the weak overcome the mighty. You get no more from me (l. 2557–76)."

Thus then the reader will see that the Layman of 1533, like the William of 1362, lashes Pope, Cardinal, Prelate, Monk and Friar; but as he lays on his strokes, he upbraids the culprits in more mocking words, he speaks in a different spirit. What I said of another in 1862[1], I may repeat here of our Layman, "The iron of the evil of sin has not entered his soul so deeply as that of the writer of *Piers Ploughman*,—the noblest of our early poets, even our Dante, as I judge." Of that poet also, Dean Milman wrote in his

"*History of Latin Christianity*," (4th edit. 1864, vol. 9. pp. 234–235).

"It is in his intense absorbing moral feeling that he is beyond his age: with him, outward observances are but hollow shows, mockeries, hypocrisies, without the inward power of religion. It is not so much in his keen cutting satire on all matters of the Church, as in his solemn installation of Reason and Conscience as the guides of the self-directed soul, that he is breaking the yoke of sacerdotal domination: in his constant appeal to the plainest, simplest Scriptural truths, as in themselves the whole of religion, he is a stern reformer."

This 'intense absorbing moral feeling' one cannot claim for the writer of *The Image* in the same degree as for William; but on the other hand we cannot treat our author as a mere mocker or satirist. The man is in earnest; he does desire the Word of God, the bible in the vulgar tongue, for himself and his countrymen; he does loathe the lies that the Religious of his day put forward as God's truth; he does long for full Reformation of abuses, and see that a sweeping revenge for past ill-doings must quickly come, unless amendment be begun at once. We, far off from all these things, may think the words of this man much exaggerated, sound and fury more or less, pooh-pooh them as 'professed satire' etc.; but let us put them beside those of Luther and other men whose earnestness we know; let us put ourselves back into their time, turning our eclecticism and dilettantism into their holy zeal; and then let us ask ourselves in how much less measured phrase we should have spoken of those who had long corrupted, were then corrupting, the life-blood of

[1] Robert of Brunne, in *Handlyng Synne*, p. viii.

the world at its source, who were selling heaven and hell, as our writer says, for gold, and making darkness light[1]? If, too, we saw our foe all unconscious of the hand that was about to strike him, still glorying in his dominion over us, still in 1532 refacing and beautifying his Bolton Abbey[2], as if his hold were firm, his reign sure to last, could we have forborne, in wrath though we may have been, to mock at his pretensions, and ridicule his assurance, to mix our metaphors, and say 'Beast and fool, you have trampled on us long enough: we know your brutality, we scorn your wiles; lion as you look, ass you are; the stick to whack you into your shed is now in our hands.'

Sad as it is to think of the noble purpose, the self-denying lives of the early friars—as sketched by Professor Brewer in his *Monumenta Franciscana*—decaying into the corruptions of Henry VIII's reign, yet one cannot but believe that so it was. The piety and zeal of the first professors brought to their order a popularity and wealth that were the ruin of their successors; and from the helper of the poorest in the most miserable dens, the Friar turned into the jolly mate of the well-to-do, the corrupter of purity, the schemer, intriguer, for money and place.

But enough of this. I am obliged however to recur to one point treated in the Introduction to *Nowadayes*, the Morality of the Clergy, Monks, and Friars, p. 59–88. Notwithstanding the chain of evidence there contained, notwithstanding the necessities arising from the nature of the case, a friend to whose judgment I am bound to attribute weight, considers the charge of inconti-

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[1] "This, as I understand it, was the position of the early protestants. They found the service of God buried in a system where obedience was dissipated into superstition; where sin was expiated by the vicarious virtues of other men; where, instead of leading a life, men were taught that their souls might be saved through masses said for them, at a money rate, by priests whose licentiousness disgraced the nation which endured it; a system in which, amidst all the trickery of the pardons, pilgrimages, indulgences—double-faced as these inventions are, wearing one meaning in the apologies of theologians, and quite another to the multitude who live and suffer under their influence—one plain fact at least is visible. The people substantially learnt that all evils which could touch either their spirits or their bodies, might be escaped by means which resolved themselves, scarcely disguised, into the payment of moneys.

The superstition had lingered long; the time had come when it was to pass away. Those in whom some craving lingered for a Christian life turned to the heart of the matter, to the book which told them who Christ was, and what he was, and finding there that holy example for which they longed, they flung aside, in one noble burst of enthusiastic passion, the disguise which had concealed it from them. They believed in Christ, not in the bowing rood, or the pretended wood of the cross on which he suffered; and when that saintly figure had once been seen—the object of all love, the pattern of all imitation—thenceforward neither form nor ceremony should stand between them and their God." (*Froude*, ii. 36–7.)

[2] Mr. Hales tells me this.

nence not proven. I do not know what evidence he would require to convince him, and give up the hope of finding or producing it; but just in confirmation of the evidence I have got together, I add two passages from Dean Milman's great work, to the first of which Mr. Hales kindly called my attention.

[From Milman's "*History of Latin Christianity*," 3rd edition, 1864, vol. 8. pp. 356–358.]

"Before the Emperor [Sigismund] left the Council [Basle], he submitted for the consideration of the Fathers the all-important question, the marriage of the clergy. John of Lubeck was to demand in the Emperor's name, in the name of the public morals, the abrogation of their fatal celibacy. John of Lubeck is described as a man of wit, indulging in jests on every occasion. But nothing could be more fearfully serious than the representation on this subject, which John was to lay separately before each deputation, and urge in the strongest manner. After centuries of strife, after all the laws of Hildebrand and his successors, the whole clergy are declared to be living with concubines, in adultery, or worse. They were hated by the whole laity as violating their marriage-beds; confession was become odious. There was strong fear lest the wealth of the clergy should be alienated to their legitimate children; even were it so, better the loss of wealth than of chastity. The Greek Church admitted marriage. The priests of the Old and New Testaments were married. The greater part of the Council were favourable to the change,[1] except only some of the old, whose days of marriage had gone by, and the monks, jealous lest the secular clergy should have privileges denied to themselves. Yet one, a Cardinal, declared in the spirit, almost in the words, of old Paphnutius at Nicæa, that though himself aged, he earnestly desired that wives should be *restored* to the Priesthood.[2] The question, as unsuited to the time, was eluded, postponed, dropped."

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[1] "Res erat complurimis accepta, sed tempori non convenire."

[2] "The Cardinal of St. Peter said: 'Quamvis senio gravor, neque mentem habeo ad conjugium, sanctum tamen arbitror, uxores *restitui* sacerdotibus: quia non est omnibus gratia Dei concessa, ut legi lumborum resistant, ut de Paulo legimus.' There is a very curious passage on this subject in the Nemus Unionis of Theodoric à Niem (Tr. vi. c. 35) about the clergy of Norway and Ireland. The Norwegians, both lay and clergy, were great drinkers of ale, and would drink against each other till neither could stand. But in both countries bishops and priests publicly kept their concubines: and when the bishops went on their visitations, the clergy insisted that they should take their own 'amasiæ' with them, lest they should be tempted by the superior beauty of those of the clergy. If the clergyman had not a 'focaria,' he paid double procurations ('ut prævaricator paternarum traditionum Episcopo visitante proinde procurationes duplices ministrabat'). The wives (?) of the clergy in Ireland took rank: 'Ac etiam presbyterorum amasiæ seu uxores in eisdem partibus, statu et gradu in ecclesiâ, in mensis, eundo, sedendo, et stando, cæteris dominabus *etiam militaribus* præponuntur.' The same marriage or concubinage, with the advancement of the children ('ex fœdo complexu nati') to benefices, prevailed in Germany, Spain, and Portugal. It must be remembered that this is from Theodoric à Niem. I shall hereafter refer to unanswerable evidence on this repulsive subject from records of Visitations. 'Vicit tamen sententia illorum qui *hoc tempore* tantum opus aggrediendum negavere.' See the whole very curious passage in Æneas Sylvius, Fea, p. 55."

[Milman's "*Hist. of Latin Christianity.*" vol. 9. pp. 35-38. 4th edit. 1864.]

"One subject we would willingly decline, but the historian must not shrink from truth, however repulsive. Celibacy, which was the vital energy of the Clergy, was at the same time their fatal, irremediable weakness. One-half, at least a large portion, of human kind could not cease to be a human kind. The universal voice, which arraigns the state of morals, as regards sexual intercourse, among the Clergy, is not that of their enemies only, it is their own. Century after century, we have heard throughout our history the eternal protest of the severer Churchmen, of Popes, of Legates, of Councils. The marriage, or, as it was termed, the concubinage, of the Clergy was the least evil. The example set in high places (to deny the dissoluteness of the Papal Court at Avignon, would be to discard all historical evidence) could not be without frightful influence. The Avignonese Legates bore with them the morals of Avignon. The last strong effort to break the bonds of celibacy at the council of Basle warned but warned in vain. It is the solemn attestation to the state of Germany and the northern kingdoms.[1] Even in his own age, no doubt, Henry Bishop of Liége was a monster of depravity. The frightful revelation of his life is from an admonitory letter of the wise and good Pope Gregory X. His lust was promiscuous. He kept as his concubine a Benedictine Abbess. He had boasted in a public banquet that in twenty-two months he had had fourteen children born. This was not the worst—there was a foul incest, and with nuns. But the most extraordinary part of the whole is that in the letter the Pope seems to contemplate only the repentance of the Prelate, which he urges with the most fervent solemnity. Henry's own prayers, and the intercessory prayers of the virtuous—some such, no doubt, there must be in Liége—are to work the change; and then he is to administer his Pontifical office, so as to be a model of holiness, as he had been of vice, to his subjects. As to suspension, degradation, deposition, there is not a word. The Pope's lenity may have been meant to lure him to the Council of Lyons, where he was persuaded to abdicate his See.[2] Hardly less repulsive, in some respects more so, as it embraces the Clergy and some of the convents of a whole province, is the disclosure, as undeniable and authentic, of sacerdotal morals, in the Register of the Visitations of Eudes Rigaud, Archbishop of Rouen, from 1248 to 1269.[3] We must suppose that only the Clergy of notorious and detected incontinence were presented at the Visitation. The number is sufficiently appalling: probably it

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[1] "Look back to vol. viii. p. 457 [*t. i.* 357]. Before the Council of Trent, the Elector of Bavaria declared in a public document, that of 50 clergy very few were not concubinarii.—Sarpi, viii. 7, p. 414. See for Italy references to Justiniani, Patriarch of Venice; S. Antoninus, Archbishop of Florence; Weissenberg, Kirchen Versammlungen, ii. p. 229; again for Germany ii. p. 228."

[2] "'Circa divinum quoque et pontificale officium sic te sedulum et devotum exhibere' 'Subditi.' Henry of Liége was of princely race, of the house of Gueldres, Cousin-German to the Priest-Emperor, William of Holland; he became Bishop when a mere boy. Concilia sub ann. 1274. Hocsemius, Vit. Episcop. Leodens., p. 299."

[3] "Registrum Archiep. Rotomagensium, published by M. Bonnin, Rouen, 1846. It is full of other curious and less unedifying matter."

comprehends, without much distinction, the married and concubinarian, as well as looser Clergy. There is one convent of females which might almost have put Boccaccio to the blush. I am bound to confess that the Records of the Visitations from St. Paul's, some of which have been published not without reserve, too fully vindicate the truth of Langland, Chaucer, and the Satirists against the English Clergy and Friars in the fourteenth century.[1] And these Visitations, which take note only of those publicly accused, hardly reached, if they did reach, the lowest and the loosest. Only some of the Monks, none of the Wandering Friars, were amenable to Episcopal or Archidiaconal jurisdiction. Whether we call it by the holier name of marriage, or the more odious one of concubinage, this, the weakness or the sin of the Clergy, could not be committed by the Monks and Friars. They, mostly with less education and less discipline, spread abroad through the world, had far greater temptations, more fatal opportunities. Though they had, no doubt, their Saints, not only Saints, but numberless nameless recluses of admirable piety, unimpeachable holiness, fervent love of God and of man, yet of the profound corruption of this class there can be no doubt. But Latin, Roman Christianity, would not, could not, surrender this palladium of her power."[2]

Harrison in 1577, when praising the monks for their buildings (*Descr. of England*, bk. ii. chap. 13, p. 193, col. 2,) says :—

Yet herein I will commend sundrie of the monasticall votaries, especiallie monkes, for that they were authors of manie goodlie borowes and endwares,[3] neere vnto their dwellings, although otherwise they pretended to be men separated from the world. But alas their couetous mindes one waie in inlarging their reuenues, and carnall intent another, appeered herin too much. For being bold from time to time to visit their tenants, they wrought oft great wickednesse, and made those endwares little better than brodel-houses, especiallie where nunries were farre off, or else no safe accesse vnto them. Bnt what doo I

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[1] "Precedents in Criminal Causes edited by Archdeacon Hale, London, 1847. There is enough in these, the Visitations themselves make matters worse. It is curious that much earlier under the reign of K. Stephen, the Dean Ralph de Diceto speaks of the 'focariæ' of the canons. Mr. Froude has published from the Records (in Fraser's Magazine, Feb. 1857) the visitation of a later time, of Archbishop Morton. The great Abbey of St. Alban's was in a state which hardly bears description." [Archd. Hale's book is one of great value for illustrations of the habits of its time.—F. J. F.]

[2] "The Roman view is thus given in an argument before the Pope by the Cardinal de Carpi :—'Dal matrimonio de' Preti ne seguirà che avendo casa, moglie, è figli, non dipenderanno dal Papa, ma dal suo Principe, e la carità della prole gli farà condescendere ad ogni pregiudizio della Chiesa; cercaranno anco di far i benefici ereditari, ed in brevissimo spazio la Sede Apostolica si ristringera a Roma. Innanzi che fosse instituito il celibato non cavava frutto alcuno la Sede Romana dell' altre città e regioni; per quello e fatta padrona di tanti benefizi, de' quali il matrimonio la priverebbe in breve tempo.'—Sarpi, L. v. Opere, v. ii. p. 77."

[3] *Endware* a small hamlet. *Lincolnshire.* (Halliwell.) A. S.—*ware*, a termination denoting 'Inhabitants, dwellers :'—*waru*, the city or country, that is, the inhabitants of a town, city, or country, as a body. *Bosworth.* Cp. Edge-*ware*, etc.

spend my time in the rehearsall of these filthinesses? Would to God the memorie of them might perish with the malefactors!

A sentiment we shall all coincide in when there are no more monks, and when no one doubts the necessity for the Reformation on the ground noted above, as well on other grounds social and political.

The making a fit body of notes to this Poem, coaching up all the details of ecclesiastical dress, customs, law, Religious Orders, etc., so as to bring out properly all the points of the writer, would be a year's work, and require a separate volume. I have already given so much more time to this book than I have any right to do, that I must beg the reader to rest content with what he will find in the notes from Hélyot, Adams, etc., and to work out the rest for himself, if he be of a churchy or ritualistic turn of mind.[1] In the Appendix I have put,—by way of contrast to Part 3 of the *Image*, on the Romish Preachers—a lighter skit on the Non-Preaching Ministers of James I's time from a Harleian MS., not before printed, I believe. If any further illustrations of the words or subjects of the *Image* come in after the sheets of it are 'made up,' they will be added in the Appendix too.

The MS of the Poem is evidently the author's own writing, and is curious from the wide spaces between the lines, of which latter there are sometimes only 7 or 8 in a folio page. The writer intentionally left himself plenty of room for corrections and interlineations, and has made several, as the reader will see in the printed notes. A later hand has also corrected and altered the text here and there, as likewise mentioned in the notes. Over the first page a confounded Peter le Neve who formerly owned the MS[2] has scribbled a lot of memoranda,[3] and prevented our

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[1] For the English religious Orders, Stevens's *History of English Monasteries*, 2 vols. folio, supplementary to Dugdale, is (I suppose) the best book. It gives at p. 23–38 of vol. 1, the names of all Monasteries, etc., in England, Wales, and Scotland, with their valuations.

[2] It belonged to Peter le Neve, Esq. Norroy, at whose sale it was purchased by Mr. West. Thomas Martin of Palgrave was permitted to make a copy of it, which fell into the hands of the late Dr. Farmer of Cambridge [Emmanuel Coll., the friend of Percy &c.] and is now [1819] in the possession of Richard Heber Esq. of Hodnett in Shropshire. It seems to want the beginning, though this cannot be easily ascertained; for the first page has not only suffered much from time, but Mr. le Neve has written several memorandums upon it, and covered some part of the original handwriting. Mr. Hearne made great use of this MS. in his Glossary to Peter Langtoft's Chronicle, where there are some extracts from it. See particularly under the word "wroken," p. 684. See likewise No. 778 of this collection, art. 5 (a letter from Thomas Hearne the Antiquary 'On Skelton and his *Image of Ypocrisy*, a manuscript in Mr. Le Neve's possession'.) *Catalogue of the Lansdowne Manuscripts*, p. 183, p. 174.

[3] The whole Transcribd by Tho: Martin [*not in Le Neve's hand*]

Quere if this Poem was not writt by John Skelton poet Laureat in the time of King Henry 8th

reading parts of the text; though the fading of the reddish ink in which the early part of the MS is written is also one cause of the unreadableness of these lines.

The date of the poem is fixed to the end of 1533 or the beginning of 1534, as the *Apology* and the *Debellacyon* of Sir Thomas More, which were both published in 1533, are mentioned in it (besides earlier works); and The Maid of Kent, Elizabeth Barton, who was beheaded 21 April 1534, is spoken of as still alive:

> *Nowe* from the devill sent, (l. 1686.)
> A virgyne ffayre and gent,
> That hath our yees blent.

Indeed, as the author's words (l. 1684–5) probably allude to the interview of Sir Thos. More with the Maid of Kent in 1533, at the chapel of the Friars at Sion; and lines 1693–5 "I pray God do so mutche, To fret her on the itche, and open her in tyme!" also imply that her imposition had not been exposed when the *Image* was written, I think we are safe in putting the date of the poem before November 1533, when "the nun, with five priests and three lay gentlemen, her accomplices, were brought before the Star Chamber, and sentenced to do public penance as impostors at St. Paul's Cross. (*Penny Cyclopædia.*) The connecting of Sir Thomas More with The Maid was quite fair on the part of the writer of *The Image;* for though "More at a subsequent time, shortly before his execution, changed his tone, and declared her, in his letter to Cromwell, to be 'a lewd nun' and a hypocrite," yet after his interview with her in 1533, "he thought heaven was

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Liber Petir Le Neve Norroy.
plect' (?perlectum)
P: Le Neve Norroy 1: Febr. 1724–5
The Image of Ypocresy, see the last page, against Bishops Canons preists monks & Friers.
a yorkshire [word] childer fol 40
the first part ends fol. 36
2d part begins fol 37 against the pope.
Rome mentioned 46. B. Pope 47 called the sire of synne
King John 83
3d part begins fol 91 against Preachers
the Grudge of Ypocrites 153.
kings grace 116 B.
q who is the Knight describd fol 100 B. Sir Thomas More
the maid of Kent mentioned fol. 104.
his Vtopia mentioned fol. 104
Quere of Mr. M ? for the poem, who saith he hath all or most of Skeltons works
Hereticks to be tryed by the Kings law & the Law of God, not by *the* bishops law fol. 111: 112
the 4th part of the Image of Ypocrasy begins fol. 118 B.
Pope ib*idem*
[*in another hand.*] Joh*ann*es Skelton Poeta Laureatus autor Poematis sequentis vt creditur *per* Petrum Le Neve Norroy A D 1724 possessorem libri.

working 'some good and great things by her.'" (*ib.*) The two people who worked the Maid were 1. Richard Master, parson of the parish of Adlington in Kent, where she was a servant at an inn, when in 1525 "she began to acquire a local reputation for sanctity and miraculous endowments;" and 2. Dr. Bocking, a monk of Canterbury; these "took her under their direction, and instructed her in the tricks she should play." (*ib.*) Our author is very bitter against Sir Thomas More, and one cannot wonder at it, for More carried out to its fiery end the law against heretics. As *The Image* says (l. 1708–12), his alternative was 'Recant or Burn,' even when the offence was only saying that Clerks were not without spot or wrinkle (l. 1756–7). The writer may perhaps refer to Bilney's case. At any rate, there is a passage in Mr. Froude's *History*, ii. 83–5, which comes so pat to lines 1703–1757 of our poem, that I cannot refrain from quoting it:—

"Under Wolsey's chancellorship the stake had been comparatively idle; he possessed a remarkable power of making recantation easy; and there is, I believe, no instance in which an accused heretic was brought under his immediate cognisance, where he failed to arrange some terms by which submission was made possible. With Wolsey heresy was an error; with More it was a crime. No sooner had the seals changed hands than the Smithfield fires recommenced; and, encouraged by the chancellor, the bishops resolved to obliterate in these edifying spectacles, the recollection of their general infirmities. The crime of the offenders varied; sometimes it was a denial of the corporal presence; more often it was a reflection, too loud to be endured, on the character and habits of the clergy; but whatever it was, the alternative lay only between abjuration, humiliating as ingenuity could make it, or a dreadful death.[1] The hearts of many failed them in the trial; and of all the confessors, those perhaps do not deserve the least compassion, whose weakness betrayed them, who sank and died broken-hearted. Of these silent sufferers history knows nothing. A few, unable to endure the misery of having, as they supposed, denied their Saviour, returned to the danger from which they had fled, and washed out their fall in martyrdom. Latimer has told us the story of his friend Bilney—little Bilney, or Saint Bilney, as he calls him,—his companion at Cambridge, to whom he owed his own conversion.

Bilney, after escaping through Wolsey's hands in 1527, was again cited in 1529 before the Bishop of London. Three times he refused to recant. He was offered a fourth and last chance. The temptation was too strong, and he fell. For two years he was hopelessly miserable; at length his braver nature prevailed. There was no pardon

[1] DCCLXIX, page 312. "Some one asked whether Sir Thomas More was executed for the gospel's sake or no? I answered: No, in no wise; he was a cruel tyrant; he was the king's chief counsellor; a very learned and wise man, doubtless, but he shed the blood of many innocent Christians that confessed the gospel; he tormented them with strange instruments, like a hangman; first, he personally examined them under a green tree, and then cruelly tortured them in prison. At last, he opposed the edict of the King and Kingdom. He was disobedient, and was punished." (*Luther's Table-Talk.*)

for a relapsed heretic, and if he was again in the bishop's hands he knew well the fate which awaited him. He told his friends, in language touchingly significant, that 'he would go up to Jerusalem;' and began to preach in the fields. The journey which he had undertaken was not to be a long one. He was heard to say in a sermon, that of his personal knowledge certain things which had been offered in pilgrimage had been given to abandoned women. The priests he affirmed, take away the offerings, and hang them about their women's necks[1]; and after that they take them off the women, if they please them not, and hang them again upon the images.[2] This was Bilney's heresy, or formed the ground of his arrest: he was orthodox on the Mass, and also on the power of the keys; but the secrets of the sacred order were not to be betrayed with impunity. He was seized, and hurried before the Bishop of Norwich; and being found heterodox on the papacy and the mediation of the saints, by the Bishop of Norwich he was sent to the stake."

We have seen that the date of our poem was 1533. As Skelton died on June 21, 1529, the *Image* is of course not his, a fact which the inferiority of its verse to his also testifies. Mr. Dyce printed the poem in his *Skelton* ii. 413, among the "Poems attributed to Skelton," and on the question of authorship says:

"Hearne and others have attributed this remarkable production to Skelton. The poem, however, contains decisive evidence that he was not its author: to say nothing of other passages—the mention of certain writings of Sir Thomas More and of "the mayde of Kent" (Elizabeth Barton) which occurs in the Third Part, would alone be sufficient to prove that it was the composition of some writer posterior to his time."

Mr. Dyce's notes on the text are printed here, and signed D. I only wish he had annotated his 'Poems attributed to Skelton' in the admirably thorough way in which he has done Skelton's own Poems,—the reproach of which to my less careful work I feel whenever I open his second volume.—But as his business was only with the text of these attributed Poems, the reader must be content with such notes as are here: and as it has just struck 3 A.M. and this is the second morning I've heard it, I must really stop notes and talk too.

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[1] Compare this with lines 416–25 of *The Image*:—

Ye blisse vs with *your* bones,
And with *your* riche ringes,
That quenes *and* kinges,
At *your* offringes,
Shall kisse with knelinges;

Which *your* mynykyns
And mynyon babbes,
Your closse chambred drabbes,
When masse and all is done,
Shall were at after-noone.

[2] Fox, vol. iv., p. 649.—*Froude.*

[Lansdowne MS. 794.]

[PART I.—AGAINST THE CLERGY GENERALLY, THEIR HYPOCRISY AND VICES.]

Vpon [the hipocrysye?] [leaf 2.]
of the Cruell C[ler]gy,
And the pro[u]de prelacy[?],
that now do looke so hie,
as though *that* by and by
they wold clymbe & fflye
vp to the Clowdy Skye:[1]
wher all men may espye,[2]
by fals hipocrysye
Thei Long haue Blered the Eye[3]
of all the world well nye;
Comytting Apostacie
against that verytye
That thei can not Denye:
in w*hi*ch how shamlessly
They do [cavil?[4]] and lye,
ther concyens testyfye,
The poppe[?] . . . . . Res
Curtezens[5] & [?] . . . . . .
The Rest of Balam Mark*es*, [?]
That be heresyark*es*, [leaf 2, back.]
Which do Comy[t?][6] ther wark*es*,
As one that in the Darke ys,
And wot*es* not wher the marke ys,
Do take the kites for larkes.
suche be owr primat*es*,
O*ur* bisshopps *and* prelat*es*,
[Our par]sons *and* [curates,][7]

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[1] *Vp to the clowdy skye*] Originally "*Vp* into *the skye*."—D.

[2] A line has been struck out between lines 8 and 9.

[3] Compare the Pardoner in William's *Vision of Piers Ploughman*:

> He bouched them with his brevet, and *blered hire eighen*,
> And raughte with his rageman Rynges and broches.

Compare l. 41, below. (Ed. *Wright*, vol. i. p. 5, l. 147–150.—Skeat.)

[4] The original word is marked out, and another written over, and rubbed nearly out. I cannot read either.

[5] Compare 'curtisanes,' l. 1971.

[6] ? commend: cp. l. 25.—Skeat.

[7] *Our parsons and curates*] This line (now pasted over in the MS. [by some mender of it]) has been obtained from a transcript of the poem made by Thomas Martin of Palgrave.—D.

With other like estates [leaf 3.]
that were shaven pates;
As monkes white *and* blacke,
And Channons that cane chatte,
Glottons[1] ffayre and fatte,
With ffriers of the sacke,[2]
And brothers of the bagg,
As nymble as a nagg,
That cane bothe prate *and* bragg,
To make the pulpett wagge [leaf 3, back.]
with Twenty thousand lyes,
Do make the blind Eate flyes,
and[3] blere *our* symple Eyes,
To make vs to beleve
God morowe is god eve;
for pleynly to be breve,
so nye they do vs dreve,
That we, to *our* great greve,
Must sey that white is blacke, [leaf 4.]
Or ell*es* they sey we smacke,
And smell we wote not what:
But then beware the Catt;
for yf they smell a Ratt,
they grisely chide *and* chatt,
and, haue him[4] by the Iack,
A fagott for his backe,[5]

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[1] *Glottons*] Originally "Prelates."—D.

[2] *Fratres de Sacco.*—Skeat. The name of the *Sac* was given them, because they wore Garments made like Sacs, and therefore some call'd them *Fratres de Sacco*, Friers of the Sac . . but their true name was *Friers of the Penance of Jesus Christ*. Stevens ii. 271. The Friers of the Sac were extraordinary austere at first; they neither did eat Flesh nor drink Wine. As to their Habit, we have spoken of it before, but it was made like that of the Capucins; they went bare-Leg'd, and had only wooden Sandals on their Feet. *ib.* 272. They established themselves in a Jewish synagogue on the South side of Lothbury, (suppressed A.D. 1291) which Henry III gave them in the 56th year of his reign. 'This Order of Friers gather'd many good Scholars, and multiply'd in Number exceedingly, till after the Council of Lyons, when all Mendicant Orders were suppress'd, excepting only the Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustinians, and Carmelites'. *ib.* 272. These Friers of Penance or of Sackcloth, who first came into England in the year 1257 arriv'd at Oxford in 1262, got a grant of a site there from Henry III, and built a house. Afterwards they enlarged their possessions, were suppressed in 1307; and two years afterwards the King granted their ground and buildings to the Franciscans. *ib.* 273; *Wood's Hist. of Oxford, p.* 111. In our text the term 'ffriers of the sacke' seems intended to include all the Mendicant Orders.

[3] *and*] Substituted for "To," when the preceding line was added.—D.

[4] *him*] Originally "vs."—D. *Jack*, is 'jacket': seize him.

[5] Compare l. 1731–41.

or, Take[1] him to the Racke,
And drowne hyme in a sacke, [leaf 4, back.]
Or burne[2] hyme on [a] stake! 57
lo, thus they vndertake
The trothe false to make!
Alas, for christ his sake! 60
is the sonne-light darke,
Or ignoraunc[e] a clarke,
bycawse *that* thei[3] hath powre
To send men to the towre, 64
the Simple to devowre?[4]
if they Lyst to Lowre,
ys Suger therfor Sowre? [leaf 5.]
dothe[5] five *and* three make ffour? 68
As well, I durst be bolde,
To sey the ffier were colde.
But yet they worke muche worse,
when they for blissinge cowrse; 72
for father friska Jolly,[6]
And pater pecke a lolly,[7]

[1] *Take*] Originally "haue."—D. [2] ? MS. turne. [3] Originally "he."

[4] The bishops might seize them [suspected heretics] on mere suspicion; and the evidence of the most abandoned villains sufficed for their conviction (*Answer of the Bishops*, vol. i. cap. 3). By the Act of Henry V, every officer from the Lord Chancellor to the parish constable, was sworn to seek them out and destroy them; and both bishops and officials had shown no reluctance to execute their duty. Hunted like wild beasts from hiding-place to hiding-place, decimated by the stake, with the certainty that however many years they might be reprieved, their own lives would close at last in the same fiery trial; beset by informers, imprisoned, racked, and scourged; worst of all haunted by their own infirmities, the flesh shrinking before the dread of a death of agony—thus it was that they struggled on,—earning for *themselves* martyrdom, for *us* the free England in which we live and breathe. *Froude*, ii. 37–8.

The reader must recollect that Wolsey used the faggots only to be carried on heretics' backs, and burn their books: see *Froude*, ii. 39, 43–4, 70. It was Sir Thomas More who burnt the heretics themselves. *Froude*, ii. 83, quoted above, p. 179.

[5] *dothe*] Originally "Or."—D.

[6] Cp. Skelton's 'demy diuines, and Stoicall studiantes, and *friscaioly* yonkerkyns, moche better bayned than brayned.' *A Replycacion, &c.* Works i. 209. Mr. Dyce quotes, *ib.* ii. 230, from the *Interlude of the iiii Elementes*, n. d. 'Synge *fryska Joly* with hey troly loly.' Sig. B. ii.

[7] Skelton (*Works*, i. 63, l. 409) calls the bird 'doterell,' 'that folyshe *pek*,' and Mr. Dyce (*ib.* ii. 129) says '*pek* or *peke* seems here to be used by Skelton in the sense of 'contemptible fellow;' so in his *Colyn Cloute;*

'Of suche *Pater-noster pekes*
All the world spekes.' *Works* i. 321. l. 264.

'In Hormanni *Vulgaria* we find: "He is shamefast, but not *pekysshe*. Verecundus est sine ignauia." Sig. N. i. ed. 1530. See *Peak* in Johnson and Richardson.'

That be all full of folly, [leaf 5, back.]
Doo[1] fayne them seem[2] holy,
For ther monopoly,
And ther private welthe
That they haue take by stelthe;
And in the churche they lurke,
As ill as any turke,
so proudely they vsurpe,
Besyde the spritt of christ, [leaf 6.]
The office of a pryste
in any wise to take,
As thoughe it were a iape,
To Runne in att the Rove;[3]
for some of them do Prove[4]
To clyme vpp ere they knowe
The doore from the wyndowe; [leaf 7, back.]
They may not stope alowe,
But backe bend as a bowe;
they make an outwarde showe,
And so forthe one a rowe,
As dapper as a Crowe,
And perte as any pye,
And lighte as any ffly.
At borde and at table [leaf 8.]
They be full servysable,
Sober and demure,
acquayntans to allure,
wher they may be Sure[5]
by any Craft or trayne
To fyshe for any gayne,[6]

---

[1] *Doo*] Originally "That."—D.

[2] *seem*] Is the substitution of a somewhat later hand, the original word being faded: qy. "self"?—D.

[3] *runne in att the rove*] Originally "runnynge *at the* masse."—D. To *Rove*, to shoot an arrow for distance, or at a mark, but with an elevation, not point-blank: called also *shooting at rovers*.

> With broad arrow, or *roving* shaft,
> At markes full fortie score they used to prick or *rove*.
>
> *Drayton's Polyolbion*, xxvi.—Nares.

[4] *prove*] Originally presse."—D. The back of leaf 6, and the front of leaf 7, are blank.—F.

[5] *Wher they may be sure*] Followed by a deleted line, now partly illegible,—

> " . . . . . wayte to haue wynnynge."—D.

[6] *To fyshe for any gayne*] Followed by a deleted line which seems to have been,—

> "With shotinge [shoutinge?—F.] or with singinge."—D.

or wayt for any wynnyng,—
A prestly begynnynge!
for many a hyerlinge,
With a wilde fyerlinge, 108
whan his credyte is most,[1] [leaf 8, back.]
with mikell brag and bost
Shall pryck owt as a post,[2]
Chafy[n]g[3] lyke myne hoste, 112
As hott as any toste,
And Ride from cost to cost,
And then[4] shall Rule *the* Rost.
And some avaunced be 116
for ther Auncente,
Throughe[5] ther Antiquitye, [leaf 9.]
Be all innequitye;
yett be they called 120
To *the* Charge of *the* fald,
Because they be balled,
And be for bisshopps stalled.
And some kepe ther stations 124
In owtwarde straunge natyons,
Lernynge invocatyons, [leaf 9, back.]
And craftye in-Cantatyons;
And so by inchantement 128
Gette theyr avauncement.
And some by fayned favo*ur*
for hono*ur* or for havo*ur*,
By voyses boughte *and* solde, 132
for sylver *and* for golde,
for lande, for Rente or ffee, [leaf 10.]
Or by Authoritye
Of menn of hye degree, 136
Or for some qualitye,
As many of them bee,
for ther Actyvitee,
ther practyse and Industrye, 140

[1] A line scratched out, is at the top of the page.

[2] *Shall pryck, &c.*] The position of this line, and of the next but one, was originally different.—D. A line scratched out, "As whott as any tost (?)" follows l. 111.—F.

[3] *Chafyng*] Which seems to be the reading intended, was originally preceded by "Wyll."—D. "Shall pricke out as a post," scratched out, follows l. 112.—F.

[4] *And then*] Originally "At lenghe."—D.

[5] Dyce reads "Thoughe." But *be*, l. 119, may possibly mean *by*.—F.

Sleyght, Craft, *and* knavery,
in matters of bawdery,
Or by helpe of kynne,
An Easy liffe to wynne. 144
I swere by saincte mary, [leaf 10, back.]
He that thus dothe cary
is a mercenary,
Yea, a sangunary, 148
A pastore for to pull
Of bothe skynne *and* wolle.
Thoughe christ be the doer,
They force not of his looer,[1] 152
They sett therby no stoore; [leaf 11.]
Ther stody is for moore:
And I tell youe therfore
That they ther tyme temper 156
with a provisoo semper
An other wey to enter,
for love of wordely good,
Not forcinge of[2] the fflode 160
Of hyme that bledd the Roode; [leaf 11, back.]
It is not for ther moode.
they make Deambulacyons[3]
With great ostentations, 164
And loke for salutations
On every mannes face,
As in the merkett place
To saye, god saue yo*ur* grace! [leaf 12.]
Thus in churche *and* chepinge, 169
Wher they may haue metinge
With lordes *and* with ladyes,

---

[1] Or perhaps 'lowr' (lore, doctrine).

[2] Caring for.—Skeat.

[3] *Ambulare* dicitur etiam de episcopo qui lustrando peragrat diœcesim suam. *D'Arnis.* Was the *de-* put on by our author for a *double entendre*? '*Deambulatio.—Deambulationes stercorum*, latrinæ, seu loca alia quævis ad exonerandum ventrem, vel potius culinæ emissaria, quibus sordes emittuntur; *lieux d'aisance ou égouts* (Acta Sanctorum) *D'Arnis.* '*Esgout* .. a little sinke, channell, or gutter to void filth by.'—*Cotgrave.* The old biographer of St. Swithin, notices how the saint, when he was a bishop, and had to consecrate new churches, avoided all the ordinary pomp of processions, &c.

Whan he halewede enie churche, bost ne kipte he non:
Bi ny*gh*te afote myldeliche, he wolde þider gon;
A*gh*en him ne kipte he no ringinge, bobance, ne prute,
[Ne] bost of hors ne of squiers, for he tolde þerof lute.

Early English Poems (Philol. Soc. 1862) p. 44, l. 43–6.

To be called Rabyes :[1]
Nowe god saue these dadyes,
And all ther yonge babyes !
The holy worde of god [leaf 12, back.]
Is by these men forbod ;
Pater noster *and* Creede
They vtterly forbeede
To be said or songe
In *our* vulgar tonge.
Ohe lorde ! thou hast great wronge
Of these that shoulde be trustye, [leaf 13.]
Whiche sey the breade is musty,
And with ther lawe vnlusty
Make it Rusty *and* dusty !
But I do thinke it Rustye
for lacke of exercyse :
Wherfore they be vnwise
That will the lawe despise, [leaf 13, back.]
And daylye newe devyse,
So Dyvers and so straunge,
Which[2] chaunge *and* rechaunge
Of fastinges *and* of feestes,
Of bowes[3] *and* behestes,
With many of ther[4] iestes,
As thoughe lay men wer bestes ;
As many of vs bee, [leaf 14.]
That may *and* will not see,
Nor ones cast vpp a.. Eye,
These Iugglinges to espye ;
for this that nowe is vsed
Is efte ageyne refused,
Chaunged or mysvsed,
That we be still abused :
The lawe that servethe nowe, [leaf 14, back.]
Ageyne they disalowe.
Thus forthe *and* backe,[5]
With bryve *and* with bull

---

1 Who wilneþ ben wisere of lawe· þan lewde freres,
And in multitude of men· ben *maysters* y-called.
Pierce the Ploughman's Crede, l. 498.—Skeat.

2 *Which*] Qy. "With" ?—D.

3 *bowes*] Qy. "vowes" ?—D. The Alliteration requires 'bowes.'—Skeat.

4 *of ther*] Qy. "other" ?—D.

5 *backe*] Something wanting here.—D.

They dayly plucke *and* pull,
And yett be never ffull;
for wher one bull makes,
An other bull forsakes; [leaf 15.]
The thyrde yett vndertakes 213
To alter all of newe:
Thus none will other sue.
Wherfore, by swete Iesu, 216
I thinke they be vntrewe
That iuggle tyme *and* tyme
To gett thyne *and* myne;
Yea, thoughe the worlde pynne, [leaf 15, back.]
No man wyll they spare,[1] 221
So they ther pelfe prefarre,
The lawes to make *and* marre,
To bynde vs nere *and* farre; 224
Wherto may be no barre
In peace tyme nor in warre;
for none ther is that darre [leaf 16.]
Replye ageyne or speake, 228
This Daunce of thers to breake;
The trouthe it is so weeke:
They make all men cry creake,[2]
Or fry them to a steake,— 232
Adieu, *Sir* huddy-peake![3]
lo, peters barge is leake,
And redy for to synke;
Beware yett least youe drinke;[4] [leaf 16, back.]
God dothe not slepe nor wynke, 237
But sethe lande *and* brynke;

---

[1] *No man wyll they spare*] Originally,—

"They passe not of a sparre."—D.

[2] I give in, I recant. "To cry creak," to be afraid, to desist from any project.—*Holliwell.*

[3] *Hoddy-doddy*, a term of contempt. See Kemp's *Nine Daies Wonder*, p. 21. *Hoddy-peke* is used in a similar sense. See Hawkins, i. 205.—Halliwell.

Can he play well at the *hoddypeke?*
Skelton's *Magnyfycence*, Works i. 263, l. 7.

He sayth, 'thou *huddypeke*,
Thy lernynge is to lewde,
Thy tonge is not well thewde
Why come ye nat to Courte?—Skelton, ii. 37, l. 326.

Hoddypeke is a common term of contempt or reproach . . and is generally equivalent to 'fool.'—Dyce.

[4] Drenche, be drowned.—Skeat.

And yf ye take the chynke,[1]
I feare me ye will stynke,
And Corrupt y*our* vnctyon̄
With An iniunctyon̄;
Y*our*[2] pride *and* presumption̄, [leaf 17.]
In[3] abvsing y*our* functyon̄,
Will breade a consumtion̄,
And make a resumption,
To bringe youe to compunction̄;
Youre[4] lawes falsely grounded,
that hath *th*e world Surounded,
By trouthe shalbe Confounded.
Thoughe ye be lord*es* digne,
Ye shoulde no man maligne, [leaf 17, back.]
But ever be benyngne;
And namely in suche Case
Wher god his gyfte or grace[5]
lyst to plante or place:
The poore man, or the Riche,
Is To his pleasure lyche;
for christ, o*ur* derest lorde, [leaf 18.]
That made the full accorde,
As Scripture dothe Recorde,
Betwyxt god and man,
Suppressynge Sattan
and all his kingdom, whan[6]
Vpon̄ the holy Roode
he shadd his blissed bloode,
As muche for one as other, [leaf 18, back.]
Exceptinge not his mother,
made every man his brother,
As many as ther bee
In faythe *and* charitee.
But nowe by fals abvsyon,
The Clergy by Collution̄,
Without good Conclution̄,
haue broughte vs to Confution̄, [leaf 19.]

---

[1] ? spring a leak.—Skeat.
[2] *Your*] Originally "For."—D.
[3] *In*] Originally "And."—D.
[4] *Youre*] Originally "And."—D.
[5] *Wher God his gyfte or grace*] Originally, "*Wher god* of *his grace*."—D.
[6] *And all his kingdom, whan*] Originally, "At the good tyme *whan*."—D.

And made An illution:
By great inyquytie,
Avaunt them selfes to be
No lesse then god*es*, yee,
of equall authorytye;
Whiche, by Ipocrysye,
to exalt ther dignytye,
Call vs the leude lay ffee,
men of temporalitee;
But they pretend to bee
A people Eternall, [leaf 19, back.]
of powr Supernall:
I fere me, infernall;
for they that be carnall,
Idolaters to Baall,
And nothinge gostely at all,
Be named spirituall;
for so we must them Calle,
As we Aye do *and* shall,
What happe so ever falle.
Ther Successyon may not dye, [leaf 20.]
But lyve eternallye;
for, without question,
*per*petuall Succession
They haue from one to other,
As childer of ther mother;
Yea, they kepe all in store
That other hadd afore, [leaf 20, back.]
And daylye gather more.
lo, thus the people rore,
As on a fistred[1] Sore
of matt*er* most vnpure,
that thei ar dryven to indure
Tyll god him Self send Cure!
That as yo*ue* be possessors,
So be yee Successors
Vnto yo*ur* predecessors:
And yet ye be questors,
and hoorders vppe of testers;[2]
ye[3] daylye cache and gather [leaf 21.]
Of mother and of father,

[1] Fyyst, stynk, *Lirida*. Fyistyn, (fyen,) *Cacco*, *lirido*. Promptorium.
[2] Sixpences.
[3] *Ye*] Originally "That."—D.

And of no man Rather
Then of y*our* poore brother,
And of eu*ery* other;
Yea, all that Comes is gayne;
yo*ue* passe of no mans payne,
Whiche ye all wey reteyne;
who ever grudge or playne,
It may not out agayne;
Noughte may be Remitted
That to youe is Commytted;
Ye be not so lighte witted.
The people thinke it true
That ye possessiõ sue
To haue añ Easy life, [leaf 22.]
Without debate or strife,
To lyve without a wife,
lordely[1] and at Ease,
Without payne or disease,
your belly god[2] to please,
And worldly welth to haue:[3]
Ye do y*our* heeades shave,
To make youe sure *and* save [leaf 22, back.]
in every wind and wave,
That wolde as sone Rave
As ones to chippe[4] aṉ heare
So farre aboue y*our* Eare,
Or suche aṉ habite weare,
With a polled heade,
To fayne y*our* selves deade;
But for possessions sake [leaf 23.]
That ye suche Rules take,
And bynde youe to the brake,
That ye maye not forsake

---

[1] *Lordely, &c.*] On the outer margin of the MS., opposite this verse, are the following lines, partly cut off by the binder;

"Thes be the knavysh
knackes that ever w . . .
o . . .
ffor Javell*es* and for J[ackes]."—D.

See *The grudge of ypocrites* at the end of Part IV of the *Image*, l. 2544–8, of which the present lines are only a variation.

[2] *belly god*, generally 'he who makes a god of his belly': here 'belly which is a man's god.'

[3] *And worldly welth to haue*] Originally "*And* possession *to haue*."—D.

[4] *chippe*] Qy. "clippe?"—D.

Durynge all yo*ur* lyves:
So well is he that thrives.
Thus be youe spirituall;
And yett ye do vs call
But lewde *and* tempo*r*all;
And that is for that we
So weake *and* simple be,
To put oure possession
from oure Succession
And heires lyniall,
Or kynne Collaterall,
That be menn temporall,[1]
And so from lyne to lyne;
for ech man for his tyme
Sayes, "while it is myne,
I will give while I maye,
That, when I am away,
They shall both singe and saye,
And for my Soules helthe pray,
Tyll it be domes day:"
So, after this array,—
Alake and well a way!—
We oure landes straye,
And other goodes decay;
Wherat ye laughe and play:
And natheles allwey
We dayly pay and pay,
To haue youe to go gaye
With wonderfull araye,
As Dysardes[2] in a play.
God wolde it were imprented,
Written and indentyd,
What youe haue invented!
So great Diversyte
nowe in yo*ur* garmente*s* be,

[leaf 23, back.]
[leaf 24.]
[leaf 24, back.]
[leaf 25.]

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[1] See *Roy's Satire* and the *Proper Dyalogue* on this point, p. 17, 20–3, above.

[2] *Disar*, an actor. See Collier, i. 50. Generally speaking, the clown . . . 'A *dizzard* or common vice and jester counterfetting the gestures of any man, and moving his body as him list.' *Nomenclator*, p. 529. Cf. Welde's *Janua Linguarum*, 1615, p. 77.—Halliwell. *Fol:* m. A foole; asse, goose, calfe, dotterell, woodcocke; noddie, cokes, goosecap, coxcombe, *dizard*, peagoose, ninnie, naturall, ideot, wisakers.—Cotgrave. Cp. Skelton's 'In a cote thou can play well the *dysar*.' *Magnyfycence*, i. 253, and Dyce's note in *Skelton's Works*, ii. 255.

that wonder is to se;
Y*our* triple cappe and crowne,
Curtle, cope, and gowne,
more worthe then halfe a towne, [leaf 26.]
With golde *and* perle sett, 389
And stones well I-ffrett;
Ther can be no bett;
And for no price ye lett, 392
how far of they be fett.
Oh ye kynde of vipers!
Ye beestly bellyters, [leaf 26, back.]
With Raynes and cipres,[1] 396
That haue so many miters!
And yett ye be but mychers.[2]
Youe weere littell hattes,
Myters, and square Capps, 400
Decked with flye flappes,
With many prety knackes,
like turkes of Tartary,
Moores, or Men of Moscovye, 404
Or lyke bugges[3] of arraby, [leaf 27.]
With ouches *and* bosses,
With staves *and* crosses,
With pillers and posses,[4] 408
With standers *and* banners,
Without good life or manners:
Then haue youe gay gloves,
That with y*our* hand moves, [leaf 27, back.]
wroughte with true-loves,[5] 413
And made well, for the nones,
with golde *and* precious stones:
Ye blisse vs with y*our* bones, 416
And with y*our* Riche ringes,

---

[1] Clothes of Rennes and Cyprus.—Skeat.

[2] *Caqueraffe;* m. A base *micher*, scuruie hagler, lowsie dodger; or a cruell extortioner, greedie catch-good, rauenous oppresser.—*Cotgrave. Senaud:* a rich *micher*, a rich man that pretends himselfe to be verie poore.—*Cotgrave.*

[3] Bugbears, goblins.—*Halliwell.*

[4] *Posse*, a number of people, no doubt derived from the sheriff's *posse comitatus*.—Halliwell. On the pillars, gloves, precious stones, etc., compare Roy's description of Wolsey, in the *Impeachment* poem below, and Dyce's note in Skelton's Works, ii. 350.

[5] Some [women] haue sleeues much shorter, cut vp the arme, and poincted with silke ribbons very gallantly, tied with *true loues knottes* (for so they call them). *Stubs's Anatomie*, p. 69.

That Quenes *and* kinges,
At yo*ur* offringes, [leaf 28.]
Shall kisse w*i*th knelinges;
Which yo*ur* mynykyns
And mynyon babbes,
Yo*ur* closse chambred drabbes,[1]
When masse and all is done,[2]
Shall were at after-none. [leaf 28, back.]
Yo*ur* Curtells be of sylke,
w*i*th Rochetes white as mylke;[3]
Yo*ur* bootes of righte Sattyne,
Or velvett Crymosyne;
Yo*ur* shoes wroughte w*i*th gold,
To tredd vpon the molde.
Wandring, as vandals, [leaf 29.]
In sylke *and* in sandals,
Ye kepe yo*ur* holy rules,
As asses *and* mules;
for on yo*ur* cloven cules[4]
Will ye never sytt,
But on a Rich carpett;
And nowe and then a fitt, [leaf 29, back.]
after the Rule of Bennett,
w*i*th dythmunia vennett,
a gaye a vott gennett,
w*i*th gill or w*i*th Iennyt,
wyth Cycely or Sare;
yf *th*ei Come wher they are,
*th*ei Lay one, and not Spare,
And never look behind them,
wher soever they ffynd them;
ffor whan that *th*ei be hett,
and asmodeus[5] Grett,
they take, as[6] *th*ei can gett,
all[7] fyshe that comes to Nett,

---

[1] See 'Of the whoring Priests,' in Luther's *Colloquia Mensalia*, translated 1652, p. 332.

[2] *When masse and all is done*] Followed by a deleted line;

"The paynes to release."—D.

[3] Rochet, a surplys, *rochet*.—Palsgrave. The bishop's rochet is a linen vest worn under a satin robe.—Halliwell.

[4] *Cul:* m. An arse, bumme, tayle, nockandroe, fundament.—Cotgrave.

[5] The name of the evil spirit in the Book of Tobit.—Dyce.

[6] *as*] Originally "that."—D. [7] *All*] Originally "*All* ys."—D.

ffor Lust fynd*es* no lett[1]
tyll hys poyson be spett;—
be she fyne or feat,
be she white or[2] Iett,
Long or short sett,
do she Smyle or Skowle,
be she ffayr or fowle,
or owgly[3] as an owle;
ffor vnderneth a Cowle,
a S*ur*plyse or an amys,[4]
Can no man do amys.
Ye halse them from harmes
With blessing*es* and charmes,
While the water warmes,
In yo*ur* holy armes,
broging[5] in ther barmes,
Devoutly to clipe it,
To Caste her with a tryppytt,
With, lusty S*ir* Iohn,[6] whip it
Vnderneth yo*ur* tippitt,
Pretextu pietatis,
Quam contaminatis
Sub iugo castitatis,
Y*our* Burning heate to Cease,

[1] *For lust fyndes no lett*] Occupies the place of the following three deleted lines;

"be she ffayre or fowle
for vnderneth an amys
alyke ther hart is."—D.

[2] *or*] MS. "as."—D.

[3] *Or owgly*] Over this is the deleted word "blobcheked."—D.

[4] A piece of fine linen, of an oblong form, which was formerly worn on the head until the priest arrived before the altar, and then thrown back upon the shoulders.—Way. See *Promptorium*, p. 11, and Halliwell's *Glossary*. *Amice*—properly the first of the six vestments common to the bishop and presbyters. 'Fyrst do on the *amys*, than the albe, than the gyrdell, than the manyple, than the stoole, than the chesyble.'—Hormanni *Vulgaria*, sig. E. iiii. ed. 1530. *Dyce's Skelton*, ii. 134.

[5] Diving, paddling. *To Brog*, a method of catching eels with *brogs* or small sticks, which is called *brogging*. *North.*—Halliwell.

[6] "Sir John" was used regularly for a priest. Compare "A ballad on an incontinent priest" in the Cambridge Univ. Lib. MS. Ff. 5–48, Art. 23, printed in *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*, i. 1:—

I haue for-sworne hit, whil I life, to wake the well, ey!
The last tyme I the wel woke,
S*ir* John coght me w*ith* a croke.
He made me to swere be bel & boke
I shuld not tell.

and expell yo*ur* disease,
Vnder p*re*tens[1] of pease,
The paynes to release
Of poore sely Sowles,
That hide be in holes
As hote as any Coles.
Ye cappes haue, *and* capes, [leaf 31.]
With many other iapes,
To cover with yo*ur* pates;
As hoodes and cowles,
like horned owles,
With skapplers[2] *and* Cootes,
Courtbies[3] *and* Copes,
White knottyd ropes, [leaf 31, back.]
With other instrumen*tes*,

ȝet he did me a wel wors turne:
he leyde my hed a-gayn the burne;
He gafe my mayden hed a spurne,
And rofe[1] my kell.

Sir John came to oure hows to play:
ffro euensong tyme til light of the day
We made as mery as flowres i*n* may;
I was be-gyled, ey!

Sir John, he came to o*ur* hows;
He made hit wond*ur* copious;
He seyd that I was gracious
to bere a childe. ey!

I go w*ith* childe, wel I wot;
I schreve the fad*ur* *tha*t hit gate!
w*ith*outen he fynde hit mylke & pap
a long while, ey.

'they repaire their churches and chappelles with it [the money got by Church-ales]; they buie . . surplesses for *Sir Jhon*, and such other necessaries. 1583–5. —*Stubs*, p. 174. 'The formost was a plain country *Sir John*, or Vicar, that had proclaimed by the redness of his nose he did go oftner into the alehouse then the pulpit.' 1592.—*R. Greene's Quip for an Upstart Courtier*, p. 58, Collier's Reprint. See the context at the end of the 'Satire on the Non-preaching Ministers' in the Appendix to the present Poem.

[1] *pretens*] Originally "the bande."—D.

[2] *Scapular* or *Scapulary*, a long narrow piece of Stuff, worn by Monks and Nuns over the rest of their Habit, and hanging down from their Shoulders to their Feet.—*Kersey's Phillips*.

[3] Chaucer's *courtepy*, an over garment. Cotgrave gives '*Courtiban* or *Courti-bau*. A coat-armour, long cassock, or horseman's coat, worne by a Prince, or Commander in an armie.'

---

[1] Mr. Halliwell reads *refe my bell*, but Mr. Bradshaw and I are both clear that *rofe* and *kell* are right.

Straunge habilimentes
And wanton vestementes,
and other Implementes,
As Tyrantes haue in tentes:
But what therby ment is,
Or what they signifye,
I cane not tell, not I;[1] [leaf 32.]
nor youe vndowbtedlye
Can Shew no Reason whie.
Ye make it herisy
And treason to the kinge,
Yf we speke any thinge
That is not to your lykynge:
The truth may not be spoken,
But ye will be wroken.
Yett marke and note this token! [leaf 32, back.]
Yf gods worde ones open,
which wyll er long perdye,
Then shall we here *and* se
In cristianitye,
whether youe or we
The very traytours be.
But, by the trynite,
It wonder is to me [leaf 33.]
To se your charite
And hospitalite
So littell to the poore!
And yet vpon a hoore
Ye passe for non expence,[2]
As thoughte[3] it non offence
Were in the sighte of god! [leaf 33, back.]
Youe fray not of his rod;
Youe loue your bely Cod!
for them that haue no nede,
Ye dayly feest and fede:
I thinke it be to dreede
lest here youe[4] haue your mede.
Ye drawe and cast lottes, [leaf 34.]
In hattes *and* in pottes,

---

[1] *not I*] Originally "for why."—D.
[2] Compare the 4th verse of the extract from Roy, p. 73, above.
[3] though.—Skeat.
[4] *Lest here you*] Originally "*Here lest youe*."—D.

for tottes *and* for quottes,[1]
And blere vs with y*our* blott*es*,
And with y*our* mery popp*es* :
Thus youe make vs sottes,
And play with vs[2] boopepe,
With other gambaldes like, [leaf 34, back.]
To pill oure lord*es* sheepe,
Y*our* hon*our* for to kepe,
Vsinge great excesse,
Which I pray god represse,
And soone to sende redresse!
for no man can expresse
The wo and wretchednesse
Youe on oure neckes do lye, [leaf 35.]
By y*our* grett tyrannye,
Y*our* pride *and* surquedrye,
That ye do openlye :
But that youe secretly
practyse pryvylye,
May not be tolde :—*and* why ?
lest it be herysye!
and than by and by
to Make a faggott ffrye!
for we can not deny,— [leaf 35, back.]
and trewth[3] doth playne dyscrye,
and all wysemen Espye—
that all *the* falt doth lye[4]
Vpon oure owne foly,
That ye be so iolye ;
for with oure owne goodes
We fether vppe oure[5] hoodes.
Youe sanguinolenty,
Y*our* mony is so plenty, [leaf 36.]
That youe make no deynty

---

[1] Cp. Skelton's *Colyn Cloute*, Works i. 332, l. 565.

'Of pluralytes, | And of *tot quottes*,
Of tryalytes, | They commune lyke sottes'

and in *Why come ye nat to Courte*, Works, ii. 30, l. 126, 'We shall haue a *tot quot* from the Pope of Rome.' See l. 1017, below.

[2] *with vs*] Originally "your."—D. [3] *treuth*] Originally "the *treuth*."—D.

[4] *That all the falt doth lye*] Originally "But *all the falt* do *lye*."—D.

[5] *oure*] Qy. "youre?" but compare lines 575, 577. In the following line, "*sanguinolenty*" should perhaps be printed as Latin,—"*sanguinolenti*."—D.

Of Twenty pound *and* Twenty,
So youe may haue entry;
And then youe laughe *and* skorne
To se vs were the horne,
Ridinge here *and* hether,
Goinge ther *and* thether, [leaf 36, back.]
Lyke cokold foles[1] to-gether,
In colde, wynde, *and* in wether,
for woll, for ledd, *and* lether;
and yet do not Consydre
we wer an Oxes fether :[2]
This is a prety bob,
Oure hedes for to gnob[3]
With suche a gentill Iob!
And we oure selves Rob
Of land*es* temporall, [leaf 37.]
And Ivelles great and smalle,
To give youe p*ar*te of all
In almes p*er*petuall,
To make *our* heyres thrall
ffor yo*ur*[4] hye promotyon,
through[5] *our* blynde devotion
and Small[6] Intellygens,
But *that our* Conscyens,
[Be] Laden with offens;
And yo*ue* vs so incense,
when we be going hens,
To make soch Recompens,
by gyvyng[7] yowe[8] *our* pens, [leaf 37, back.]
our Land, good*es*, and Rent*es*,

---

[1] *cokold foles*] Originally "loutes and knaves."—D.
[2] *We wer an oxes fether*] Originally "And in oure hoode a *fether*."—D.
[3] *Oure hedes for to gnob*] Followed by two deleted lines;
"And make vs soch a lob
To vse one lyke a lob."—D.
Knop, a knob or handle; the woollen tuft on the top of a cap.—Halliwell.
[4] *For your*] Originally "With."—D. See the extract on p. 20, above.
[5] *Through*] Originally "With."—D.
[6] Lines 587–592 are substituted for two deleted lines;
"To your possessyon
Without discretion."—D.
[7] Lines 593–600 are substituted for three deleted lines;
"S . . . fonde affection
To oure correccion
Without protection."—D.
[8] *yowe*] Originally "them."—D.

ffor that[1] holy pretens,
havyng ffull confydens
*tha*t be[2] a Safe Defens:
So Do we styll Dyspens
with all Remorse and Sens
of harty penytens.
This cane not be denyed:
Y*our* Iugglynge is espied,
Y*our* mayster is vntyed,
which is the prince of pride;
for you on[3] neyther syde [leaf 38.]
Can suffre or abyde[4]
To here the troth tryed,
Which ye intend to hide
With vehement[5] desyre,
As hote as any ffire.

Thus endeth the ffirst parte of this p*re*sent treatyse, called the Image of Ipocrysy.

[**PART II.**—AGAINST THE BISHOPS, THE POPE, AND CARDINALS: WITH A PROTEST AGAINST THE EXCOMMUNICATION OF ENGLAND IN KING JOHN'S TIME.]

Alake, for christ*es* might, [leaf 39.]
These thing*es* go not a-righte!
Oure lanterns give no lighte;
All bisshopps be not brighte:
They be so full of Spyte,[6]
They care not whom they byte;
both frend and foo they Smyte
Wyth Prison, deth, and flighte;
So dayly they do fyght
To overturne the Ryght:
So[7] we be in the plyte,
that, losing of owre Sight,
we know[8] not black from whyght,

---

that] Originally "an.'—D.

[2] *be*] Originally "to *be*."—D. "be or," I read it.—E. Brock.

[3] *For you on*] Originally "*For on*."—D.

[4] *Can suffre or abyde*] Originally "Ye *cane* here *abide*."—D.

[5] *vehement*] Originally "diligent."—D.

[6] A line is scratched out between 616 and 617; and two more lines after l. 617.

[7] *So*] Originally "That."—D.

[8] *We*] Originally "And."—D.

And be thus[1] blinded quyte,
We know not[2] day from nyght.
But, by my Syres Soule, [leaf 39, back.]
The true Apostell paule 628
Wrott, as we may see
In tyte *and* Tymothe,
who should a bisshoppe be:
A man of holy liffe, 632
the husbonde of one wiffe;
That vseth not to strife, [leaf 40.]
Or strike with sworde or knyff,
Nor that at any tyme 636
Suspected is of cryme;
But wise and provident,
Colde and contynent,
But never vynolent; 640
that when he eat[3] or drinke, [leaf 40, back.]
Slepe, awake[4], or winke,
Doth styll[5] on measure thinke,
And therof vse a messe 644
To put a-way excesse,[6]
kepe[7] hyme lowe and chast,
That he make no wast
By Prodigalite [leaf 41.]
or Sensualytye, 649
A waster for to be;
But, after his degree,
with liberallite 652
kepe hospitallite.
he must be sadd *and* sage,
vsinge non outrage,
But soberly with reason [leaf 41, back.]
To spende in tyme *and* season, 657
And so to kepe his meason.[8]

---

[1] *And be thus*] Originally "That we *be*."—D.

[2] *We know not*] Originally "*Not* knowing."—After this line is one cut off by the binder.—D.

[3] *That when he eat*] Originally "*When he* shall *eat*."—D.

[4] *Slepe, awake*] Originally "*Slepe* or wake."—D.

[5] *Doth styll*] Originally "He must."—D. *Measure* means moderation.

[6] A line scratched out between this and the next line.

[7] *Kepe*] Before this word stood originally "And," afterwards altered to "To," which is also deleted.—D.

[8] Fr. *maison*, house. See p. 9, note.

he may in no wise streke,
But suffer and be meke,
Shamefast and discrete,
Temp*e*rat, dulce, and swete,
Not speakinge angerly, [leaf 42.]
But soft and manerly;
And, in any wise,
Be ware of covetyse,
The rote of all ill vice.
he must be liberall,
And thanke oure lorde of all;
And, as a heerde his sheepe, [leaf 42, back.]
his childer must he kepe,
And all his family
In vertu edyfy,
Vnder disciplyne
Of holsome doctryne,
With dew subiection,
That non obiection [leaf 43.]
be made vnto his heste,[1]
Of most or of leste;
for thus he doth conclude,
As by simylitude,
howe he that cane not skill
his housholde at his will
To governe[2], Rule, *and* teche, [leaf 43, back.]
Within his power and reach,
Oughte to haue no speache
Of Cure and diligence,
Of suche premynence
Within the churche of god.
And eke it is forbode
That he no novice be, [leaf 44.]
lest with superbite
he do presume to hye,
And consequently
ffall vnhappely
into the frenesy

---

[1] *Be made vnto his heste*] Originally,
"*Be made* to *his hest.*"
for which was first substituted,
"*Made be* to *his heste*;" —D.

[2] *To governe*] Originally "Wisely *to*."—D.

Of pride and of Evyll,[1]
Lyke Lucyfer, the Devyll;[2] [leaf 44, back.]
for he playnly writes,
That of these neophites
And pevishe proselites,
Springe vpp ipocrites.
A bisshoppe eke must haue,
his honesty to save,
Of all men such a name, [leaf 45.]
That his outwarde fame
Be clene from any blame,
Impeched with no shame,
To draw all people in,
They may repent of synne,
And so[3] he may them wynne,
That *the*i fall not vnware[4] [leaf 45, back.]
into[5] the devils snare.
Thus paule, as ye may se,
Taughte Tyte and tymothe,
Who should a bisshoppe be.
And christ, oure maister dere,
While he lyved here,
full poorly did appere, [leaf 46.]
Mekely borne *and* bredd;
The bare Earth was his bedd,
for where to hele his headd,
Or where to lye *and* rest,
he had no hole nor nest;
But in great poverty
he lyved soberly, [leaf 46, back.]
his worde to multyply;
And thus did Edifye
his churche that is so holy,
Suppressinge Synne *and* foly:
But not with friska ioly,[6]
As somme do nowe a dayes,
That haue so many wayes [leaf 47.]

---

[1] *evyll*] Originally "ill."—D.
[2] *Lyke Lucyfer, the devyll*] Originally, "In Judgement of *the devill*."—D.
[3] *And so*] Originally "For."—D.
[4] *That thei fall not vnware*] Originally, "Or elles may *vnware*."—D.
[5] *Into*] Originally "Fall in."—D.
[6] See note on l. 73, p. 183, above.

all man*er* gaynes to Reape,
Ther tresures one a heap[1]
to gather and to kepe,
By pillinge of his shepe,[2]
Not forsyng[3] who do wepe,
And to his flocke repayre
As it were to a ffayre;
To sit in peters chayer
With pride and ambition, [leaf 47, back.]
sowyng great sedition;
And by sup*er*stition
Blinde vs with remission,
By bulles vnder led,
To serve both quicke and ded;
And by that way pretend
To clyme vpp and ascend [leaf 48.]
That lucifer did discend.
I thinke that suche frykars[4]
Be not christ*es* vickars,
But crafty intrycars[5]
and pryvy purse pykars;
for they that be sekars
of stores newe and olde,
May p*er*ceyve and beholde [leaf 48, back.]
howe euery thinge is solde
for Sylver[6] and for golde:
The craft[7] can not be told,

---

[1] Lines 635–6 are substituted for two deleted lines;

"*To gather and to kepe*
Treasure in *a hepe*."—D.

[2] Laye men say indede
How they take no hede.
Theyr sely shepe to fede,
But plucke away and pull
The fleces of theyr wull;
Vnethes they leue a locke
Of wull amonges theyr flocke;
And as for theyr connynge,
A glommynge and a mummynge,
And make therof a iape;
They gaspe and they gape
All to haue promocyon,
There is theyr hole deuocyon,
With money, if it wyll hap,
To catche the forked cap:
Forsothe, they are to lewd,
To say so, all beshrewd!

Skelton's *Colyn Cloute*, l. 75–91, *Works*, i. 314.

[3] Caring: 'no force,' no matter, I don't care.

[4] ? From 'Fryke, or craske, or yn grete helthe, *crassus*.' Promptorium. *Fryke*, 1. fresh, active, lusty; 2. to go or move hastily.—Halliwell.

[5] Intriguers.

[6] *sylver*] Originally "mony."—D.

[7] *The craft, &c.*] Originally, "Yf all *the chraft* were *tolde*."—D.

what is and hath bene done
by antychryst[1] of Rome;
for thens[2] *th*e sourdes springe
of eu*er*y naughty thinge, [leaf 49.]
hide vnder-neth the whynge
Of the Sire of Synne;
At whom I will begynn
Somwhat for to speake,
And playnly to intreate
Of this farly freake,
That sitteth in his seat, [leaf 49, back.]
Devouringe synne as meatte,
Whiche he and his do Eate
as they may catch and geate:[3]
They spare not to devower
Cyty, towne, *and* Tower,
Wherat no man may lower; [leaf 50.]
for be it swete or sower,
Or be it good or yll,
We must be muett still,
the lustes to fulfill
of that cocodryll,[4]
w*hi*ch at his[5] only will
May ech man[6] save or spyll.
This wicked man of warr [leaf 50, back.]
So hault is, that he darr
(as he lyste)[7] make and marr,
his owne lawe to prefarr
Aboue the worde of god!
it passeth god*es* forbod
That ever it should be;
A man to clyme so hy, [leaf 51.]
By Reason of his see,
To clayme Auctoritye
Aboue the deyte!

---

[1] *Antychryst*] Originally "the courte."—D.

[2] *For thens, &c.*] Originally, "*For* ther *sourdes the springe*."—D. *Sourdes*, sources, risings.

[3] *geate*] Followed by a deleted line; "Be it by colde or heate."—D.

[4] *Which at his*] Originally "That *his*."—D.

[5] Compare the Spanish *cocodrillo*, a serpent, a Crocodill.—*Minsheu's Percivale.*

[6] *May ech man, &c.*] Originally, "*May* bothe *saue* and *spill*."—D.

[7] *As he lyste*] Originally "At will to."—D.

it is to hy a bost,
And Synne one of the most
Ageynst the holy gost,
That is not remissable. [leaf 51, back.]
for as for the bible,
he taketh it for a ridle,
Or as a lawles lible,
which, to the hy offence
of his Conscience,
he dare therwith dispence,
And alter the sentence. [leaf 52.]
for wher god do[th] prohibitt,
he doth leve exhibite,
and at his[1] Lust Inhybyte;
And wher god doth Commaunde,
ther he doth Countermaunde;
After his owne purpose
The[2] text to turne and glose,
like a welshe manes hose,[3] [leaf 52, back.]
or lyk a waxen nose.
But wyse[4] men do suppose
That truth shall[5] Iudge and trye,

---

[1] *And at his, &c.*] Originally, "*And* wyll it clere *enhibyte*."—D.

[2] *test* follows, but was struck out at the time of the first writing.

[3] On Skelton's saying to the Bishops (*Colyn Cloute*, l. 774–81, *Works*, i. 341), that if they'd preach good plain sermons (cp. l. 1839, below), their words

. . better shuld remayne	That blaber, barke, and blother,
Amonge the people playne . . .	And make *a Walshmans hose*
Than a thousande thousande other,	Of the texte and of the glose,

Mr. Dyce notes (*ib.* ii. 289) that Nares's explanation of the phrase is wrong, as the phrase *shipman's hose* here (l. 2442) is equivalent to it, and *that* is rightly explained by Jewel and Wilson: '"Hereunto they adde also a Similitude not very agreeable, how the Scriptures be like to a Nose of Waxe, or a *Shipmans Hose:* how thei may be fashioned and plied al manner of waies and serue all mennes turnes."—Jewel's *Defence of the Apologie*, &c., p. 465, ed. 1567. "And not made as *a shippe-mans hose*, to serue for euery legge."—Wilson's *Arte of Rhetorike*, p. 102, ed. 1580. Surely *Welshman's hose* (as well as shipman's) became proverbial from their pliability, power of being stretched, etc.' They are not noticed in the description of the Welshman in *Blew-Cap for me*, Percy Soc. Satirical Songs on Costume, p. 131.

Nares quotes:—

> The laws we did interpret, and statutes of the land,
> Not truly by the text, but newly by a glose:
> And words that were most plaine, when they by us were skan'd,
> We turned by construction to *a Welch-man's hose.*
>
> *Mirror for Magistrates*, p. 278.

[4] *wyse*] Originally "true."—D.

[5] *shall*] Originally "must."—D.

for lyars can but lye.
He is so hault and taunt,[1]
That he dare hyme avaunt
All Erthly men to daunt;
And faynes to give and graunt, [leaf 53.]
In heaven above, or hell,[2]
A Place wherin to dwell,
As all his lyars tell,
Which he doth dayly sell,
After his devise,
if men come to his prise.
it is his marchaundyse;
for, as ye will demaunde, [leaf 53, back.]
he can and may Commaunde
A Thowsande, in A bande,
Of Angells out of heaven,
To come throughe the leven,[3]
And make all thinge even,
his biddinges to obey,
which beares *the* greatist swaye,
Your soules to Convey [leaf 54.]
frome all decaye
Out of the fendes wey;
But, provided alwey,
That ye first mony paye;
at *the* appoynted daye
ye present it, if ye[4] maye;
then,[5] vnder *thi* petycion,
thou gettest true remyssion,[6]
From synnes *the* absolucion,
By this his owne Commyssion,
By bryve or els by bull:
To fill his Coffers full, [leaf 54, back.]
Ye may Aske what ye wull.
Alas, ye be to dull
To se this lorde of losse,
The fo of christes crosse,

---

[1] *Taunt:* lofty, loftily-masted. *Isle of Wight.*—Halliwell.
[2] *above or hell*] Originally "*or* in *hell*."—D.
[3] Lightning, and thence sky.
[4] MS. present if it.
[5] *Then*] Originally "But."—D.
[6] *Thou gettest true remyssion*] Originally,
"To haue *remission*."—D.

This hoore of babilon
And seede of Zabulon,[1]
The Enemy of christ,
The devels holy pryst
And very antechrist,
To revell and to ride,
like the prince of pride,
That of euery syde
Warres the worlde wyde,
Whom no streng[t]he may abide—
The devill be his guyde!
for loke in his decrees,
And ye shall finde out lyes,
As thik as swarme of byes,
That throughe the worlde flyes,
making p*ar*semonyes
Of peters patrimonyes,
But great mercymonyes[2]
Of his seremonyes,
To smodder vs with smoke:
for, when he wilbe wroke,
No man may bere his stroke;
So hevy is his yoke,
To christ*es* full vnlike,
That saide 'his yoke is swete,
his burthen lighte and meete
for all men that be meke,
To suffer and to bere
Without drede or fere:'
But popes after-warde,
That never[3] had Regard
Which ende shoulde go forewarde,
haue drawen vs bakwarde,

[leaf 55.]
[leaf 55, back.]
[leaf 56.]
[leaf 56, back.]
[leaf 57.]

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[1] *Zabulon.* Altered, for the rhyme's sake, from *zabulus* for *diabolus* in mediæval latinity. See Du Cange. *Zabolus*, often *zabulus*, apud medii ævi scriptores pro *Diabolo.* Ex Dorico Ζάβολος: quod à ζαβαλλειν, pro διαβαλλειν—so *Zabolenus* for *Diabolenus*, *Zacones* for *Diacones:* comp. *jouste* pro Διωστρα, Ζωστρα. Vide Salmas. ad Capit. l. cit. *Car. du Fresne. Glossar.* (G. Waring.) But see Skelton's *Colyn Cloute*, l. 639-42:—

"But the communalte yow call
Ydolles of Babylon,
De terra Zabulon,
De terra Neptalym."

[2] *Mercimonium*, goods, wares, merchandise.

[3] *That never, &c.*] Originally "*That* haue *hadd* no *regarde.*"—D.

And made the yoke so harde
By false invented lawes,—
As thoughe lay men were dawes,
And dome as any stone,—
With sivile and Canon [leaf 57, back.]
To serve god and mammon;
Righte and wronge is one.
Serche his decretalles
And bulles papalles,
Et, inter alia,
loke in his palia
And Bacchanallia,[1] [leaf 58.]
With his extravagantes
And wayes vagarantes:
his lawes arrogantes
Be made by truwantes,
That frame his finctions
Into Distinctions
With cloutes[2] of clawses, [leaf 58, back.]
Questyons and Cawses,
With Sext *and* Clementyn,
And lawes legantyne:[3]
his County pallantyne[4]
haue coustome colubryne,[5]
With Codes viperyne
And sectes serpentyne: [leaf 59.]
Blinde be his stores
Of interogatores
and declaratores,
With lapse and relapse,
A wispe and a waspe,
A clispe and a claspe,
And his after[6] clappes.
for his p*ar*agraffes [leaf 59, back.]
Be no Cosmograffes,[7]

---

[1] *palia . . . Bacchanalia*] It would seem from the context that the right reading is "Palilia."—D. *Palilia* (Lat.) certain Feasts and publick Rejoicings, celebrated among the ancient Romans, April 20, in honour of *Pales* the Goddess of Flocks; during which they danc'd and leap'd over Fires made with Bean-straw, Bunches of Olive, Pine and Laurel.—*Kersey's Phillips*.

[2] Patches.—Skeat. [3] Legatine.—Skeat. [4] Palatine.—Skeat.

[5] Serpentine.—Skeat. [6] *after*] Originally "*after*warde."—D.

[7] *Cosmographe;* m. A Cosmographer, or describer of the whole world.—Cotgrave.

But vnhappy graffes
That wander in the warrayne,
fruteles and barayne,
To fede that foule Carrayne
And dignite papall;
with Iudges that scrape all, [leaf 60.]
And doctours that take all,
by lawes absynthyall[1]
And labirynthyall.
his Tabellions[2]
Be rebellions;
his laweres *and* scribes
Live only by bribes; [leaf 60, back.]
His holy advocates
And Iudges diligates
Haue robbed all estates,
By many inventions
Of sundry suspentions,
Subtile subventions,
Crafty conventions, [leaf 61.]
Prevy preventions,
And evell exemptions;
So hath his indictions[3]
And his interdictions,[4]
With croked Commyssions,

---

[1] Like wormwood.

[2] *Tabellion*, (in ancient Deeds) a Notary Public, or Scrivener, allow'd by authority to engross and register private Contracts and Obligations.—*Kersey's Phillips*. *Tabellion*, qui contractuum et testamentorum instrumenta conscribit. *Tabellion* notaire.—*D'Arnis*.

[3] *Indictio*, accusatio, delatio; *accusation*. (*Inst. Angl.*)—D'Arnis.

[4] Compare the following verses from the Cambridge University Libr. MS., Mm. 3, 12, p. 383, Art. 150:—

Skeltonicall observations, of Bishops visitations.
Pretending Reformations. Intending Procurations.
ffirst sending Interdictions of meaner Jurisdictions,
Then sending Inhibitions, and granting Inquisitions
By seu*er*all Comissions.
Of Churches Dilapidations, for want of Rep*ar*ations;
Threatning of Sequestrations, degradations, deprivations;
Or of later invention, menacing suspention,
Awarding of citations for leud mens fornications
And such abhominations.
After exco*m*munications, granting absolutions, for sinfull pollutions
Granting dispensations, and penance co*m*mutations.
After some vacation, yeelding Relaxation
Of former Interdictions, to eu*er*y Jurisdiction.

Colde[1] Compromyssions,[2] 948
Cursed Conditions, [leaf 61, back.]
hevy traditions,
Elvishe Inibitions,
And redy remissions. 952
Then hathe he inductions
And colde Conductions ;[3]
his expectatyves
Many a man vnthrives. [leaf 62.]
By his Constitutions 957
And his sub[s]titutions
He maketh institutions,
And taketh restitutions, 960
Sellinge absolutions,
And other like pollutions :
His holy Actions [leaf 62, back.]
Be Satisfactions 964
Of false Compactions :
He Robbeth all nations
With his fulminations,[4]
And other like vexations ; 968
As with abiurations,[5]
Excomunycations, [leaf 63.]
Aggravations,[6]
Presentations, 972
Sequestrations,
Deprivations,

So Reformation *pre*tended,
But monie intended ;
Nothing is amended,
But God is offended ;
And so ye play is ended.

[1] *Colde*] Originally "Olde."—D.

[2] *Compromissio*, Pactum, conventio, fœdus initum et promissum; *accord, pacte dont les conditions sont arrêtées et convenues.*—D'Arnis.

[3] *Conductio :* quod domino solvitur pro securitate rerum exportandum: idem quod *Guiaticum.*—D'Arnis.

[4] To *Fulminate*, (Lat.) to thunder out; as *to fulminate an Excommunication.—Kersey's Phillips.*

[5] *Abjuratio*, quoddam juramentum apud Anglos. Quid sit docet Willelmus Stamfordius: *Abjuration est un serement que homme ou femme preignont, quant ils ont commise* felony, *et fué à l'Eglise ou cimetoire, pour tuition de lour vies, eslisant plustot perpetuel banissement hors del realme, que à estoiser à le ley, et d'estre trié del félonie.*—D'Arnis.

[6] *Aggravatio*, repetita et iterata excommunicatio; *excommunication réitérée et lancée avec de plus graves imprécations, lorsqu'une première sentence n'avait pas produit d'effet.*—D'Arnis.

Advocations,[1]
resignations, 976
Dilapidations, [leaf 63, back.]
Sustentations,[2]
Adminystrations,
Approbations, 980
Assignations,[3]
Alterations,
Narrations,
Declarations, [leaf 64.]
Locations,[4] 985
Collocations,
Revocations,
Dispensations, 988
Intimations,[5]
legittimations,
Insinuations,[6] [leaf 64, back.]
Pronunttiations,[7] 992
Demonstrations,[8]
Vacations,
Convocations,
Deputations, 996
Donations,
Condonations, [leaf 65.]
Commynations,

---

[1] *Advocatio*, jus præsentandi ordinario aliquem ad beneficium vacans: *droit de présenter le successeur d'un bénéficiaire décédé.*—D'Arnis. *Advocatione Decimarum*, (Lat.) a Writ that lies for the Claim of the fourth Part or upwards of the Tithes that belong to any Church.—*Kersey's Phillips.*

[2] *Sustentations*] MS. "Sustentions," and originally "Substentions."—D. *Sustentatio*, Alimentarium; *entretien* (Greg. III PP.)—Subsidium, auxilium; *secours, soutien.*—D'Arnis. Reliefe, helpe, aid.—Cotgrave.

[3] *Assignationes* apud Fratres prædicatores vocantur fratrum mutationes de conventu in conventum, et superiorum licentiæ propter easdem scripto concessæ.—D'Arnis.

[4] *Location*, a setting, or letting out to hire.—*Kersey's Phillips.*

[5] *Intimatio*, denuntiatio judiciaria. *Intimation.*—D'Arnis. "*Intimation* . . an Adiournement, Citation, or Summons of a partie in an Appeale, and in cases wherein the Judge proceeds of course to right the plaintife, though the defendant appeare not."—Cotgrave.

[6] *Insinuatio*, in acta publica relatio; *enregistrement;* ol. *insinuation.*—D'Arnis. "*Insinuation*, a registring, or entring into a Register booke."—Cotgrave.

[7] *Pronuntiatio*, sententia, judicium; *jugement, sentence.*—D'Arnis.

[8] *Demonstratio*, species exactionis. f. eadem q. *Besenagium*, (præstationis species, ea, ut videtur, quæ ex apum alveariis, *besanæ* dictis, percipitur; ol. *besenage.*)—D'Arnis.

excusations,[1] 1000
Declamations,[2]
visitations,
Acceptations,
Arrendations,[3] 1004
Publications, [leaf 65, back.]
Renunttiations,
fatigations,[4]
false fundations, 1008
And dissimulations,
With like Abbominations
Of A thowsand fasshions.
His holy vnions [leaf 66.]
Be no Communyons; 1013
His trialitees
and pluralytyes
Be full of Qualitees; 1016
His tottes and quottes[5]
Be full of blottes.
With quibes and quaryes[6]
Of inventataries, [leaf 66, back.]
Of Testamentaries, 1021
And of mortuaries,[7]
By sutes of appeales,
And by his[8] ofte repeales, 1024
He oure mony steales.
I speake not of his sessions,
nor of his confessions [leaf 67.]

---

[1] *Excusations*] Substituted for a word now illegible.—D. (For 'execusations.'—E. Brock.)

[2] *Declamatio*, vocatio in jus, calumnia; *demande en justice, action judiciaire.* (Bald.) *Declamatio monetæ*, ejus prohibitio; *démonétisation d'une monnaie.*—D'Arnis.

[3] *Arrendations*] "Arrentation, from the Spanish *arrendar, ad certum redditum dimittere.* The licensing the owner of lands in the forest, to inclose them with a low hedge and small ditch, according to the assise of the forest, under a yearly rent: *saving the arrentations*, is saving a power to give such licenses. *Ordin. Forestæ*, 34 Ed. I. st. 5."—Jacob's "Law-Dictionary," edit. 1797. *Arrendatio*, datio ad arrendam seu censum annuum; *action de donner un bien à rente.*—D'Arnis.

[4] *Fatigatio*, vexatio, molestia, præsertim quæ ex litium anfractibus oritur; *tracasserie, embarras* . . Exactio (*Form. vet.*)—D'Arnis.

[5] See note to l. 531, p. 198, above. [6] Quips and queries ?—Skeat.

[7] *Mortuary* (Lat.) a Gift left by a Man at his Death, to the Parson of the Parish, to make amends for Tithes not duely paid in his Lifetime.—Kersey's Phillips.

[8] *his*] Originally "oure."—D.

Olde and avricular,
Colde and caniculer;[1]
Howe the Cubiculer,[2]
In the Capitular,
With his pylde[3] spitler,
playde the knavyculer
Vnderneth a[4] wall: [leaf 67, back.]
I may not tell youe all,
In termes speciall,
Of p*ar*don nor of pall,
Nor of confessionall;
for I feare,[5] yf he call
the sentence generall,
I mighte so take a fall,
And haue his bitter curse,[6] [leaf 68.]
And yett be not the wurse,
Save only in my purse,[7]
Because I shoulde be fayne
To By my state agayne
ex leno vell ex lena,
aut pellice obscena,
Res certe inamena:[8]
Papisticorum scena, [leaf 68, back.]
Malorum semper plena;
for all the worlde rounde
he falsely doth confounde,
By lawes made and founde
by thyr devyse vnsownde,
With no[9] steadfast grounde,

---

[1] Doggish, Doglike. *Les jours eaniculaires*, the dog-dayes.—Cotgrave.
[2] *Cubicular*, fitted for the posture of lying down.—Ash.
[3] *pylde*] Originally "*pylde* and."—D. [4] *a*] Originally "the."—D.
[5] *yf*] Originally "leste."—D.
curse] "course" first written, and then cut out by the original writer.—D.
[7] Compare Chaucer on the Sompnour, in the Prologue of the *Canterbury Tales*:—

And if he foond owher / a good felawe
He wolde techen hym / to haue noon awe
In swich caas / of the Ercedeknes curs
But if a mannes soule / were in his purs
ffor in his purs / he sholde ynpunysshed be
Purs is the Ercedeknes helle / seyde he

l. 655–660, Hengwrt MS.

[8] *inamœna*] MS. "*in amena*," the latter word being substituted for one now illegible.—D. [9] *no*] Originally "out."—D.

But with fayned visions
And develyshe devisions, [leaf 69.]
With basterde religions :
Thus this cursed elfe,
To avaunce his pelfe,
falsely fayne[s] hymeself
To be *semideus* .
No, youe asmeodeus !
Ye are amoreus, [leaf 69, back.]
The Sonne of chanaan !
O thou monstrous man,
And childe of cursed chan ![1]
Arte thou halfe god, halfe man ?
Gup,[2] leviathan,
And Sonne of Sattan,
The worme letaphagus, [leaf 70.]
And Sire to Symonde magus !
O porter Cerberus,
Thou arte so monstrous,
Soo made *and* myschevous,
Proude and surquedrous,[3]
And as lecherous
As heliogabalus [leaf 70, back.]
Or Sardanapalus !
Hatefull vnto god,
And father of all falsehoode,
The poyson of prestoode,
And deth of good knighthoode,
The Robber of riche men,
And murderer of meke men, [leaf 71.]
The turment of true men
That named be newe men,
The prince of periury,
And christes Enemy !
vnhappy as achab,
and naughty as nadab,
As crafty as Caball, [leaf 71, back.]
And dronken as naball,

---

[1] Cain.—Skeat.

[2] Go along with you! Gee up, 'go up! an exclamation addressed to a horse. *Various Dialects.*—Halliwell.

[3] Presumptuous, arrogant. From *sur* (*supra*,) and *cuidier* (*cogitare*) to think, presume.—Burguy.

The hope of Ismaell,
And false Achitofell,
The blissinge of bell,
And advocate of hell;
Thou hunter nembroth,[1] [leaf 72.]
And Iudas Iscarioth,[2]
Thou bloody belyall,
And Sacrifise of B[a]all,
Thou elvishe ipocrite,
And naughty neophite,
Thou pevishe proselite,
And Synefull Sodymite,[3]
Thou gredy Gomorrite,
And galefull[4] Gabaonite,
Tho[u] hermofrodite,
Thou arte a wicked sprite,
A naughty seismatike,[5]
And an heritike,
A Beestely Bogorian,[6] [leaf 73.]
And devill meridian,
The patrone of proctors,
And dethe of trewe doctours,
The founder of faytors,
And trust of all traytours,
The shender of sawes,
And breaker of lawes, [leaf 73, back.]
The Syre of serdoners,
And prince of pardoners,
The kinge of questors,
And rule of regestors,
The Eater of frogges,
And maker of goddes,
The brother of brothells, [leaf 74.]
And lorde of all losells,
The sturrur of stoores,
And kep*er* of hoores
With gloriouse gawdes,
Amonge trusty bawdes,

---

[1] Nimrod.—Skeat.
[2] *Iscarioth*] Originally "Scarioth."—D.
[3] See the extracts, p. 82–6, above.
[4] *galefull*] Originally "gale."—D. A.S. *gal*, Ger. *geil*, wanton, lascivious.—E. Brock.
[5] Schismatic.
[6] *bogorian*] "bogorane" first written, and cut out by the original writer.—D.

The father of foles,
And ignoraunce of scoles, [leaf 74, back.]
The helper of harlett*es*,
And Captayne of verlett*es*,
The Cloke of all vnthriftes,
And Captayne of all Caytifes,
The leader of truwantes,
And chefe of all Tyrauntes,
As hinde[1] as an hogge, [leaf 75.]
And kinde as any dogge,
The shipwrake of noye:
christ saue the and Saincte loy![2]
Arte thou the hiest pryst,
And vicar vnto christ?
No, no, I say, thou lyest!
Thou arte a cursed crekar, [leaf 75, back.]
A crafty vpp-crepar!
Thou arte the devils vicar!
A p*ri*vye[3] purse pikar,
By lawes and by rites,
for sowles and for sprites:
O lorde of Ipocrites,
Nowe shut vpp y*o*u*r* wickettes, [leaf 76.]
And clape to y*o*u*r* clickettes![4]
A! farewell, kinge of crekettes![5]
for nowe the tyme falles
To speake of Cardinalles,[6]
that[7] kepe ther holy halles
With Towres and walles.
Be they not Carnalles, [leaf 77.]

---

[1] *hende*, gentle.—Skeat.

[2] Compare Chaucer's Prioress:

'Hir*e* gretteste ooth / was but by seint Loy,' l. 120.—*Ellesmere MS.*

[3] *A privye*] Originally "And *a*."—D.

[4] . . and the dore closed,
Keyed and *cliketted*, To kepe thee withouten.
Vision of Piers Plowman, ed. Wright, i. p. 14, l. 3735–8.—Skeat.

[5] *Grillon de cheminée*, a Cricket. *Il a beaucoup de grillons en la teste*—his head is much troubled; full of crochets, or of Proclamations. *Les grillons gastent la feste*, Loud bablers are euer offensiue at feasts.—*Cotgrave.*

[6] See Luther's character of them: 'peevish milk-sops, effeminate and unlearned blockheads, who lie lolling in king's courts, among the ladies and women.' —*Table Talk*, p. 219. 'Pope, cardinals, bishops, not a soul of them has read the Bible; 'tis a book unknown to them. They are a pack of guzzling stuffing wretches, rich, wallowing in wealth and laziness, resting secure in their power, and never for a moment thinking of accomplishing God's will.'—*Ib.* p. 196–7.

[7] *That*] Originally "And."—D.

and lordes infernalles?
Yea, gredy Carmalles,
as any Carmarante;
With ther Coppentante
They loke adutante.
for soth, men say they be
full of iniquite,
lyvinge in habundance
of all worldly substance, [leaf 77, back.]
wherin they lodge *and* ly,
And wallowe beasteally,
As hogges[1] do in a Stye,
Servinge ther god, ther belly,[2]
with chuettes[3] and with gelly,
with venyson and with tartes,
with confyct*es* and with fart*es*,[4]
To ease ther holy hartes.
They take ther stations,
And make dyambulations[5] [leaf 78.]
Into all nations,
for ther visitations,
Callinge convocations,
Sellinge dispensations,
Givinge condonasions,
Makinge p*er*mutations,
And of excomunycations
Sell they relaxacions;
for they, in ther progresse, [leaf 78, back.]
with katern, mawde, and besse,[6]
will vse full great excesse,

---

[1] *As hogges, &c.*] Originally, "*As* any pigge *in stye.*"—D.

[2] The lay men call them barrelles
Full of glotony
And of hypocrysy,
That counterfaytes and payntes
As they were very sayntes.
Skelton (of Bishops) in *Colyn Cloute*, l. 919–23, *Works*, i. 346–7.

[3] Pieces of chopped-up livers of pigs, hens, etc., or of fish, flavoured, and then fried or baked. See *Babees Book*, p. 287.

[4] *With confytes, &c.*] Originally "*And* portingale *fartes.*"—D.

[5] See l. 163, p. 186.

[6] I speke not of the good wyfe,
But of theyr apostles lyfe
Cum ipsis vel illis
Qui manent in villis,
Est uxor vel ancilla,
Welcome Jacke and Gylla!
My prety Petronylla,
And you wyll be stylla,
You shall haue your wylla.
Of suche Paternoster pekes,
All the worlde spekes.
Skelton's *Colyn Cloute*, l. 255–56, *Works*, i. 321.

withowt any redresse;
and all men they oppresse
In Syty, Towne, and village;
ffrom olde and yong of age
they robbe[1] and make pyllage,
thyr lusts for to aswage,
w*hi*ch they extorte by mighte
As in the churches righte;
They may not lese a fether:
But god, that lyveth ever,
Graunt that they never [leaf 79.]
haue power to Come hether!
for wher they ones arive,
so cleane they do vs shryve,
*th*ath I swere by my life,
The Contry ther shall thrive
Yeres tenn and ffive
After them[2] the worse:
Men give them god*es* curse
To shute within ther purse;
Both lernyd and lewde
wolde they were beshrewed; [leaf 79, back.]
They never mighte come nere
for to visitt here,
Altho they haue sotch chere
As they cann well desyre,
And as they will requier;
for why, it doth appere,
the hartes ar sett on fyer
of[3] chanon, mvnke, *and* fryer,
that daylye dothe aspyre,[4]
By bulles vnder ledd,
how they should be fledd.
It is therfore great skill [leaf 80.]
that every Iacke and gyll
p*er*forme[5] the popes will,
hys[6] purse and panch to ffill;

---

[1] *They robbe, &c.*] Originally "Wher *they* take *pillage*."—D.
[2] *them*] Originally "that."—D. [3] *Of*] Originally "By."—D.
[4] *aspyre*] Followed by a deleted line (inserted above with a slight variation); "Thyr hartes ar so on fyer."—D.
[5] *Performe*] Originally "We do," the preceding line being an addition.—D.
[6] *Hys*] Originally "Ther."—D.

for, as I Erst haue tolde,
there lyves not suche a scolde
that dare ons be[1] so bold,
from shorne ne yet from polde,
Nor[2] monye, meate, nor golde,
from soch men[3] to withholde,
Ther favour boughte and solde,
That take a thowsand ffolde
More then that Iudas did. [leaf 80, back.]
The trouth can not be hid,
for it is playnly kid:
Iudas for his dispense
Sold christ for thirty pense,
And did a foule offence,
his lorde god so to tray;
And they in likewise say,
After Iudas way,
What will ye give *and* pay
(As the matter falles,)
for p*ar*donnes and for palles,
And for confessionalles?
We may have absolucions
without Restytutyons,
And at oure owne election
passe without correction,
Besydes christes passion
To make satisfaction.
We feare for non offence, [leaf 81, back.]
So they haue recompence:
By great Audacitees
They graunt Capacitees;
For heaven and for hell
They mony take and tell:
So thus they by and sell,
And take therof no shame,
But laughe and haue good game,

---

[1] *That dare ons be*] Originally "No man *dare be*," the preceding line being an addition.—D.

[2] *Nor*] Originally "For."—D.

[3] *soch men*] Originally "them." This line is followed by three deleted lines (inserted above,—the first two slightly altered);

"Mony meat or golde
But be they shorne or polde
Ther lyves not suche a scolde."—D.

To all oure soul[e]s bane. [leaf 82.]
God helpe we be to blame
Sutch lordes to defame!
Yett, by the Common fame,
Some bisshops vse the same,
In christes holy name
Soules to sell and bye:
my mynde is not to lye,
But to write playnlye
Ageynst ipocresye [leaf 82, back.]
In bisshopp or in other,
Yea, thoughe it were my brother,
my father or my mother,
my Syster or my Sonne;
for, as I haue begonne,
I will, as I haue donne,
Disclose the great outrage
That is in this Image;
for[1] he that feles the pricke, [leaf 83.]
and theron groweth sycke,
May with the gald horse kike;[2]
for, as I erst haue said,
oure bisshops at a brayd[3]
ar growne so sore afrayde,
And In[4] the world so wide
do vse sutch pompe *and* pride,[5]

---

[1] *For*] Originally "And."—D.
[2] "Let the galled jade wince." *Shakspere*.—Skeat.
[3] Suddenly.
[4] *And in, &c.*] Originally,
"*In* all the all *the world wide*
Vse sutch pompe," &c.—D.
[5] Compare Skelton's striking passage in *Colyn Cloute*, l. 591-636, (Works, ed. Dyce, i. 333-5) on the low-born prelates set up in spiritual dignity:

Farwell benygnyte,
Farwell symplicite,
Farwell humylyte,
Farwell good charyte!
Ye are so puffed wyth pryde,
That no man may abyde
Your hygh and lordely lokes.
Ye cast vp then your bokes,
And vertue is forgotten;
For then ye wyll be wroken
Of euery lyght quarell,
And call a lorde a iauell;
A knyght a knaue ye make;
Ye bost, ye face, ye crake,
And vpon you ye take
To rule bothe kynge and kayser.
And yf ye may haue layser,
Ye wyll brynge all to nought,
And that is all your thought.
For the lordes temporall,
Theyr rule is very small,
Almost nothyng at all.
Men saye howe ye appall
The noble blode royall:
In ernest and in game,
Ye are the lesse to blame,
For lordes of noble blode,
If they well vnderstode
How connyng myght them auaunce,
They wold pype you another daunce.

and rule on̄ eu*er*y syde,
That none may them abide:
Of no[1] prince, lord, nor duke,
They take will a rebuke; [leaf 83, back.]
All lay men they Sur*m*ount,
Makinge non accompte,
Nor cast no Reckonynge
Scarcely of a kinge:
This is a wonder[2] thinge;
They stande so suer *and* fast,
And be nothinge agast;[3]
for that blody Iudge
And mighty Sanguisuge,[4] [leaf 84.]
The pope that is so huge,
Is ever ther refuge;
So be the Cardinalles
Ther suer defence *and* walles,
With whom they stifly stande
By water and by lande,
To gett the over hande
of all the world rounde,
Wher profitt may be founde: [leaf 84, back.]
They be so many legions,
That they oppresse regions
with boke, bell, and candell,
Any kinge to handell,
As they haue many one:
for triall here vpon̄
I take of good kinge Iohn,
Whom by the bitinge

But noble men borne,
To lerne they haue scorne,
But hunt and blowe an horne,
Lepe ouer lakes and dykes,
Set nothyng by polytykes.
Therfore ye kepe them bace,
And mocke them to theyr face:
This is a pyteous case,
To you that ouer the whele
Grete lordes must crouche and knele,
And breyke theyr hose at the kne,
As dayly men may se,
And to remembraunce call,
Fortune so turneth the ball,
And ruleth so ouer all,
That honoure hath a great fall.

With lines 621–5, compare Pace's letter to Colet, in his *De Fructu*, printed in the *Babees Book*, *&c.*, p. xiii. See also the quotation from *Piers Plowmans Crede*, p. xlv of *Babees Book*, on the low-born bishops.

[1] *Of no*, *&c.*] Originally "*Of no prince nor* of *duke*."—D.

[2] *wonder*] Originally "wonderfull."—D.

[3] *agast*] Followed by a deleted line;
"But fede whilst they do brast."—D.

[4] Bloodsucker, leech, Lat. *sanguisuga*.

Of ther subtill smytinge, [leaf 85.]
ffirst by acytinge,
And after interditinge,
By fulmynations
Of excommunications;
for by ther holy poores
They stored vpp stoores,[1]
and kepte suche stvrre with hores,
And shut vpp all churche doores
for ther princely pleasure,
(they lyve so owt of measure,) [leaf 85, back.]
Till they might haue leasure,
Ther lieg lorde and kinge
So base and lowe to bringe—
which was a pyttevs thyng—
That he with wepinge yees,
Bowinge backe and thies,
And knelinge on his knees,
must render vpp his fees,
With kingly dignytees,
Septer, crowne, and landes,
Into ther holy handes. [leaf 86.]
Alas! howe mighte it be
That oure nobilitee
Could then no better se?
for theyrs was the fault
oure Prelates were so haulte;
Their strength then was to seke;
Ther liege lorde to kepe,
They durst not fight ne strike;
They feared of a gleke, [leaf 86, back.]
That, no day in the weke,
for any good or Cattell,
Durst they go to battell,
Nor entre churche ne chappell
In syxe or seven yere,
Before christ to appere,
And devine seruice here
In Any hallowed place,
for lacke of ther good grace; [leaf 87.]
Ther was no tyme nor space

---

vpp stoores] Originally "*vpp* ther *stoores*."

To do to god *ser*uice,
But as they wolde devise;
Their lawes be so sinystre,
That no man durst minystre
The holy Sacrementes
Till they hadd ther intentes
Of land*es* and of rentes,
By lawes and by lyes; [leaf 87, back.]
To inriche ther sees,
The blind men Eat vpp flees;
for by ther constitutions
They toke restitutions
Of cyties *and* of castells,
Of Townes *and* bastells,[1]
And make ther prince pike wastells,[2]
Till they rang out the belles,
And did as they wold Elles, [leaf 88.]
like traytours *and* rebelles,
As the story telles.
But Iesu christ hyme self,
nor his appostells twelffe,
vnto that cvrsyd elfe
did never teach hym[3] so
In any wise to do;
for lucre or advayle,[4]
ageynst thyr kyng to rayle,
and[5] lieg lorde to assayle,
Within his owne lande [leaf 88, back.]
To put hym vnder bande,
And take brede of his hande:
The lorde saue sutch a flock,
That so could mowe and mock
To make ther kinge a block,
And eke ther laughinge stocke!
They blered hym *with* a lurche,
And said that he must wurche
By counsell of the churche;
Wherby they ment nothinge [leaf 89.]
But to wrest *and* wringe,

[1] *Bastilde:* f. The fortresse or fortification tearmed a bastilion or bastile.—*Cotgrave.*
[2] *Wastel*, fine bread, cake.
[3] *hym*] Originally "them."—D.
[4] *or advayle*] Originally "*or* for avyle."—D.
[5] *And*] Originally "Their."—D.

Only for to bringe
Ther liege lorde *and* kinge
To be ther vnderlinge.
Alas! who eu*er* sawe
A kinge vnder awe,
Ageynst all gods lawe,
All righte *and* consience,
for doinge non offence [leaf 89, back.]
To make sutch recompence?
They gave ther lorde a laske,[1]
To purge w*i*thall his caske,
And putt hym to no taske,
But as they wold hyme aske:
This was a midday maske,
A kinge so to enforce
W*i*th pacyence p*er*force.
Take hede therfore, *and* watche, [leaf 90.]
All ye that knowe this tatche,
Ye make not sutch a matche.
loke forth! beware the katche!
Ye fall not in the snatche
of that vngratiovs pacthe,[2]
before the rope hym racthe,
or tyburne dothe hym strache.[3]
but who so[4] preache or prate,
I warne youe, rathe *and* late
To loke vpp *and* awake,
That ye do never make
Y*our* maister nor y*our* mate [leaf 90, back.]
to sytt w*i*thowt y*our* gate.
Take hede, for christ*es* sake,
And knowe y*our* owne estate,
Or ye be tardy take;
yea, lest it be to late
To trust on hadd-I-wist
I-masked in a myst,—
As good to ly bypist:
for these hie p*r*imates,
Bysshops *and* prelates, [leaf 91.]

[1] A laxative.—E. Brock.
[2] Pacche, patch. The double *c* is often written like *ct*.—Skeat.
[3] Cf. the Scotch *rax in a raipe*, stretch in a rope.—Skeat.
[4] *But who so*] Originally "*But who* euer."—D.

And pope-holy legates,[1] 1441
with ther pilde pates,[2]
Dare conquer[3] all estates:
They do but as they will; 1444
for, be it good or ill,
We must be muett still:
Why lay men can not se,
It is the more pite! 1448

Thus endeth the Seconde P*ar*te of this p*re*sent [leaf 91, back.]
treatyse called the Image of Ipocresy.

[PART III.—AGAINST THE PREACHERS AND THEIR DEFENDERS (SIR THOMAS MORE, THE MAID OF KENT, ETC.)]

Of p*re*chers nowe adayes [leaf 92.]
be many fariseyes,
That leue the lord*es* layes,
And p*re*che ther owne wayes; 1452
Wherof nowe of late
Hathe risen great debate;
for some champe *and* chaffe

---

[1] Mr. Dyce's note in his *Skelton*, ii. 230-1, says that this word occurs several times in Skelton, and also in *Pierce Plowman*. "In Chaucer's Romaunt of the Rose is the following description [now cited from Mr. R. Morris's edition vi. 13, l. 413-23]:—

Another thing was don there write,
That semede lyk an ipocrite,
And it was clepid *Poope-holy*.
That ilk is she, that pryvely
Ne spareth never a wikked dede
Whan men of hir taken noon hede,
And maketh hir outward precious,
With pale visage and pitous,
And semeth a semely creature;
But ther nys no mysaventure
That she ne thenkith in hir corage."

"The original French of the preceding [Poope-holy] is . . *Papelardie* . . *Le Rom. de la Rose*, vol. i. 15, ed. 1735. Roquefort (*Gloss. de la Langue Romaine*) . . '*Papelardie*, papelardise: Hypocrisie, tromperie, subtilité, mauvaise foi.' See too Du Cange's *Gloss.* in vv. *Papelardia*, *Papelardus*. Compare also Lydgate;

And for *popholy* and uyce loke wel aboute.
The prohemy of a marriage, &c. MS. Harl. 372, fol. 51.

and Barclay, *The Ship of Fooles*, fol. 57, ed. 1570—

Ouer sad or proude, disceitfull and *pope holy*.

and the *Interlude of the iiii Elementes*, n. d.;

For rather than I wolde vse suche foly,
To pray to study or be *pope holy*,
I had as lyf be ded. Sig. B. ii." (*Dyce.*)

[2] '*Pild*, bald, (*P. Pl. Crede*) 839. See *Pyllyd* in Prompt. Parv.; and cf. "*Peel'd* priest" in Shakesp. I Henry VI, Act I, sc. 3, l. 30.'—Skeat.

[3] *conquer*] Originally "subdue."—D.

As hogg*es* do in draffe,[1]
And some cry out a-pase
As houndes at a chase, [leaf 92, back.]
Whiche for lacke of grace
The playne truthe wold defase,
So busely they barke.
An other in the darke,
That is a busarde starke,
And cane not se the marke,
Wondereth at this warke,
And therfore taketh carke
By-cause he is no clarke. [leaf 93.]
Some be soft and still
As clappes in a mill;
And some cry and yell
As sprites do in hell;
Some be here *and* ther,
And some I wote not wher;
Some holde vpp yea *and* nay,
And some forsake ther lay;
Some be still and stey, [leaf 93, back.]
And hope to haue a daye;
Some wote not what to say,
But dout whether they may
Abide or rune away;
Ther witt*es* be so weake,
They say they dare not speake,
They be afrayd of heate.
Some be sycke and sadd,
for sorrowe almost madd; [leaf 94.]
I tell youe veryly,
Ther wittes be awry,
They peyne them selves greatly
To haue the trouth go by;
Some on bokes dayly prye,
And yett p*er*ceyve not reason whie;
Tho some affirme, some do deny,
With nowe a trouth and then a ly,

---

1 . . *Noli mittere*, man, Margery perles
Among hogges that han Hawes at wille;
Thei doon but dryvele thereon. *Draf* were hem levere
Than al the precious perree [stones] That in Paradis wexeth.
Vision of Piers Plowman, i. 173, l. 5612–19, ed. Wright.—Skeat.

To say one thinge openly, [leaf 94, back.]
And an other prively:
"Here be but youe and I;
Say to me *your* mynd playnlye,
Is it not open heresy?"
Thus say they secretly,
Whisperinge *with* sorrowe
That they deny to morowe.
Ther tales be so dobble,
That many be in trobble, [leaf 95.]
And doubt *which* way to take,
Them selves sure to make.
A, lorde! it makes me shake,
for pyty that I quake!
They be so colde *and* horse,
That they haue no forse,[1]
So they be *pre*farred,
Tho all the rest were marred.
Thus the people smatter, [leaf 95, back.]
That dayly talke *and* clatter,
oure preachers do but flatter,
To make them selves the fatter,
And care not thoughe the matter
Were clerely layde a watter.
Douse men chatt *and* chide it,
for they may not abid it;
The thomist*es* wold hide it,
for littera occidit.[3] [leaf 96.]
Thus these sysmatickes,
And lowsy lunatickes,
With spurres and prickes
Call true men heretickes.
They finger ther fidles,

---

[1] Care.

[2] But now þe harlott*es* · han hid thilke rewle,
And, for þe loue of oure lorde · have leyde hire in water.
Crede, p. 29, l. 781–2.—Skeat.

Compare Chaucer's *letter sleth* in the Friar's mouth:—

I have to-day ben at your chirche at masse,
And sayd a sermoun after my simple wit,
Nought al after the text of holy wryt,
For it is hard for yow, as I suppose,
And therfor wil I teche yow ay the glose.
Glosyng is a ful glorious thing certayn,
For *letter sleth*, so as we clerkes sayn.
Sompnoures Tale, l. 7370–6, ed. Wright, p. 82, col. 2.

And cry in quinibles,
"Away these bibles,
for they be but ridles!
And give hem robyn whode, [leaf 96, back.]
To red howe he stode
In mery grene wode,[1]
when he gathered good
Before noyes ffloode!"
for the Testamentes
To them, they sey, sente is,
To gather vpp ther rentes,
After ther intentes:
Wherby it by them ment is, [leaf 97.]
That lay men be but lowtes;
They may not knowe the Clowtes,
Nor dispute of the doubtes
That is in Christes lawe.
for why, they never sawe
The bagg nor the bottell
Of oure Arrestotle,
nor knowe not the toyes
Of Doctore averroyes; [leaf 97, back.]
It is no play for boyes,
Neyther for lay men;
But only for schole men,
for they be witty men,
As wise as any wrenne,
And holy as an henne.
for doctoure bullatus,[2]
though[3] parum literatus,

---

[1] *grene wode*] Is obviously the right reading. MS. has merely "grenes." —D.

[2] *Doctour bullatus* &c. Under these ridiculous names the writer evidently alludes to certain persons, some of whom at least would be the clerics who gathered round Queen Catherine; and Malepardus (l. 1585) may designate her house at Ampthill. Perhaps Dr. Tom-to-bold stands for Father Peto, who preached the audacious sermon before the King, May 1st, 1532.—G. Waring. For *doctor Bullatus*, compare Skelton's *Colyn Cloute*, l. 797, etc.

But doctour Bullatus,
Parum litteratus,
Dominus doctoratus
At the brode gatus,
Doctour Daupatus
And bacheler *bachelaratus*,
Dronken as a mouse,
At the ale house
Taketh his pyllyon and his cap
At the good ale tap,
For lacke of good wyne;
As wyse as Robyn swyne,
Vnder a notaryes sygne,
Was made a dyuyne; &c.

[3] *Though, &c.*] This line is added by a comparatively modern hand.—D.

Will brable *and* prate thus;
howe Doctoure pomaunder, [leaf 98.]
As wise as a gander,
wotes not wher to wander,
whether to meander,
or vnto menander;[1]
For of Alexander,
Irrefragable hales,[2]
he cane tell many tales,
of many parke pales,
Of Butgettes and of males, [leaf 98, back.]
Of Candy and of Cales,
And of west wales.
But doctoure dorbellous
Doth openly tell vs
howe they by and sell vs:
And doctoure Sym Sotus
Cann goostely grope vs;
for he hathe rad Scotus,
And so the dawe dotus [leaf 99.]
Of doctour Subtyles;
Yea, three hundreth myles,
With sutch Crafty wyles
he many men begiles,
That never knewe an vnce
At full of *master* Dunce.
Then doctoure Bonbardus
Can skill of lombardus;
he wonnes at malepardus,[3] [leaf 99, back.]
With father festino,
And Doctoure attamino,
Dudum de Camino,
With ther consobrino,
Capite equino
Et Corde asinino;
hij laten*t* in limo

---

[1] *Menander*] See note p. 130 [in Dyce's *Skelton*, vol. ii.].—D.

[2] In school divinity as able / Another Thomas, or at once
As he that hight irrefragable / To name them all, another Dunce.
Hudibras. (G. Waring.)

[3] *Malepardus*] The abode of Reynard according to the famous old romance: "reynart had many a dwellyng place, but the castel of *maleperduys* was the beste and the fastest burgh that he had, ther laye he inne whan he had nede and was in ony drede or fere." Sig. a 8. ed. 1481.—D.

Et in profundo fimo,
Cubantes in Culino [leaf 100.]
Cum Thoma de aquino,
Tractantes in ima
De pelle Canina
Et lana Caprina.
Then doctoure chekmate
hath his pardoned pate,
A man yll educate;
his harte is indurate,
his heade eke edentate; [leaf 100, back.]
his wittes be obfuscate,
his braynes obumbrate,
Oure questions to debate;
for thoughe cam but late,
his cause is explicate
with termes intricate,
I note wherof conflate;
And therfore must he make
his bull and Antedate. [leaf 101.]
Then doctour tom-to-bold
Is neyther whote nor colde,
Till his Coles be solde;
his name may not be tolde
for syluer nor for golde;
But he is sutch a scolde,
That no play may hym holde
(for anger vnbepyst,)
Yf his name were wist; [leaf 101, back.]
Ye may Iudge as ye liste;
he is no acquiniste,
Nor non occanist,[1]
But a mockaniste;
This man may not be myste,
he is a suer sophiste,
And an olde papist.
But nowe we haue a knighte[2]
That is a man of mighte, [leaf 102.]
All armed for to fighte,

---

[1] *Occanist*] So written, it would seem, for the rhyme; properly "Occamist."—D. The Terminists or *Occamists*, among whom Luther was (*Table Talk*, p. 235).

[2] *a knighte*] i. e. Sir Thomas More.—D.

To put the trouthe to flighte
By bowbell pollecy,
With his poetry
And his sophestry;
To mocke and make a ly,
With quod he and quod I;
And his appologye[1]
Made for the prelacy, [leaf 102, back.]
Ther hugy pompe and pride
To coloure and to hide;
he maketh no nobbes,
But with his diologges[2]
To prove oure prelates goddes,
And lay men very lobbes,[3]
Betinge they[m] with bobbes,
And with ther ow[n]e roddes;
Thus he taketh payne [leaf 103.]
To fable and to fayne,
Ther myscheff to mayntayne,
And to haue them rayne
Over hill *and* playne,
Yea, over heaven *and* hell,
And wher as sprites dwell,
In purgatorye holles,
with whote ffier *and* Coles,
To singe for sely soules, [leaf 103, back.]
With a supplication,[4]
And a confutation,[5]

---

[1] The Apologye of Syr Thomas More, Knyght, made by him Anno 1533, after he had geuen ouer Thoffice of Lord Chancellour of Englande. Prynted by W. Rastell, 1533, 16mo. This volume contains 290 leaves, and consists of 50 chapters. In the former 10 he apologises for his writings against Tindall, Barns, &c. and the last 40 are pointed against a Treatise entitled the Pacifier of the Division between the Spirituality & the Temporality.—*Bohn's Lowndes.*

[2] A Dyaloge of Syr Thomas More, Knyghte; wherin be treatyd divers Matters, as of the Veneration & Worshyp of Ymagys & Relyques, prayyng to Sayntys, and goyng on Pylgrymage, wyth many othere thyngys touchyng the pestylent Sect of Luther and Tyndale, by the tone bygone in Saxony, and by the tother laboryd to be brought into England. Lond. (by John Rastell) 1529. fol. *ib.*

[3] See *ffrier lob*, l. 2275.

[4] The Supplycacyon of Soulys, made by syr Thomas More knyght, councellour to our souerayn lorde the Kynge, and chancellour of his Duchy of Lancaster. Agaynst the Supplycacyon of Beggars. *Sine ullâ notâ* [but W. Rastell, *circa* 1530] Folio, black letter, in fours. *Lambeth* (Archbp. Whitgift's copy) *Hazlitt's Handbook.*

[5] The Confutacyon of Tyndales Answere. Lond. by Wyllyam Rastell

Without replicatiõ,
havinge delectation
To make exclamatiõ,
By way of Declamatiõ,
In his debellatiõ,[1]
With a popishe fasshiõ
To subvert oure nation: [leaf 104.]
But this daucok doctoure
And purgatory proctoure
Waketh nowe for wages,
And, as a man that rages
Or over come with ages,[2]
Disputith *per* ambages,
To helpe these parasites
And naughty ipocrites,
With legendes of lyes, [leaf 104, back.]
fayned fantasies,
And very vanyties,
Called veryties,
vnwritteñ *and* vnknoweñ,
But as they be blowne
from lyer to lyer,
Inventyd by a ffryer
In magna Copia,
Brought out of *vtopia*[3] [leaf 105.]
vnto the *mayde of kent*,[4]
nowe[5] from the devill sent,
A virgyne ffayre and gent,
That hath our yees blent:
Alas, we be myswent!
for yf the false intent
were knoweñ of this witche,
It passeth dogg and bitche:
I pray god, do so mutche [leaf 105, back.]

1532, folio. The Seconde Parte of the Confutacion of Tyndals Answere, in which is also confuted the Chyrche that Tyndale deuyseth, and the Chyrche also that Frere Barns deuyseth, made by Syr Thomas More, Knyght. Lond. by Wyllyam Rastell, folio.—*Bohn's Lowndes.*

[1] *his debellation*] i. e. Sir Thomas More's *Debellacyon of Salem and Byzance.* —D. (Printed by W. Rastell, 1533.)

[2] *ages*] i. e. age is.—D. Like 'thoughe,' for 'though he,' l. 1607.

[3] More's *Utopia* was first printed in 1518.—*Hazlitt.*

[4] *the mayde of Kent*] i. e. Elizabeth Barton, died 21 April 1534.—D.

[5] She must have been alive when the poem was written.

To fret her on the itche,
And open her in tyme!
for this manly myne
Is a darke devyne,
With his poetry,
And her iugglery,
By conspiracy
To helpe our prelacy,
She by ypocresye, [leaf 106.]
And he by Tyranny,
That causeth cruelly
The simple men to dye
for fayned herisye:
he saythe that this nody
Shall brenne, soule *and* body,
Or singe his palanody
With feare till he pant,
To make hym recreante, [leaf 106, back.]
his saying*es* to recante,
So as he shalbe skante
Able for to loke
In writinge or in booke,
That treatithe of the rote
Or of the base *and* fote
of ther abhomynation:
he vsethe sutche a fasshion,
To send a man in statio.. [leaf 107.]
With an evill passion
To his egression,
Before the procession
Slylye for to stalke,
And solempeny to walke,
To here the preacher talke,
howe he hath made a balke;
And so the innocent,
for feare to be brent, [leaf 107, back.]
Must suffer checke *and* checke,
his faccott on his necke,[1]
Not for his life to quecke,
But stande vpp, like a bosse,
In sighte at paules crosse,

[1] See l. 54, and p. 179–80, above.

To the vtter losse
Of his goode name and fame:
Thus with great payne *and* shame
he kepethe men in bandes, [leaf 108.]
Confiskinge goods and landes,
And then to hete ther hand*es*
With faccott*es* *and* with brand*es*,
Or make them be abjure.
These thing*es* be in vre:
Youe leade vs with the lure
Of yo*ur* persecution
And cruell execution,
That the fyry fume [leaf 108, back.]
Oure lyves shall consume
By three, by two, and one:
Men say ye will spare none
Of hye nor lowe degre,
That will be eneme
To yo*ur* ipocrese,
Or to yo*ur* god, the bele.
for who dare speake so felle
That clerk*es* should be simple, [leaf 109.]
*W*ithout spott or wrinkell?
Yett nathelesse alwey
I do protest *and* saye,
And shall do while I may,
I never will deny,
But confesse openly,
That punnysshement should be,
In every degre,
Done with equite. [leaf 109, back.]
when any doth offende,
Then oughte youe to attende
To cause hyme to amend,
A-waytinge tyme *and* place,
As god may give youe grace,
To haue hyme fase to fase,
his fautes to deface,
With hope to reconcyle hyme;
But not for to begile hym, [leaf 110.]
Or vtterly to revile hyme,
As thoughe ye wold excile hyme;
for then, the trouth to tell,

Men thinke ye do not well.
Ye call that poore man wretch,
As thoughe ye hadd no retche,
Or havinge no regarde
whiche ende should go forwarde:
ye be so sterne and harde, [leaf 110, back.]
ye rather drawe backwarde,
Your brother so to blinde,
To grope and sertche his mynde,
As thoughe youe were his frinde,
Some worde to pike *and* finde,
wherby ye may hyme blinde;
with *your* popishe lawe
To kepe vs vnder awe,
By captious storyes [leaf 111.]
Of Interrogatoryes:
Thus do ye full vnkindly,
To feyne *your* selves frindley,
And be nothinge but fyndly.
I tell youe, men be lothe
To se youe wode and wrothe,
And then for to be bothe
Th'Accuser *and* the Iudge!
Then farewell all refuge, [leaf 111, back.]
And welcom sanguisuge!
when ye be madd and angry,
And an expresse enemy,
it is ageynst all equitye
Ye shoulde be Iudge and p*ar*tye!
Therfore the king*es* grace
Your lawes muste deface;
for before his face
Youe should *your* playnt*es* bringe, [leaf 112.]
As to *your* lorde and kinge
And Iudge in eu*er*y thinge,
That, by god*es* worde,
hathe power of the sworde,
As kinge and only lorde,
So scripture doth recorde;
for her[e] w*i*thin his lande
should be no counterband;
But holy at his hande [leaf 112, back.]
we shoulde all be, *and* stande,

Both clerkes spirituall,
And lay men temporall.
But youe make lawe at will,
The poore to plucke and pill;
And some that do no yll,
Y*our* appetit*es* to ffill,
Ye do distroy and kill.
Lett god*es* worde try them, [leaf 113.]
And then ye shall not frye them;
yea, lett the worde of god
Be eu*er*y mannes rode!
And the king*es* the lawe
To kepe them vnder awe,
To fray the rest w*i*th terroure,
They may revoke ther erroure!
And thus, I say agayne,
The people wolde be fayne [leaf 113, back.]
Ye prelates wolde take payne
To preache the gospell playne; [See p. 206, n. 3]
for otherwise certayne
Y*our* laboure is in vayne;
for all y*our* crueltye,
I knowe that yo[u] and we
Shall never well agree:
Ye may in no wise se
Sutch as disposed be [leaf 114.]
of ther charitye
To preach the verytye;
Ye stope them w*i*th decrees,
And w*i*th y*our* veritees
vn-written, as ye saye;
Thus ye make them stay:
But god, that all do may,
I do desire and pray,
To open vs the day, [leaf 114, back.]
w*hi*ch is the very kaye
of knowledge of his way,
That ye haue stolen awaye!
And then, my lordes, p*er*fay,
for all y*our* popishe play,
not all y*our* gold so gay,
nor all y*our* riche araye,
shall serve youe to delaye

But some shall go astraye, [leaf 115.]
And lerne to swyme or sinke;
for truly I do thinke,
ye may well wake or wynke,
for any meat or drinke
ye geitt, without ye swynke.
But that wold make youe wrothe;
for, I trowe, ye be lothe
To do eyther of both,
That is, your-self to cloth [leaf 115, back.]
with laboure and with sweate
And faste till youe Eate
But that youe Erne and geate;
like verlettes and pages,
To leve your parsonages,
your denns and your cages,
And [live] by dayly wages:[1]
God blesse vs, and Sainct blase!
This were a hevy case, [leaf 116.]
A chaunce of ambesase,[2]
To se youe broughte so base,
To playe without a place.
now god send better grace!
And loke ye lerne a-pase
To tripe in trouthes trace,
And seke some better chaunce
your selves to avaunce,
With sise synke[3] or synnes;
for he laughe[s] that wynnes,
As ye haue hetherto,
And may hereafter do.
yf ye the gospell preche,

[1] "With Wycliffe, with the spiritual Franciscans, Langland ascribes all the evils, social and religious, of the dreary world to the wealth of the Clergy, of the Monks, and the still more incongruous wealth of the Mendicants. With them he asserts the right, the duty, the obligation of the temporal Sovereign to despoil the hierarchy of their corrupting and fatal riches.

> "'For if Possession be Poison—and imPerfect these make
> The Heads of the Holy Church,
> It were Charity to disCharge them for Holy Church sake,
> And Purge them of the old Poison.'
>
> "*Vision of Piers Ploughman*, p. 298."

Milman's Hist. of Latin Christianity, ix. 235 (4th ed. 1864). See the whole passage.

[2] Two aces on the dice.

[3] Five and six on the dice.

As christ hym-self did teche,
And in non other wise
But after his devise,
ye may with good advyse
kepe yo*ur* benefise [leaf 117.]
And all yo*ur* dignite,
w*i*thout malignite,
In christes name, for me;
I gladely shall agre
It ever may so be.
But this I say and shall,
what happ so euer fall,
I pray and call
The kinge celestiall,
Ones to give youe grace
To se his worde haue place;
And then w*i*thin shorte space
we shall p*er*ceyve and se
howe euery degre
hath his Auctorite
By the lawe of christ,
The lay man and the prest,
The poore man and the lorde; [leaf 118.]
for of that monocorde
The scripture doth recorde;
And then w*i*th good accorde,
In love and in concorde
We shall together holde;
or ell*es* ye may be bolde,
for heate or colde,
Say ye what ye will,
Yt were as good be still; [leaf 118, back.]
for thoughe ye glose and frase[1]
Till yo*ur* Eyes dase,
Men holde it but a mase
Till god*es* worde haue place,
That doth include more grace
Then all Erthly men
Could ever knowe or ken.

Thuse endith the thirde p*ar*te of this p*re*sent treatise called the Image of Ypocresye. [leaf 119.]

[1] Phrase, paraphrase.—Skeat. On *glose* see the bit from Chaucer's Sompnour's Tale above, note [3], p. 228.

[**PART IV.**—AGAINST ALL THE MANY ORDERS OF THE POPISH CLERGY, MONKS, AND FRIARS.]

Nowe with sondry sect*es* [leaf 119, back.]
The world sore infect*es*,
As in christ*es* dayes
Amonge the pharisees,
In clothinge and in names;
for some were Rhodyans,
And Samaritans,
Some were publicanes,
Some were nazarenes,
Bisshops and essenes, [leaf 120.]
preestes and pharisees,
And so of Saducees,
prophetes and preachers,
Doctours and teachers,
Tribunes *and* tribes,
lawers and scribes,
Deacons and levytes,
with many ipocrites.
And so be nowe also, [leaf 120, back.]
with twenty tymes[1] mo
Then were in christes dayes
Amonge the pharisees:
The pope, whom first they call
Ther lorde and principall,
The patriarke withall;
And then the Cardinall
with tytles all of pride,
As legates of the side, [leaf 121.]
And some be cutt and shorne
That they be legates borne.
Then Archebisshops bold,
And bisshops for the folde,
They metropolitannes,
And these diocysanyes,
That haue ther suffraganyes
To blesse the prophanyes.
Then be ther curtisanes[2]

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[1] *tymes*] MS. "tynes."—D.

[2] Cortesani?—Skeat. *Cortesanus*, qui cortem curat, vel colit aut incolit (a° 774). Regis vel principis aulicus; *courtisan*. (Bened. XIII. PP.)—D'Arnis.

As ill as arrianes
Or domicianes,
Riall residentes,
And prudent presidentes;
So be their sensors,[1]
Doughty dispensors,
Crafty inventors,
And prevy precentors,
With chaplaynes of hono*ur* [leaf 122.]
That kepe the popes bower.
Then allmoners and deanes,
That geit by ther meanes
The rule of all reames;
Yett be ther subdeanes,
W*i*th treasorers of trust,
And chauncelours iniust,
To scoure of scab and rust,
With vicars generalls, [leaf 122, back.]
And ther officialles,
Chanons and chaunters,
Thait be great avaunters;
So be ther subchaunters,
Sextons and Archedeakons,
Deakons and subdeakons,
That be ypodeakons,
p*ar*sonnes and vicars,
Surveyors and sikers, [leaf 123.]
Prevy purse-pikers,
Provostes and preachers,
Readers and teachers,
With bachilers and maysters,
spenders and wasters.
So be ther proctors,
w*i*th many dull doctors,
Proude prebendaryes,
Colde Commissaries, [leaf 123, back.]
Synfull secundaries,[2]
Sturdy stipendaries,
W*i*th olde ordinaryes,

'*Courtisan:* m. A Courtier.' (So *Courtisane:* f. A Ladie, Gentlewoman, or waiting-woman of the Court; also (but lesse properly) a curtizan, professed strumpet, famous (or infamous) whore.)—Cotgrave.

[1] *Censor*, judex, *juge*.—D'Arnis. [2] *Secondary*, a delegate, a substitute.—Ash.

And penytencyaryes,[1]
That kepe the Sanctuaries. 2012
So be ther notaries,
And prothonotaries,
lawers and scribes,
with many quibibes,[2] [leaf 124.]
Redy regesters, 2017
*par*doners and questers,
Maskers and mummers,
Deanes *and* sumners,[3] 2020
Apparatoryes[4] preste
To Ride Est and weste.
Then be ther advocates,
And *parum* litterat*es*, 2024
That Eate vpp all Estates, [leaf 124, back.]
*w*ith wyly visitors,
And crafty inquisitors,
Worse then mamalokes,[5] 2028
That catche vs w*i*th ther crokes,
And Brenne vs and oure bokes.[6]

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[1] *Penitentiary*, one who prescribes the rules and measures of penance.—Ash.

[2] Quibbles.

[3] For the *Sumner*, it bootes me to say little more against him then Chaucer did in his Canterbury Tales, who said he was a knave, a briber and a bawd: but leaving that authority, although it be authentic, yet thus much I can say of my selfe, that these drunken drosy sonnes go a tooting abroad (as they themselves term it,) which is, to heare if any man hath got his maid with child, or plaies the good felow with his neighbours wife: if he finde a hole in any mans coate that is of wealth, then he hath his peremtory scitation ready to scite him to the archdeacons or officials court, there to apeere and abide the shame and penalty of the law: the man, perhaps in good credit with his neighbours, loath to bring his name in question, greseth the Sumner in the fist, and then he wipes him out of the booke, and suffers him to get twenty with child, so he keepe him warm in the hand. He hath a saying to wanton wives; and they are his good dames; and as long as they feede him with cheese, bacon, capons, and such od reversions, they are honest, and they be never so bad: he swears to the official, 'complaints are made upon envy, and the women are of good behaviour.' Tush! what bawdry is it he wil not suffer, so he may have mony and good cheere, and, if he like the wench well, a snatch himselfe; for they know all the whores in a country, and are as lecherous companions as may be. To be breefe, the Sumner lives upon the sins of the people; and out of harlatry gets he all his commodity.—1592. *R. Greene's Quip for an Upstart Courtier*, p. 39–40. Collier's Reprint. The reader should now turn to Chaucer's *Freres Tale*, and read its first 80 lines.

[4] *Apparitour*, a Messenger that summons Offenders, in an Ecclesiastical or Spiritual Court, and serves the Process of it.—*Kersey's Phillips.*

[5] Mr. Waring refers to Skelton's *Why come ye nat to Courte*, l. 476, (Dyce, ii. 41.)

But this madde Amalecke [Wolsey], | He regardeth lordes
Lyke to a *Mamelek*, | No more than potshordes.

[6] See the *Impeachment of Wolsey*, in Part II.

Then be ther annivolors,[1]
And smalle benivolers,
with chauntry chapleynes,
Oure ladyes chamberleynes; [leaf 125.]
And Some be Iesu christes,
As be oure Servinge pristes,
And prestes that haue cure,
which haue ther lyvinge sure;
with clerkes and Queresters,
And other smale mynisters,
As Reders and singers,
Bedemen and bell-ringers,
That laboure with ther lippes [leaf 125, back.]
Ther pittaunce out of pittes,
with bennet and collet,
That bere bagg and wallett:
These wretches be full wely,
They Eate *and* drinke frely,
withe salue, stella cely,[2]
And ther de profundis;[3]
They lye with immundis,[3]
And walke with vacabundis,[3] [leaf 126.]
At good ale and at wynne
As dronke as any swynne.
Then be ther grosse abbottes,
That observe ther sabbottes,
fayer, ffatt, *and* ffull,
As gredy as a gull,
And ranke as any bull,
with priors of like place,[4]
Some black and Some white, [leaf 126, back.]
As channons be and monkes,
Great lobyes[5] and lompes,

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[1] Receivers of '*Annualia*, a yearly Salary, or Allowance made to a Priest for keeping an Anniversary; or otherwise, for saying continued Masses one Year for the Soul of a deceased Person.'—*Kersey's Phillips*. *Annovale*, Anniversarium, ut *Annuale*.—D'Arnis. [2] *cœli*.—D.

[3] The contractions are the same as for the *es* elsewhere.

[4] *place*] Should perhaps be "plite"—or there may be some omission in the MS. after this line.—D.

[5] Heremytes on an heep, With hoked staves,
Wenten to Walsyngham, And hire wenches after,
Grete lobies and longe, That lothe were to swynke.
Vision of Piers Ploughman, vol. 1, p. 4, l. 105–110, ed. Wright.—Skeat.
'Set these sturdy *lobies* [monks] a-brode in the world, to get theim wiues of

with bonhomes[1] *and* brothers,
fathers and mothers,
Systers and nonnes,
And littell prety bonnes,
With lictors and lectors,
Mynisters and rectors,
Custos and correctors,
with papall collectors, [leaf 127.]
And popishe predagoges,[2]
Mockinge mystagoges,[3]
In straunge array and robes,
Within ther sinagoges;
With sectes many mo,
An hundreth in a throo
I thinke to name by roo,
As they Come to my mynde, [leaf 127, back.]
whom, thoughe they be vnkind,
The lay mens labor finde.
for some be benedictes,[4]
with many maledictes;

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their owne, to get theire liuing with their laboure in the swete of their faces, according to the commaundement of God, Gene. iij.—*A Supplicacyon for the Beggers*, near the end. 1524–5 A.D.

[1] Following the Augustine rule, with some variations: they had only 2 houses in England.—King. *Boni Homines* . . . Sic dicti fratres ordinis Grandimontensis et Minimi [See l. 2169 here]—D'Arnis. Skelton mentions 'the ancient College of the Bonhommes at Ashridge,' says Mr. Dyce, and 'we may presume that he used sometimes to reside there (*Works* i. xl):

> Of the *Bonehoms* of Ashridge besyde Barkamstede,
> That goodly place to Skelton moost kynde,
> Where the sank royall is, Crystes blode so rede,
> Wherevpon he metrefyde after his mynde:
> A pleasaunter place than Ashridge is, harde were to fynde,
> As Skelton rehersith, with wordes few and playne,
> In his distichon made on verses twaine,
> *Fraxinus in clivo frondetque viret sine rivo,*
> *Non est sub divo similis sine flumine vivo.*
> [*Side-note*: Nota penuriam aquæ, nam canes ibi hauriunt ex puteo altissimo.]
> *Garlande of Laurell*, l. 1461–9. Skelton's Works i. 419.

[2] *predagoges*] Qy. "pædagoges?"—D.

[3] *Mystagogue*, One who interprets divine mysteries; a keeper of church relics.—Ash.

[4] St. Benedict, the founder of the order, was born at Nursi, a town in the duchy of Spoleto, about the year 480, and died in 543.—*Hélyot*, i. 416. The Order was founded in 516, and introduced into England in 596 by St. Augustine of Canterbury.—King. This is the learned Order of the Romish Church, which is even now publishing the grand series of Fathers, &c., of which Hélyot's Dictionary forms part.

Some be cluny,[1]
And Some be plumy,[2]
with cistercyences,
Grandimontences,[3]
Camaldulences,[4] [leaf 128.]
premonstratences,[5]
Theutonycences,[6]
Clarrivallences,[7]
And basiliences;[8]
Some be paulines,[9]
Some be antonynes,[10]

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[1] *Cluny*. In the 12th century there were nearly 2000 monasteries of this order, in France, Germany, Italy, England, Spain, and the East. It was founded by Bernon, the first abbot of Cluny, in the territory of Maçon, on the river Grosne, about 910 A.D.—*Hélyot*, *Dict*. i. 1003.

[2] Feather-cushioned. *Plumeum opus*, idem quod *Plumarium* opus. *Plumarium*, pulvinus plumis sartus; *coussin rempli de plumes*.—D'Arnis.

[3] The Order of Grandmont was founded by St. Etienne de Muret (a mountain near Limoges), born 1046, died 8 Feb. 1124. The Augustines claimed the order as one of theirs, but St. Stephen refused to class himself as either canon, monk, or hermit (which he was). The Rule of his Order, written after his death, differs widely from that of the Benedictines.—*Hélyot*, *Dict*. vol. ii. col. 412.

[4] Founded by St. Romuald at Camaldoli or Campo-Maldoli, in Italy, in 1012.—*Hélyot*, *Dict*. i. col. 576, 584.

[5] An order of Canons Regular, founded by St. Norbert, in Prémontré, above the desert of Vosge, in the forest of Coucy, and province of Champagne, in 1119.—*Hélyot*, *Dict*. iii. col. 266.

[6] Teutonic knights of St. Mary of Jerusalem.—King. I suppose this is Hélyot's *Ordre Teutonique*, a religious order of Knights, the origin of which, Pierre de Dusbourg—priest of the order, and the first writer of its history in the shape of a chronicle—refers to the year 1190.—*Hélyot*, *Dict*. iii. col. 624–5.

[7] Cistercians, named from the Abbey of Clairvaux.—King. The Abbey of Clairvaux was the third daughter of that of Citeaux. It was the head of more than 800 monasteries, which were put under it, and had for its first abbot St. Bernard, the propagator of the order of Citeaux, and who gave his name, in France, to the religious of that order, though he was not the founder of it. The abbey of Clairvaux was founded in 1115, by Thibaut, Count of Champagne, in the diocese of Langres.—*Hélyot*, *Dict*. i. col. 943.

[8] Founded in 358 or 361 A.D. by St. Basil-the-Great, Archbishop of Cæsarea, patriarch of the Monks of the East, born about 329 A.D., died 1 Jan. 379.—*Hél.*

[9] Hélyot gives 4 Orders of Paulines: 1. Under *Notre-Dame de Saint-Paul*, an order of Benedictine Nuns, whose Abbey of St. Paul, a league from Beauvais, was founded by Chilperic, about 580 A.D.—*Hélyot*, i. 1152. 2. *Chevaliers de Saint-Paul*, Knights of the order of St. Peter and St. Paul, founded by Pope Leo X. in 1520.—*Hélyot*, i. 473. Another order of Bethlehemites had, says Matthew Paris, a house in Cambridge, in the street leading to Trumpington, in 1257. 3. *Clercs Réguliers de Saint-Paul*, commonly called *Barnabites*, but whom *Hospinianus . . . nomme les Paulins*. Founded about 1530 A.D. by a nobleman of Cremona, and two of Milan. They had houses in Italy, France, and Germany.—*Hélyot*, i. 360. 4. *Ordre des Erémites de Saint-Paul*. —*Hélyot*, iii. 126.

[10] *Antonynes*. Founded by The Great Saint Anthony, who was born at Koma, near Heraklea, in Upper Egypt, in 251. He founded the monastery

Some be bernardines,[1]
Some be Celestines,[2] 2096
Some be flamynes,[3] [leaf 128, back.]
Some be fuligines,[4]
Some be columbines,[5]
Some be Gilbertines,[6] 2100
Some be Disciplines,[7]
Some be clarines,[8]

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of Faïoum, which at first consisted of a group of separate cells near Memphis, and which is doubtless the origin of cenobite life. He died at the age of 105 years.—Chambers. Cruched friars named after St. Anthony.—King.

[1] *Bernardines.* Saint Bernard of Clairvaux was born in A.D. 1091; died in 1153. He became a monk of Citeaux in 1113; and shortly afterwards instituted a new branch of that order, the monks of which are usually called, after him, Bernardines. Saint Bernard was the founder of 160 monasteries. We possess nearly 800 theological books written by him.—Chambers.

[2] *Celestines.* Peter de Morrone (afterwards Pope Celestine V.) founded this order of hermits, about 1264. They are regarded as a branch of St. Benedict's order; and flourished chiefly in the 13th and 14th centuries: but now they are almost extinct.—Chambers.

[3] *Flamineum*, Episcopi mitra; *mitre épiscopale* (*Vet. Gl.*) '*Flaminius*,' Ad episcopum pertinens; *épiscopal.* Flaminius honor, episcopalis dignitas; *épiscopat, dignité d'évêque.* 'Flaminium,' Sacerdotium, flaminis dignitas; *sacerdoce*, dignité de prêtre. (Tert.)—D'Arnis.

[4] D'Arnis gives only '*Fuligo*, pro *uligo* [moisture, marshy quality of the earth] *Acta Sanctorum.*'

[5] Named after St. Columba.—King. "L'Ordre de saint-Colomb, que Bède appelle aussi Colomban, était un des plus étendus, car il avait plus de cent abbayes ou monastères qui en dépéndaient dans toutes les Iles Britanniques. Ce saint . . . sa mort arriva vers l'an 598. Il se trouve une règle en vers hibernois qu'il avait dictée, et qui fut en usage, non seulement dans l'île de Hi, mais dans les autres monastères d'Écosse qu'il fonda ou qui furent bâtis par ses disciples.—*Hélyot*, ii. 494. *Colomban (Ordre de Saint-), uni à celui de Saint-Benoit.—Hélyot*, i. 1055. St. Columba was born in Leinster about 560 A.D., went to France, and founded the monasteries of Luxeuil, Annegray, and Fontaine, about and after 590 A.D.; then others in Switzerland.—*Ib.*

[6] *Gilbertines.* The founder of this order (St. Gilbert) was an Englishman, born at Sempringham, Lincolnshire. He also founded an order of nuns after the Benedictine institute; and at the time of the dissolution of the monasteries, his followers and their houses were very numerous.—Chambers. The order was founded A.D. 1148. The rules were a connecting link between the Benedictine and Augustine ones.—King.

[7] *Disciplina*,—apud monachos est flagellatio, interdum virgæ ipsæ quibus flagellantur; *la discipline, et l'instrument qui sert à la donner. Disciplina* crebro etiam pro flagellatione, vel alia pœna, quæ ex decreto judicis infligitur, usurpatur in leg. Wisig.; *fouet.* '*Disciplinatus*,' Moribus bonis disciplinæ beneficio prædítus . . . "Rector hospitalis *disciplinatorum*" (Acta Sanct.); ex eo sic dictum quod pauperes in eo instruerentur.—D'Arnis.

[8] *? Clarenins* (*Frères Mineurs*). Après les persécutions que l'on suscita aux ermites Célestins pour détruire leur congrégation, le frère Ange de Cordon, étant de retour en Italie, se retira dans la Marche d'Ancône, entre Ascoli et les montagnes de Norsia, près de la rivière de *Clarène*, où, l'an 1302, ayant assemblé quelques disciples, il commença la congrégation des *Clarenins*, qui furent ainsi appelés à cause de cette rivière.—*Hélyot*, i. 963. (They had several monasteries in Italy.)

And many[1] Augustines ;[2]
Some clarissites,[3] 2104
Some be accolites,[4]
Some be sklaveinytes,[5] [leaf 129.]
Some be nycolites,
Some be heremytes, 2108
Some be lazarites,[6]

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[1] *And many*] Originally "Some be."—D.

[2] *Augustines.* Also Augustinians. The religious bodies that bear this name are great in number, though it is doubtful whether St. Augustine ever framed any rule of monastic life; but one was made from his writings, and was adopted by no less than thirty different orders, of which one of the chief was that of the "Canons Regular of St. Augustine." The first house of this order was at Nostell, near Pontefract; the order afterwards possessed about 170 houses in England, and 25 in Scotland.—Chambers.

[3] *Clarisses* (*Religieuses*). Le second ordre de Saint-François est celui des religieuses Clarisses, ainsi appelées du nom de sainte Claire qu'elles reconnaissent pour leur Mère, ayant été la première religieuse de cet ordre, qui comprend non-seulement celles qui font profession de suivre à la lettre, et sans aucune mitigation, la règle que saint François donna à cette sainte, mais aussi celles qui suivent la même règle avec les mitigations et les adoucissements que les souverains pontifes y ont faits. Ce fut l'an 1212 que commença ce second ordre, par le renoncement général que fit cette sainte fille au monde et à toutes ses vanités pour suivre Jésus-Christ pauvre et humilié, à l'exemple de saint François. Elle était de la ville d'Assise, et naquit l'an 1193. *Hélyot*, i. 967–8. en Angleterre . . la principale maison des Clarisses était près d'Aldgate; elle fut bâtie par Blanche, reine de Navarre, et par Edmond, son mari, qui était fils de Henri III, frère d'Edouard 1er, et comte de Lancaster, de Leicester, et de Darby. Ces Clarisses étaient du nombre de celles qu'on appelle Urbanistes. Outre le nom de Clarisses, on leur donnait encore le nom de *Minoresses*. On appelait leurs couvents *Minories*. Lors de la destruction des monastères, celui des Clarisses dont il s'agit, fut changé en un magasin d'armes. Son nom est resté à la partie de la ville où il était, et on l'a donné aux nouveaux édifices qui s'étendent jusqu'à la campagne (!)—*Hélyot*, ii. 1161. See 'Minoresses or poor Clares' in Stevens's *History of Monasteries*, i. 159.

[4] *Acolythus*, proximus hypodiaconatui gradus, ut patet ex synod. Roman. Sylvestri, can. 7, ubi episcopo parere jubetur presbyter, diaconus presbytero, diacono hypodiaconus, huic *acolythus*, *acolytho* exorcista, cui lector. Dicti autem *acolythi*, quasi ἀκόλουθοι ; sunt enim veluti famuli ecclesiastici, utpote qui vilioribus Ecclesiæ ministeriis deputantur, ut cereis deferendis.—"*Acoluthi Sedis apostolicæ* octo ordinarii, qui cum Pontifex apud lectum paramenti, et similiter ut in ecclesia celebraturus, et induitur sacris vestibus, circumstant genuflexi, et ornamenta subministrant diaconis, cardinalibus," etc. (*Cæremon.*, lib. III).—D'Arnis. '*Acolytes*, (*i.e.* Followers) certain inferiour Church-Officers in the Primitive Times, who assisted the Priests, Deacons and Sub-Deacons; performing the meaner Offices of lighting the Candles, carrying the Bread and Wine, &c. The Word is still us'd among *Roman* Catholicks, for a kind of Under-Deacon or Priest's Attendant, that waits upon him while he says Mass.'—*Kersey's Phillips*, A.D. 1706.

[5] MS. may be *Sklavemytes*, as the i is not dotted; but the wearers of a *sclavine* are meant. '*Sclavina*, *sclavinia*, Vestis longior, sagi militaris instar, Sclavis, ut videtur, familiaris, unde nomen mansit.'—Dufresne. '*Esclavine :* f. as *Esclamme :* f. A long and thicke riding cloake to beare off the raine; a Pilgrim's cloake, or mantle; a cloake for a traueller.'—Cotgrave.

[6] *Lazarus*, leprosus, *lépreux ;* ol. *lazare*, *ladre*. (Mon. Angl.) *Lazarum*, locus ubi *lazari* curantur; *hôpital de lépreux*, *léproserie*.—D'Arnis.

Some be ninivites,
Some be Iohannytes,[1]
Some be Iosephites,
Some be Iesuytes,[2]
Servi and servytes,[3]
And Sondry Iacobites;[4] [leaf 129, back.]
Then be ther helenytes,[5]
hierosolymites,[6]
Magdalynites,[7]
hieronimytes,
Anacorites,
And Scenobites.[8]
So be ther sophrans,
Constantinopolitanes,
holy hungarians, [leaf 130.]
Purgatorians,

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[1] Called after St. John of Jerusalem.—King. Also an Arian name for the orthodox.

[2] *Jesuitains:* m. An Order of White Friers which weare hoods on their heads like women, and shave their beards continually.—Cotgrave. Not the celebrated Society of Jesus, which was not authorized by Pope Paul III. till 1540.

[3] *Servytes.* "This order was founded by seven Florentine merchants, who, with the approbation of the Bishop of Florence, renounced the world, and lived together in a religious community on Mount Senar, two leagues from that city. When they first appeared in the *black* habit, given them by the bishop, the very children at the breast cried out,—"See the Servants of the Virgin!" and this miracle determined them to take no other name than that of *Servites*, or 'Servants of the Virgin.'"—Adams's *Dictionary of all Religions*, 3rd edit. p. 287.

[4] *Jacobites.* Members of the Dominican Order were known in France by the name of Jacobins, on account of their chief establishment being situated in the Rue St.-Jacques, Paris.—Chambers. Also a sect of Christians in the East in the sixth and seventh centuries. 'A Sect of Hereticks set up by one Jacob, a Syrian; they us'd Circumcision, and acknowledg'd but one Nature in Christ.'—Kersey.

[5] Nuns of the Benedictine Order.—King.

[6] *Hierosolymites.* The Knights of St. John of Jerusalem; called also "Knights of Rhodes," and, later, "Knights of Malta." The order originated in 1048, and was sanctioned by the Pope (Pascal II) in 1113. The Priory at Clerkenwell was their chief abode in England; and the head of this Priory took his seat in the House of Lords, under the style of the First Baron in England.—Chambers. See *line* 2150, "And of St. Johns frarys."

[7] *Magdalynites.* An Order of penitent prostitutes founded in the 14th century. Pope Clement VIII ordered that the effects of deceased prostitutes in Rome should be handed over to a house in that city which had been founded by Pope Leo X.—Adams. The *Hieronimytes* were called after Jerome.

[8] From κοινο- common, and βιο- life. Of that great Number of solitary Persons which peopled the Deserts, there came two sorts of Monks, of which those who liv'd in Community were call'd *Cenobites;* and those who withdrew into greater Solitude, after having liv'd long in Community, and having there learnt to subdue their Passions, retain'd the Name of *Anchorites.* *Stevens*, i. 10, § V.

Chalomerians,
And ambrosians ;[1]
Then be ther indianes,
And escocyanes,
lucifrans,[2]
chartusyanes,[3]
collectanes,[4]
Capusianes,[5]

[leaf 130, back.]

[1] *Ambrosians.* A religious order founded in Italy, about the time of Pope Gregory II (715–731, A.D.). They took their name from that of their convent, St. Ambrose. They were afterwards united to the Apostolins. There is also a congregation of nuns of the same name, founded in 1408 by three Venetian ladies.—*Adams.*

"The canon of the mass is pieced and patched up out of many lies. The Greeks have it not. When I was in Italy, I saw that they at Milan had no such canon, and when I offered to celebrate mass there, they said to me: *Nos sumus Ambrosiani.* They told me that in former time they had been at debate among themselves, whether they should receive into their Church the book of Ambrose, or that of Gregory, and to that end prayed God by some miracle to decide for them. At night, they laid both the books in the church; in the morning, they found the book of Ambrose altogether whole and unmoved, upon the high altar, but the book of Gregory was torn all in pieces, scattered up and down the church. The same they construed thus: Ambrose should remain at Milan upon the altar, Gregory be scattered about the whole world." —*Luther's Table-Talk*, xii. p. 223.

[2] *Lucifrans.* The followers of Lucifer, bishop of Cagliari, in Sardinia, in the fourth century. No mention is made of them after the time of Theodosius the Great.—*Adams.*

[3] *Chartusyanes*, Carthusians. This monastic order was founded by St. Bruno and six of his companions at La Chartreuse, in 1086, from which place the order takes its name. The Carthusians appeared in England in 1180–1181. This order was very strict; and the punishment of flagellation was visited on those of its members who broke silence, except on particular days. The Carthusian nuns (first heard of at Salette, on the Rhone, about 1229), however,—although they were guided by the same rules as those of the Carthusian monks,—were allowed (because silence is harder for a woman than a man to bear) more freedom in this respect.—Chambers. See Stevens, i. 241.

[4] ? *Coletans* (Frères Mineurs, *Hélyot*, i. 1044) Franciscans, reformed by the blessed Colette de Corbie who was born at Corbie in Picardy, 13 January, 1380.

[5] *Capusianes.* Matthew de Bassi, a Franciscan monk, having seen St. Francis represented as wearing the sharp-pointed *Capuche*, or cowl, obtained the consent of Pope Clement VII. to make it a feature in his dress. In this De Bassi was quickly followed by other monks; but, owing to the persecution which they received from their brother-Franciscans, they were compelled to retreat from place to place. They afterwards formed themselves into a distinct order by the name of Capuchins. In France they were also called Jacobins, owing to their principal establishment in Paris being situated in the Rue St.-Jacques. There is also an order of Capuchin nuns, founded by a noblewoman of the name Maria Laurentia Longa at Naples, in 1538, A.D. "If the emperor would merit immortal praise, he would utterly root out the order of the *Capuchins*, and, for an everlasting remembrance of their abominations, cause their books to remain in safe custody. 'Tis the worst and most poisonous sect. The Augustin and Bernardine friars are no way comparable with these confounded lice."—*Luther's Table-Talk.*

hispanians,
honofrianes,[1]
Gregorianes,
vnprosianes,
winceslanes,
with ruffianes,[2]
And with rhodianes.[3]
Some be templers,
And exemplers, [leaf 131.]
Some be spitlers,
And Some be vitlers,
Some be scapelers,
And Some cubiculers,
Some be tercyaris,
And Some be of St. marys,
Some be hostiaris,
And of St. Iohns frarys,[4]
Some be stellifers,
And Some be ensefers,
Some lucifers,[5]
And Some be crucyfers,
Some haue signe of sheres,
And Some were shurtes of heres.
Some be of the spone,
And Some be crossed to rome;
Some daunce *and* daly
In sophathes valley, [leaf 132.]
And in the blak alley
Wheras it ever darke is,
And Some be of St. markis[6]

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[1] Took their name from St. Onuphrius, a Hermit.—King.

[2] *Ruf* (Chanoines Réguliers de la Congrégation de Saint-).—*Hélyot*, iii. 403. The legend runs that the saint was a friend of Lazarus, and was put out with him to sea. They landed in Provence, where Lazarus was made Bp. of Marseilles and St. Ruf of Avignon. The order was in great esteem in the 12th century, and settled in or near Avignon, till the Albigenses destroyed the church of St. Ruf and his monastery. The order afterwards built abbeys at Valence in Dauphiné.

[3] Knights of St. John, possessing the Isle of Rhodes.—King.

[4] Cf. 'Than cometh the clerkes of *saint John Frary*' (friary, fraternity: there was one such in Clerkenwell) in *God Spede the Plough*, in my *Crede*, p. 70, l. 45. —Skeat.

[5] See *Lucifrans*, l. 2130, and note.

[6] Under the head *Marc*, Hélyot gives, ii. 888, "Marc (Chevaliers de Saint-). Voyez *Chausse* i.) 879. Des Chevaliers de la Chausse, de l'Etoile d'Or, de Saint-Marc, et du Doge à Venise). *Marc de Florence* (Dominicains de la Con-

Mo then be good clark*es*.
Some be mysiricordes,
Mighty men and lord*es*,
And Some of god*es* house
That kepe the poore souse,
Minimi[1] and mymes,
And other blak devines,
with virgins and vestalles,
monkes and monyalles,
that be conventualles
like frogges and todes.
And Some be of the rhodes,[2]
Sworde-men and knight*es*,
That for the [faith] fight*es*
With sise, sinke, and quatter.[3]
But nowe never the latter
I intend to clatter
Of a mangye matter,
That smelles of the smatter,
Openly to tell
what they do in hell,
Wheras oure ffryers[4] dwell,[5]
everich in his sell,

[leaf 132, back.]

[leaf 133.]

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grégation de Saint-). Voy. *Lombardie* III. *Marc de Gavoti* (Dominicains de la Congrégation de). Voy. *Lombardie* III. *Marc de Mantoue et du Saint-Esprit* (Chanoines Réguliers de Saint-) a Venise."

[1] *Minimes* (Ordre des), *Hélyot*, ii. 981, founded by St. François de Paule, about 1435 A.D., when he was only 19 years of age. See note [1], p. 244, above.

[2] See *Hierosolymites*, l. 2117, and the note on it.

[3] 6, 5, 4, on the dice.—Skeat.

[4] See Skelton's sketch of the Friars, in *Colyn Cloute*, Works, i. 343–5, and 339–40; also the references under *Friars* and *Monks*, in the Parker Society's Index.

[5] This is where Chaucer also chaffily places the Friars. See the Sompnour's Prologue, l. 25, ii. 258, ed. Morris:—

> 'Hold up thy tayl, thou Sathanas,' quod he
> 'Schew forth thyn ars, and let the frere se
> 'Wher is the nest of freres in this place' [hell].
> And er than half a forlong way of space,
> Right so as bees swarmen out of an hyve,
> Out of the develes ers thay gonne dryve,
> Twenty thousand freres on a route,
> And thorughout helle swarmed al aboute,
> And comen ageine, as fast as they may*e* goon,
> And in his ers they crepen everichoon.
> He clappid his tayl agayn, and lay ful stille.
> This frere . . . for fere yit he quook,
> So was the develes ers yit in his mynde,
> That is his heritage of verray kynde.

The phane and the *pro*phane, [leaf 133, back.]
The croked and the lame,
The mad, the wild, and tame,
every one by name.
The formest of them all
Is ther generall;
And the next they call
Ther hie provincyall,
With Costos and wardyn
That lye next the Gardeyn; [leaf 134.]
Then oure father prior,
with his subprior
That with the Covent Comes
To gather vpp the Cromes;
Then oure fryer douche
Goeth by a crouche,
And slouthfull ffryer slouche
That bereth Iudas pouche;
Then ffryer domynike [leaf 134, back.]
And ffryer demonyke,
ffryer Cordiler[1]

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[1] *Cordelier:* m. A Grey Frier (of the Order of S. Francis), a Cordelier. *Monnoye de Cordelier*, Thankes, or a Benedicitee, (for Grey Friers are to carry no money about them). *Cordeliere:* f. A Grey Friers girdle (made of a peece of a rope full of equally-distant knots).—Cotgrave.

What, wold Fraunces, our friar,
Be such a false lyar,
So madde a *cordylar*,
So madde a murmurar.'

Skelton's *Duke of Albany*, l. 373–6, *Works*, ii. 79.

Compare *The Romaunt of the Rose*, l. 7445–7470, *Chaucer's Works*, ed. Morris, vi. 227:—

And False-semblant had he sene alse,
But he knewe nat that he was false . . .
For Semblant was so slye wrought,
That falsenesse he ne espyede nought.
But haddest thou knowen hym beforne,
Thow woldest on a boke have sworne
(Whan thou hym saugh in thylke array)
That he, that whylome was so gaye,
And of the daunce Joly Rolyn;
Was tho become a *Jacobyn*. (l. 2209.)
But sothly, what-so men hym calle,
Frere preachours (l. 2219) bene goode men alle;
Her order wyckedly they beren
Such Minstreles, yf they weren.
So bene *Augustyns* (l. 2210), and *Cordylers* (l. 2207)
And *Carmes* (l. 2213), and eke *Sacked Freers* (l. 2227)
And alle freres shodde and bare
(Though some of hem bene great and square,)

And ffryer bordiler,[1]
ffryer Iacobine,
ffryer Augustyne,[2]
And ffryer incubyne,[3]
and ffryer Succubine,[4]
ffryer carmelyte[5]
And ffryer hermelite,
ffryer mynorite[6] [leaf 135.]
and ffryer ipocrite,
ffrier ffranciscane[7]
And ffrier damiane,
ffrier precher
And ffrier lecher,
ffrier crusifer
And ffrier lusifer,
ffrier purcifer
And ffrier furcifer, [leaf 135, back.]
ffrier ferdifer
And ffrier merdifer,
ffryer sacheler
And ffryer bacheler,
ffryer cloysterer
And ffrier floysterer,[8]
ffrier pallax[9]

Ful holy men, as I hem deme;
Everyche of hem wolde good man seme.
But shalt thou never of apparence
Sene conclude good consequence
In none argument, ywys,
If existence al fayled is.

[1] *Bordelier:* m. A wencher, whoore-munger, whoore-hunter, haunter of baudie houses.—*Cotgrave.*

[2] On 'Augustin Fryers, or Eremites of St. Augustin, their Original, their first coming into England, and the Monasteries of them in England,' see *Stevens*, ii. 214–29.

[3] *Incubus*, the Night-Mare, a disease that oppresses People in their sleep. Also a Devil that has Carnal Knowledge of a Woman, under the shape of a Man.—*Kersey's Phillips.*

[4] *Succubus* (Lat.) a Devil that takes a Woman's shape to lie with a Man.—Kersey.

[5] See *Stevens*, ii. 153–185.

[6] The [Minorite,] Franciscan and [= or] grey friars came up under the emperor Frederick II, at the time St. Elizabeth was canonized, in the year 1207.—*Luther's Table-Talk*, p. 213.

[7] See *Stevens*, i. 89–125, ii. 1.

[8] *Floystering*, skittish, boyish.—Halliwell.

[9] *Palax*, dolosus, fallax, in Gloss. Isid. ad quas recte Grævius: lege, ut habent Excerpta, *Pallax* Constantiensis: *Pellax*, *dolosus*, *fallax*. Hinc apud Festum, *pellicator*, *qui pellicit in fraudem.*—*Henschel's Dufresne.*

And ffrier fallax,[1] 2232
ffrier fugax[2] [leaf 136.]
And ffrier nugax,[3]
ffrier rapax[4]
And ffrier capax,[5] 2236
ffrier lendax[6]
And ffrier mendax,[7]
ffrier vorax[8]
And ffrier nycticorax,[9] 2240
ffryer Iapax,[10]
ffrier furderer[11]
And ffrier murderer, [leaf 136, back.]
ffrier tottiface[12] 2244
And ffrier sottiface,[12]
ffrier pottiface[13]
And frier pockyface,[14]
ffrier trottapace 2248
And ffrier topiace,[15]
ffrier futton[16]
And ffrier glotton,
ffrier Galiard[17] [leaf 137.]
And ffrier paliard,[18] 2253

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[1] *fallax*, deceitful.—White and Riddell.

[2] Apt to flee, fleeing, shunning, avoiding.—ib.

[3] *Nugax*, having or prone to *nugæ* (Jokes, jests, idle speeches, trifles, trumpery, nonsense), hence, Jesting, trifling, frivolous.—ib.

[4] *rapax*, grasping, greedy of plunder, rapacious.—ib.

[5] *Capax*, great, capacious.—ib.

[6] I can only find '*Lendex*, Tarmus, (tarmes) *vermis in lardo*, Johanni de Janua, *Vert de Lart*, in Glossis Sangerm.—*Henschel's Dufresne.*

[7] *mendax*, given or prone to lying, a liar.—White and Riddell.

[8] *vorax*, swallowing greedily, devouring, ravenous, voracious.—ib.

[9] *Nycticorax*] MS. "Necticorax."—D. Night raven.—Skeat.

[10] ? *iapex*, velox, in Gloss. Sangerman. MS. num. 501 An *Iapyx*, ventus spirans ex Iapygia seu Apulia. Gr. *ἰάπυξ ἄνεμος . . . Henschel's Dufresne.* But I suppose it's the English *jape*, mock, trick, latinized.

[11] ? *furor* I steal: *furtum* theft.

[12] Cf. Spenser's *Fairy Queene*, bk. vi, Mutabilitie, st. 39.—Skeat.

[13] *Goffe*, Dull, sottish, doltish, lumpish, blockish, heauie-headed, grossetted, sodden-brained.—Cotgrave.

[14] *Fossetteux*, full of little pits, pockars, or pock-holes.—Cotgrave.

[15] ? skulker. *Tappice*, to hide. 'The spider is a *tapist*,' quoted in Nares. e *tapissement* in Cotgrave.

[16] *Foutre*, to leacher. *Foutu* . . a scoundrell, a fellow of small accompt.—Cotgrave.

[17] Fr. *gaillard*, Lustie, liuelie; frolicke, buxome, cheerefull, blithe, iocond, pleasant, gamesome . . . also, rash, or somewhat vndiscreet, by too much iollitie.—Cotgrave.

[18] *Paillard:* m. A lecher, wencher, whoremonger, whorehunter: also a knave, rascall, varlet, scoundrell, filthie fellow.—Cotgrave.

ffrier goliard[1]
And ffrier foliard,[2]
ffrier goddard[3]
And ffrier foddard,[4]
ffrier ballard[5]
And ffrier skallard,
ffrier crowsy[6]
And ffrier lowsy,
ffrier sloboll
And ffrier bloboll,[7]
ffrier toddypoll[8]
And ffrier noddypoll,[9]
ffrier fflaphole

2256 2260 [leaf 137, back.] 2264

He tryhumfythe, he trumpythe, he turnythe all vp and downe,
With 'skyregalyard, prowde *palyard*, vaunteperler, ye prate!'
Skelton (on Wolsey, in) *Speke, Parrot*. l. 427; *Works*, ii. 21.

and again of the Duke of Albany, *Works*, ii. 73, l. 167—

We set nat a myght
By suche a cowarde knyght,
Suche a proude *palyarde*,
Suche a skyrgaliarde,
Suche a starke cowarde,
Suche a proude pultrowne,
Suche a foule coystrowne,
Suche a doutty dagswayne.

[1] goliardeys. Chaucer.—Skeat.

[2] *Folier*. To playe the foole, doe like an asse, behaue himself like an ideot. —Cotgrave.

[3] *Godde, vne lasche godde*. A sloathfull hylding (A low person, Halliwell: An idle jade, Kennett.) *Goddon:* m. a filthie glutton or swiller; one that hath a vile wide swallow.—Cotgrave.

[4] ? Lump of Lead. *Fodder*, or *Fother of Lead*, a Weight of Lead containing Eight Pigs, every Pig 23½ stone . . 2000 Pound-Weight.—*Kersey's Phillips*.

[5] 'The wei-betere, the *ballart*.' Names of the Hare, in *Reliq. Antiq*. i. 133.

[6] ? *Crowse* or cruse, potte (crowce or crwce) *Amula*, Promptorium.

[7] 'Blowbole, *yuroigne*.—Palsgrave's *Lesclarcissement de la Lang. Fr*., 1530, fol. xx. (Table of Subst.). 'To *blowe in a bowle*, and for to pill a platter,' etc.
Barclay's *First Egloge*, sig. A iiii. ed. 1570.

Farewell Peter *blowbowle* I may wel call thee.
Enterlude of Kyng Daryus, 1565, sig. B.—Dyce's *Skelton*, ii. 98.

Colyne Blowbols Testament, mentioned by Mr. Dyce as in MS., has been since printed by Mr. Halliwell in his *Nugæ Antiquæ*.

[8] Skelton says of Wolsey and his Council (*Why come ye nat to Courte; Works*, ii. 46–7, l. 647–51)—

He is so fyers and fell,
He rayles and he ratis,
He calleth them *doddypatis*.
He grynnes and he gapis
As it were iack napis.

[9] A noddie or noddie-peake . . *guilmin*, (Sherwood) *Guilmin:* m. A noddie, ninnie, coxe, ideot.—Cotgrave.

For that no man shulde se,
Nor rede in any scrolles,
Of theyr dronken nolles,
Nor of theyr *noddy polles*,
Nor of theyr sely soules,
Nor of some wytles pates,
Of dyuers great estates
As well as other men.
Skelton (of Prelates) in *Colyn Cloute*, l. 1242–9. *Works*, i. 359.

And ffrier claphole,
ffrier kispott
And ffrier pispott,
ffrier chipchop[1] [leaf 138.]
And ffrier likpott,[2]
ffrier clatterer
And ffrier fflatterer,
ffrier bib, ffrier bob,
ffrier lib,[3] ffrier lob,[4]
ffrier fear, ffrier fonde,
ffrier beare, ffrier bonde,
ffrier rooke, ffrier py,[5]
ffrier flooke,[6] ffrier flye, [leaf 138, back.]
ffrier spitt, ffrier spy,
ffrier lik, ffrier ly,
with ffrier we-he[7]
found by the trinytye,
And frier fandigo,
With an hundred mo
Could I name by ro,
Ne were for losse of tyme,

---

[1] The sweet Italian, and the *chip-chop* Dutch . . .
With our outlandish *chip-chop* gibrish gabbling.
Taylor(the Water-Poet)'s Workes, 1630, p. 27.—*Wheatley's Dict.*

[2] Lykpot fyngyr, *Index*. Promptorium. A Lykpotte, *index, demonstrativus*. Catholicon Ang.—*ib.*

[3] *lib*, to geld.

[4] *Lourdant* . . a lowt, *lob*, luske, boore, clowne, churle, clusterfist.—Cotgrave.

[5] Freres of the Pye, Pied Friars. Compare what the Minorite, Franciscan, or Gray Friar, says of the Carmelites or White Friars in *Pierce the Ploughman's Crede*, p. 3, l. 64–6, ed. Skeat:—

Sikerli y can nouȝt fynden · who hem first founded,
But þe foles foundeden hem-self · *freres of the Pye*,
And maken hem mendynauns . & marre þe puple.

On which Mr. Skeat says, p. 35, 'These [freres of the Pye] would appear to be not very different from the Carmelites: they were called *Pied Friars* from their dress being a mixture of black and white, like a magpie.

'With an O and an I, fuerunt *Pyed Freres*,
Quomodo mutati sunt, rogo dicat Pers.'

Polit. Poems, i. 262, ed. T. Wright.

[6] *Flook, fluke*, a flat insect which breeds in the livers of sheep and other quadrupeds, when in bad condition. Loth. S. B. (Also, a diarrhœa, and a flounder, or other flat-fish.)—Jamieson.

[7] Compare (says Mr. Skeat) WILLIAM on the beggers in the *Vision*, ed. Wright, p. 144, l. 4664–9:—

Manye of yow ne wedde noght The womman that ye with deale,
But as wilde beestes with '*wehee*!' Worthen uppe, and werchen,
And bryngen forth barnes, That bastardes men calleth.

To make to longe a Ryme. [leaf 139.]
O squalidi laudati,
fedi[1] effeminati,
falsi falsati,
fuci fucati,[2]
Culi caccati,[3]
Balbi braccati,[4]
Mimi mardati,[5]
Lerui leruati,[6]
Crassi cathaphi,[7] [leaf 139, back.]
Calvi cucullati,[8]
Curvi curvati,
Skurvi knavati,
Spurci spoliati,[9]
hirci[10] armati,
vagi[11] devastati,
Devij debellati,
Surdi sustentati,
Squalidi laudati, [leaf 140.]
Tardi terminati,
Mali subligati,
Inpij coniurati,
Profusi profugi,
Lapsi lubrici,[12]
Et parum pudici!
Oth[13] ye drane bees,
Ye bloody fleshe flees,
Ye spitefull spittle spyes, [leaf 140, back.]
And grounde of herisees,
That dayly without sweat
Do but drinke and Eate,

---

[1] *fœdus*, adj. foul, filthy, abominable.
[2] Painted pretences, deceits, or drones.
[3] Shitten arses.
[4] *Balbus*, stammering, stuttering; *bracatus*, having breeches.
[5] t. i. "merdati."—D. Turded farces, bedunged humbugs.
[6] *Larvi larvati*] The line ought properly to be "Larvæ larvatæ."—D.
[7] *cathaphi*] Qy. "cataphagi" (voraces)?—D.
[8] Cowled baldheads: (?) meant for 'bald cuckolders.'
[9] *Spurcus*, filthy, dirty.
[10] *hircus*, he-goat.
[11] *vagus*, strolling about, roving, vagrant.
[12] *lubricus*, slippery.
[13] Och!—Skeat. Compare again the *Crede*:—

> And ry*gh*t as dranes doþ nou*gh*t . but drynkeþ vp þe huny,
> Whan been wiþe her bysynesse . han brou*gh*t it to hepe,
> Ri*gh*t so fareþ freres . wiþ folke opon erþe;
> þey freten vp þe furste-froyt . & falsliche lybbeþ.
>
> *Pierce the Ploughman's Crede*, p. 27, l. 726–8, ed. Skeat.

And murther meat *and* meat,
vt fures *et* latrones!
Ye be incubiones,[1]
But no spadones,[2]
Ye haue y*our* culiones;[3]
Ye be histriones, [leaf 141.]
Beastely ballatrones,[4]
Grandes thrassones,[5]
Magni nebulones,[6]
And cacademones,
That [eat] vs fleshe and bones
W*i*th teeth more harde then stones.
Youe make hevy mones,
As it were for the nones,
W*i*th great and grevous grones, [leaf 141, back.]
By sight*es* and by sobbes
To blinde vs w*i*th bobbes.
Oh ye false faytou*r*s,
Youe theves be, and tratou*r*s,
The devils dayly wayters!
Oh mesell mendicantes,[7]

---

[1] *incubiones*] Properly "incubones."—D.

[2] *Spado*, a castrated person, a eunuch.—White and Riddell.

[3] *Cullions*, the Testicles or Stones.—Kersey.

[4] *Balatro*, *-onis*, lit. a babbler; hence, a jester, one who makes sport, a buffoon (it seems to have designated a class of tragic actors, perhaps a harlequin, jester, jack-pudding, or something similar). *Ballator*, a dancer.—Andrews.

[5] *Thraso*, *-onis*, Θράσων nomen gloriosi militis apud *Terent.* in *Eun*, a θράσος, insolentia, jactantia, audacia.—*Bailey's Forcellini.* Θράσσω, to trouble, disquiet.

[6] *Nebulo*, a paltry worthless fellow, an idle rascal, a sorry wretch.—Andrews. *Nebulo*, a paltry, worthless, fellow; an idle rascal, a sorry wretch.—White and Riddell. Whom did Andrews copy from? He has been often copied.

[7] Compare the happy irony of Chaucer's account of 'we mendeaunts, we freres,' by the Friar in *The Sompnoures Tale*, ed. Morris, ii. 265–6. See also *Luther's Table-Talk*, p. 213, N° cccclxxxvi.—

"If the pope should seek to suppress the mendicant friars, he would find fine sport; he has made them fat, and cherished them in his bosom, and assigned them the greatest and most powerful princes for protectors. If he should attempt to abolish them, they would all combine and instigate the princes against him; for many kings and princes, and the emperor himself, have friars for confessors. The friars were the pope's columns, they carried him as the rats carry their king; I was our Lord God's quicksilver, which he threw into the fishpond; that is, which he cast among the friars.

"A friar is evil every way, whether in the monastery or out of it. For as Aristotle gives an example touching fire, that burns whether it be in Ethiopia or in Germany, even so is it likewise with the friars. Nature is not changed by any circumstances of time or place."

And mangy obs*er*uaunt*es*![1] 2340
Ye be vagarantes!
As p*er*sers pennytrantes,[2] [leaf 142.]
Of mischef mynistrantes,
In pillinge postulantes, 2344
In preachinge petulantes,
Of many sicophantes,[3]
That gather, as do Antes,
In places wher ye go; 2348
W*i*th in principio[4]
Runnynge to *and* ffro,
Ye cause mikle woo [leaf 142, back.]
W*i*th hie and w*i*th loo; 2352
Wher youe do resorte,
Ye fayne and make reporte

---

1 And yet, amongest other, we may not forgete
The poore *obseruauntes* that been so holy:
They muste amongis vs have corne or mete.
God spede the Plough, l. 57–9, in Skeat's *Crede*, p. 71.
'Observants, a branch of the Franciscan order, otherwise called *Recollects*.' Imperial Dict.—*ib.* p. 75. Skelton says in *Colyn Cloute*, l. 745–9; *Works*, i. 340,

Or els yf we may
Get a frere graye,
Or els of the order
Vpon Grenewyche border,
Called *Obseruaunce*.

The Minorites or Observant Friars of the order of St. Francis had a piece of ground which adjoined the palace at Greenwich. They were much favoured by Katherine, queen of Henry VIII; and the King suppressed their whole order throughout England for taking her part. The convent at Greenwich was dissolved in 1534. Mary reinstated it, and Elizabeth suppressed it.—*Dyce*, ii. 288, quoting *Lyson's Environs of London*, iv. 464, ed. 1796.

2 Compare WILLIAM in the *Vision*, l. 14601–4, ed. Wright, vol. ii, p. 445, on the Friar who got into a Lord's house as doctor to him and his Lady too, and 'salvede so oure wommen til some were with childe':—

'What hattestow? I praye thee; Hele noght thi name.'
'Certes,' seide his felawe, 'Sire *Penetrans domos*.'—Skeat.

3 *Of many sycophantes*] Perhaps "many" should be "mony." The proper form is "sycophantæ."—D.

4 So Chaucer, of the Friar, *General Prologue*, l. 253–5, Ellesmere MS.

ffor thogh a wydwe hadde noght a sho,
So plesaunt was his *In principio*,
Yet wolde he haue a ferthyng er he wente.

Tyrwhitt's doubt (iv. 200) whether it refers to the beginning of St. John, or of Genesis, or to some passage in the conclusion of the Mass, is set at rest by 'Friars. . they said *In principio erat Verbum*, from house to house,' 3 *Tyndale*, 62 (*Parker Soc. Index*). Tyrwhitt also refers to l. 15169 in *The Nonnes Prestes* Tale:—

. . al so siker as *In principio*,
'Mulier est hominis confusio.'
Madame, the sentence of this Latin is,
'Womman is mannes joye and mannes blis.'

Of that youe never harde,
To make foles a-ferde
With visions and dremes,[1]
howe they do in hevens,
And in other remes
Be-yonde the great stremes [leaf 143.]
Of Tyger and of gange,
Where tame devils range,
And in the black grange,
Thre myle out of hell,
Where sely Sowles dwell,
In paynes wher they lye,
howe they lament and cry
Vnto youe, holy lyars,
And false fflatteringe ffriers, [leaf 143, back.]
for dirige and masses;
Wherwith, like very asses,
We maynteyn youe and your lasses;
But in especiall
ye say, the sowles call
for the great trentall;[2]
for some sely Sowles
So depe ly in holes
Of ffier and brennyng Coles,[3] [leaf 144.]

[1] *dremes*] I suspect the author wrote "*swevens*," and that "*dremes*," a gloss on the word, crept by mistake into the text.—D.

[2] See the poem *Trentalle Sancti Gregorii* in my *Political, Religious, and Love Poems* (E. E. T. Soc. 1866) p. 87. The 30 Masses were to be sung, 3 on each of the 10 chief Feasts, Christmas, the Circumcision, Mary's Purification, the Annunciation, Christ's Resurrection, his Ascension, Pentecost, Trinity Sunday, Mary's Assumption, her Nativity.

[3] Compare Chaucer's living picture of the Friar in *The Sompnour's Tale*. Note the touch (ed. Morris, ii. 262),

> *And fro the bench he drove away the cat*,
> And layd adoun his potent and his hat,
> And eek his scrip, and sat him soft adoun;

also his kissing and flattering Thomas's wife, and her gratified vanity and mock humility, 'Ye, God amend defautes, Sir,' quod sche. Is *this* a translation of a foreign original (p. 68, above)? Why, bless my soul, Chaucer saw it all in England with his own eyes, and makes us see it too. But I'm getting away from souls frying in Purgatory, and Trentals. This friar in Holdernesse

> Had preched at a chirch in his manere,
> And specially aboven every thing
> Excited he the poepul in his preching
> To *trentals*, and to yive for Goddis sake [to Friars, not Monks] . . .
> '*Trentals*, sayd he, 'delyuereth fro penaunce,
> Her frendes soules, as wel eld as yonge;
> Ye, whanne that thay hastily ben songe [by a Friar, not a Priest] . . .

That top and tayle is hid;
for whom to pray and bid,
Thens to haue them rid,
ye thinke it but a foly;
Althoughe the masse be holy,
The fendes be wyly:
Till masse of scala cely,[1]
At Bathe or at Ely
Be by a ffrier saide, [leaf 144, back.]
That is a virgine mayde,
These sowles may not away,
As all ẏo^{w} ffriers say.
So trowe I without doubte
These sowles shall never out;
for it is rara avis;
Ye be so many knaves!
I swere, by crosses ten,
That fewe be honest men! [leaf 145.]
So many of youe be
Full of skurrilite,
That throughly to be sought
The multitude is noughte:
Ye be nothinge Denty;
Ye Come among vs plenty
By coples in a peire,
As sprites in the heire,
Or dogg*es* in the ffayre; [leaf 145, back.]
Where yo^{w} do repayre,
Ye ever ride *and* rune,
As swifte as any gune,
With nowe to go and Come,
As motes in the Sonne,
To shrive my lady nonne,
With humlery hum,
Dominus vobiscum![2]

Delyverith out anon,' quod he, 'the soules.
Ful hard it is, with fleischhok or with oules
To ben y-clawed, or brend, o[the]r i-bake;
Now speed yow hastily, for Cristes sake.' (ed. Morris, ii. 260.)

[1] On the chapel *Scala Cœli* at Rome, see *Pol. Rel. and Love Poems*, p. 118, 158, p. xxvi, and *Stacions of Rome*, p. xi, p. 5, l. 118.

[2] '*Deus hic!*' quod he, 'O Thomas, frend, good day!'
Sayde this frere al curteysly and softe.
Sompnoures Tale, l. 62–3.

God knoweth all and Some, [leaf 146.]
what is and hath bene done,
Syns the world begone,
Of russett, gray, and white,[1]
That sett ther hole delighte
In lust and lechery,
In thefte and trecherey,
In lowsy lewdenes,
In Synne and shrodenes,
In crokednes acurst, [leaf 146, back.]
Of all people the worste,
Marmosettes *and* apes,
That with *your* pild pates
Mock vs with *your* iapes.
Ye holy caterpillers!
Ye helpe *your* well-willers
With prayers *and* psalmes,
To devoure the Almes
That christians should give [leaf 147.]
To meynteyne and releve
The people poore and nedy;[2]
But youe be gredy,
And so great a number,
That, like the ffier of thunder,
The worlde ye incomber:
But hereof do I wonder,
howe ye preache in prose,
And shape therto a glose, [leaf 147, back.]
Like a shipmans hose,[3]
To fayne *your*-se[l]ves ded,
Whiche nathelesse be fed,
And Dayly Eate oure bred
That ye amonge vs beg,
And gett it spite of oure hede.
It wonder is to me,

[1] *russett:* ? the Black Friars (Dominicans or Jacobins). The Augustine Friars also wore black. *Gray:* the Minorites or Franciscans. *White:* the Carmelites or White Friars.

[2] Compare *A Supplicacyon for the Beggers*, 1524–5 A.D. near the end, "Tye these holy idell theues [monks] to the cartes, to be whipped naked about euery market towne til they will fall to laboure, that they by their *im*portunate begging, take not awey the almesse that the good christen people wold giue vnto vs sore, impotent, miserable people, your bedemen."

[3] Cp. the Welshman's hose, p. 206, l. 814, note [3], above (Skeat); and on *glose*, p. 228, note [2] on l. 1521, above; also p. 239, l. 1928.

howe ye maye fathers be,
Yo*ur* sede to multiply, [leaf 148.]
But yf yo^{w} be incuby,[1]
That gender gobolynes. 2452
Be we not bobolynes,
sutch lesing*es* to beleve,
whiche ye amonge vs dry[ve]?
Because ye do vs shrive, 2456
Ye[2] say we must youe call
fathers Seraphicall
And angelicall, [leaf 148, back.]
That be fantasticall, 2460
Brute and bestiall,[3]
Yea, Diabolicall,
The babes of beliall,
The Sacrifise of ba[a]ll, 2464
The dregges of all durte,
fast bounde and girte
vnder the devils skyrte;
for pater priapus, [leaf 149.]
And frater polpatus, 2469
with doctor dulpatus,[4]
Suffultus fullatus,[5]
pappus paraliticus, 2472
And pasto*ur* improvidus,
Be false and frivolus,
proude and pestiferous,
pold and pediculous,[6] 2476

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[1] t. i. *incubi*.—D. See note to l. 2211.

[2] *Ye*] MS. "We."—D.

[3]
Some are *insufficientes*, | Some valde *negligentes*,
Some *parum sapientes*, | Some *nullum sensum habentes*,
Some nihil *intelligentes*, | But BESTIALL and vntaught.

Skelton's *Colyn Cloute*, l. 225–30, *Works*, ii. 319–20.

[4] Compare Skelton's *Dawpatus* in the note to l. 1555 above, and this from *Doctour Doubble Ale*, l. 46–50 in *Early Popular Poetry*, iii. 305:—

They folowe perlowes [perilous] lechis,
And *doctours dulpatis*,
That falsely to them pratis,
And bring them to the gates
Of hell and vtter derkenes.

[5] *fullatus*] Qy. "fulcratus?"—D.

[6] full of lice. See my *Babees Book*, p. 209. 'Pediculus other whyle do byte me by the backe': A. Borde, of the Irishe man. 'A Lowse highte *Pediculus* / and is a worme of the skynne, and hath that name of *Pedibus*, the fete / as Isi[dore] saith, li. xii. And greueth more in the skynne with the fete and with crepyng / than he doth with bytyng.—*Trevisa's Bartholomeus*, ed. 1535, lf. CCCLXIII.

Ranke and ridiculous, [leaf 149, back.]
Madd and meticulous,
Ever invidious,
never religious,
In preachinge prestigious,
In walkinge prodigious,
In talkinge sedicious,
In doctrine parnicious,
haute and ambicious,
ffonde and super*s*ticious, [leaf 150.]
In lodginge prostibulus,
In beddinge promiscuous,
In Councells myschevous,
In musters monstrous,
In skulkinge insidicious,
vnchast and lecherous,
In excesse outragious,
As sicknesse contagious,[1]
The wurst kind of Edders, [leaf 150, back.]
And stronge sturdy beggers:
Wher one stande and teaches,
An other prate and preches,
Like holy horseleches.
So this rusty rable
At bourd and at table
Shall fayne and fable,
With bible and with bable,
To make all thinge stable, [leaf 151.]
By lowringe and by lokinge,
By powrynge and by potinge,
By standinge and by stopinge,
By handinge and by ffotinge,
By Corsy and by Crokinge,
With their owne pelf promotinge,
With ther Eyes alweyes totinge
Wher they may haue shotinge
Ther and here ageyne: [leaf 151, back.]
Thus the people seyne,[2]
with wordes true and playne,
howe they Iest and ioll

[1] *contagious.*] MS. "contragious."—D.
[2] *seyne*] Originally "sey," but altered by the original writer.—D.

with ther nody poll,
with rownynge and rollinge,
with bowsinge and bollinge,
with lillinge and lollinge,[1]
with knyllinge and knollinge,
with tillinge[2] and tollinge, [leaf 152.]
with shavinge and pollinge,
with snyppinge and snatchinge,
with itchinge and cratchinge,
with kepinge and katchinge,
with wepinge and watchinge,
with takinge *and* tatchinge,
with peltinge and patchinge,
with findinge and fatchinge,
with scriblinge and scratchinge,
with ynkinge and blatchinge; [leaf 152, back.]
That no man can matche them,
Till the Devill fatche them,
And so to go together
vnto their denne for ever,
wher hens as they never
hereafter shall dissever,
But dy Eternally,
That lyve so carnally;
for that wilbe ther Ende, [leaf 153.]
But yf god them sende
his Grace here to amend:
And thus I make an Ende.

Thus endeth the ffourthe and last p*ar*te of this
treatise called the Image of ypocresy.

[leaf 154.] The grudge of ypocrites conceyved ageynst the
Auctor of this treatise.

These be as knappishe knack*es*
As ever man made
for Iavells[3] and for iack*es*,
A Iym-iam[4] for a iade.

[1] To *lill* out the tongue as a dog that is weary.—Florio. *Loll*, to dandle, fondle.—See *Wedgwood's Dict.*
[2] Enticing.
[3] *Javell*, a worthless fellow.—Halliwell.
[4] *Jymiam*, a knicknack. *Jim*, slender, neat, elegant.—Halliwell.

well were we, yf we wist
what a wight he were
That sturred vpp this myst,
To do vs all this dere!

Oh, yf we could attayne hym,
he mighte be fast and sure
we should not spare to payne hym,
while we mighte indure!

The Awnswer of the Auctour.

Ego sum qui sum,
my name may not be told;
but where ye go or come,
ye may not be to bold:

for I am, is, and was, [leaf 154, back.]
And ever truste to be,
neyther more nor las
Then asketh charite.

This longe tale to tell
hathe made me almost horse:
I trowe and knowe right well
that god is full of force,

And able make the dome
And defe men heare and speake,
And stronge men overcome
By feble men and weke:

So thus I say my name is;
ye geit no more of me,
Because I wilbe Blameles,
And live in charite.

Thuse endith this boke called the [leaf 155.]
Image of ypocresye.

FFINIS.

Appendix to Image of Ypocresye.

(See p. 177, l. 15.)

A Satire on the non-preaching Ministers of James I's time.

This is a satirical Petition to James I by the lovers of 'good fellowship' among the Clergy,—those who were called by squires 'Madd priestes, odd priestes, Doctor Merriman, Vicar of Hell,' etc.—to put down the new rage for preaching, the new earnest preachers all over the land, and the Universities that sent them forth; and, instead of adding to the old monthly or quarterly sermon, to turn that into one sermon a year: this, instead of the preaching and catechising that goes on 'in such a fearful manner' as it now does. Also these non-preaching parsons pray that the Justices of the Peace will see Alehouses set up near to churches, and their number increased in dry towns. Here unluckily the Petition breaks off. It is printed in this volume as a contrast to Part III of *The Image of Ypocresye* (p. 226), on the Preachers, that Pre-Reformation and Post- may be compared.

[Harl. MS. 791.]

[leaf 66.] The humble petition of the vnpreachable Minnisters of England.

Most mighty Prince, now the heate of all other Suppliaunt*es* is well quenched, Wee (that haue long beene dumbe and silent, and yet can say litle,) haue resolued to sett downe our homely Petition to yo*ur* Ma*iest*ie, trusting that allthoug[h] wee tremble to come neere yo*ur* Royall p*er*son, because they say yo*ur* grace is admirable learned, yet that somebody or other, will bestow the tendering of it to yo*ur* graces hand*es*, in the behalfe of vs, A Company of most wretchles subiect*es*, that serue in yo*ur* graces dominions vnder the Coulor and Countenaunce of Ministers. Alas! our good leige king, what shall become of vs, who in yo*ur* gratious Sisters[1] dayes liued allwayes in feare, though not greately hurte, and now much more haue occasion to be disquieted, seeing we are dayly more hunted, rated and threatned, by our fellow Ministers, and Sermon-sicke people of all sort*es*, then ever heretofore. Shall there never be any Iniunction made to stopp theire mouthes, that call vs, being men and Christians, Dumb Dogg*es*, Idolls, vnsauory salt, Asses yoaked w*i*th Oxen, Cloudes w*i*thout Rayne, pitt*es* w*i*thout water, spott*es* and blurrs (insteade of starr*es*,) blinde guides, and a thousand such wicked

[1] ? Queen Elizabeth.

names? Why? what a mischeife! (god forgiue vs for being in Choller!) would they haue all the Min[i]sters preachers? That were, as though the Christ-cr[o]sse rowe[1] should be all vowell*es*, and neuer a Mute amongst them. Let them take this for theire learneing, that in a Common-wealth of Cardes, there must be some other besides king*es* and queenes of the same Colour, though not of the same quallity, or else we should haue poore pastime: An evident proofe, that there ought to be some good fellowes, as good schollars, in the Ministery, as wee suppose; and yet (alas!) of all handes, wee are sought to be shoffled out, and discarded, w*hi*ch cannot chuse but greiue vs, that faine would liue att ease, howsoever we face it out in Companie; and soe much greater is our greife, because neither in the old nor New-Testame*nt*, nor in the old nor new booke of Common prayer, nor from the Parliament or Conuocation-house, can we heare of any Iott, tittle, or sound of Comfort to serue our turnes; w*hi*ch, nevertheless, would not trouble vs soe much, but that we are betrayed of our greatest favorites, who make vs Levites to helpe the preistes for a shifte, intending (as farr as we can gather out of the meaneing of the worde,) That if any one of vs haue a good Liueing, we shalbe ready to leaue, and to betake vs to other occupations, when a fitt Pulpitt-mate is offered to take the chardge: for meere neede they make vs but tollerable Inconveniences, and necessarye mischeifes, to supply theire small liueing*es*, or leaueing*es*, rather vnsufficient to finde preachinge[2] Ministers, or till the Church be furnished w*i*th learned labourers from the Vniuersities, whose fruitefull ofspring now seemes to threaten our vtter Ruyne and fynall ouerthrow. what shall we say, where shall we complaine? our Comfort*es* or Countenaunce haue this fiue and forty yeares decayed and beene in a flux; and now (w*i*thout some speedy Remedy,) are alltogeither att the last cast. Shall we complaine to the Bisshopps and Fathers of the Church, who then will not acknowledg vs for theire legitimate sonnes? or if for feare of some quare impedit, or by some letters of Commendac[i]ons from other our hyred freind*es*, they haue some tymes beene induced to bestow a Creation or a blessing vppon vs, w*hi*ch make accompt, we are faine w*i*th Iacob or Esau (wee doe not very well remember whither,) to steale, soe shall we finde none [of] them all deale like a father indeede, and cast a good liueing vppon any of vs that haue beene still-borne, and bred vpp in silence. we may vnderstand theire good-will*es* toward*es* vs, by theire in-

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[1] The alphabet. A cross stood before the 'A.'

> In your *crosse-rowe* nor *Christ-crosse* you spede,
> Your Pater-noster, your Ave, nor your Crede.
>
> *Skelton's Works*, ed. Dyce, i. 133.

[2] MS. preachinge preaching.

quiryes made of our seuerall abileties [leaf 66, back.] and sufficiency, our degrees in learneing, our paines in preaching, by inforcing some of vs to entertaine sufficient men, and mantaine them as snakes in our bosomes to hisse against vs. In w*hi*ch buisines we, forsooth, might not be beleiued our selues, nor our licenses that we procured to shaddow vs for not preaching, but the Church-wardens, and ǫther our enimy preachers, were to enquire and informe against vs; w*hi*ch had cleane killed our heart*es*, but that here and there one of our dumbe fellowes were dropped in-to Commission by chaunce, whose report we hope will be fauorable toward*es* vs, for theire owne sakes; and yet can they be but poore Aduocates for vs, as long as the Bishops be flatt opposites to our Ignorance and Taciturnity. Shall we leaue them, and implore the ayde and countenaunce of greate Councellors and Noble-men? Noe, they will not dishonor themselues w*i*th the patronage of an vnpreachable Chaplayne, though otherwise he shall be sett out w*i*th very fitt properties, As a furred gowne and a faire bearde, to attend them for a dumb shew very sufficiently. Shall we, like poore Snakes, resort to the Iudges, and Lawyers of the Land? Nay! they are growne soe precise and preacher-like in theire Carriage, and soe full of theire captious deuinity, that we darr scarce pronounce our ordinarye Legit vt Cliricus before them, but even as the new Nicholas-Clarkes[1] reade theire Necke-vearse,[2] w*i*th feare to be tript and turned over. What then? shall we come home, and shroud ourselues vnder the gentlemen of the Contry, our auncient freind*es* and acquaintaunce? surely they and theire Ladyes in moste places are growne such disputers, and soe loue-sicke after preaching, that the Devill a bare Reader and a good fellow doe they care for. Nay, even some of those gent*lemen* that had wonte to make good sport w*i*th vs, att whose tables wee haue played the Ieasters, in whose houses att Christmas some of vs haue serued for as good as Maisters of Misrule, w*i*th whome we haue beene in greate request, and Companions, for Tables, Cardes, Bowles, and Dice, who had wonte to giue vs many sweete word*es* and familier names, as Madd preist*es*, Odd preist*es*, doct*our* Merriman, Vicar of Hell, and such like, as pleased vs well, and now, forsooth, looke awry vppon vs w*i*th rufull Countenaunces, as though they were sorye[3] for theire foremer estates, and ours present, and darr not make sporte w*i*th vs because we carry the

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[1] *Nicholas, Saint.* The patron of scholars, being a learned bishop, but more particularly of school-boys, as he was remarkable for very early piety .... But a very different person was also called *St. Nicholas*, now inverted into *Old Nick* . . it was clearly the latter who gave a name to *St. Nicholas Clerks*, when used to signify theives, highwaymen, and the like.—*Nares.*

[2] *Neck-verse.* The verse read by a malefactor to entitle him to benefit of clergy, and therefore eventually to save his life. Generally the first verse of the 51st Psalm.—*Nares.*

[3] MS. soryh.

names of Ministers, nor yet delight in our company, because wee be noe preachers. To whome then shall we impart our greife? to our honest neighboures, the midle and meaner sorte? alas! they haue cleane renounced vs, except some good fellowes, and trew Troyans, still that loue an Inch of Ale better then an Ell of a Sermon, or such as haueing a good penniworth of theire Temporall Tythes, care not how badd theire spirituall teaching be, and whereas we had one greate comfort in our fellow Ministers, that some of them being schollers, suffered the preacher licensed rather to stepp into a paternoster-Rowe, then to vex and trouble the pulpit, beeing as much rated for ydlenes, as wee for ydle Ministers, they haue raysed vpp themselues since yo*ur* Ma*ies*ties approch, and preach vnmercifully, in leauing the whole shame of loytering vppon vs, that had wonte to beare it the better for theire company and example. But what? doe we blame these, when our brethren and fellow Ignorant*es* are asshamed of vs, and forsaken our fellowshipp? some, for feare of an afterclapp, haue betaken themselues to a Night-capp, as though they had beene hugh preachers and student*es*; and some, worse then these, are turned halfe Puritaines, and with theire short wing*es* of witt and learneing are flowne into the pulpitt, and there crowe against Dumb Dogg*es*, evill and ydle Ministers, praying (oh horrible!) in greate length against themselues, and vs vnlearned and vnpreaching Ministers; how can this hould long, being thus deuided? In these our manifould distresses and distractions, we flye to the high Alter of yo*ur* owne Ma*ies*tie, with small hope to be protected vnder the same against the shame and contempt that is due vnto vs, yet yo*ur* Ma*ies*tie may be pleased somewhat to vaile [*leaf 67.] vs from being vtterly in *reproch and with yo*ur* Royall Target of grace; for indeede we deserue nothinge, onely grace must keepe vs from miscarryeing now, and this must be by some of these meanes following, or not att all·

Firstly, yo*ur* Ma*ies*tie must provide that schooles and vniu*er*sities may not be in such request as now they are; seeing that from them, as from a fountaine, the whole Land is overflowed with preachers and lecturers that we beare small good will vnto; soe may wee (bare Lecturers) perhapps (ah that yo*ur* Ma*ies*tie would say Amen!) keepe safe our present liueing*es*, that is, as long as we liue,—w*hi*ch is a thing wee desire more then heauenly matter,—and that when our places are made voyde, none of breede or quallity may enter them, except some honest Recusant chaunce to be patron, who will surely presente some still fellow (like our selues) that will not bay att his M*aster*, but like a Dogg in a Manger, [not] onely not fill the Pulpitt himselfe, but keepe it emptie from others, that the people may not be madd with two much learneing; or except some egregius Cormorant proue patron, who for mony cares not to make the Devill his maister.

2. Yo*ur* Ma*ies*tie must be good to Nonresident*es* and pluralist*es*, not putting them out of theire warme nest*es* of ease, nor hindring them of theire pleasure and perambulac*i*ons; for vnder wing*es* of some of those that haue double liueing*es* and single learneinge, we may be shaddowed and hid in our kind of service, being allwayes sure of a cure,[1] w*hi*ch else we shall misse of; and indeede, many Cures and litle cares is the best nursery of such Church-steruers as we bare Readers are.

3. Yo*ur* Ma*ies*tie must see, (but it is doubte we speake too late), that noe reconciliac*i*on be made betweene the Protestants and Puritaines in this Realme; but that either pursue other, w*i*th bitter and rayleing Invectiues in the Pulpitt and att the Presse; for soe by faction we may become some body, who in action are nobody: but espetially, lett them iarr about thing*es* indifferent, and be att noe consent about preaching, reading, and praying; that a Devorse being made betweene these most necessary exercises, as well as beetweene the mindes of the Cleargy, our Bowes may carry somewhat; and we that haue not the Currante of preaching, nor any currancy of Learneing, may be reputed of force, or plaine legiable facility, as other grand student*es* and graduates, for theire predicable actiuity and furniture in schooles and Pulpitt. but alas! wee heare that yo*ur* Ma*ies*tie hath endeuored to plante an inviolable vnion betweene the learned of the land, whereby the Gospell, runing w*i*th an [un]interrupted currante and vniforme Consent, must needes in short tyme be wracke of our vnlearned generac*i*on: but who can helpe it, and yet who is sory for it?

4. Yo*ur* graces example in Countenaunceing workey day sermons, w*hi*ch we tell yow trewly doe terrife vs very much, must not hould, if we shall stand; rather, let the Old monethly sermons, and quarterly, be abated, then[2] more added; and lett them be abridged into some one handsome sermon att the most, w*hi*ch, well cunned, will serue a minister of our makeing,—one that hath a sound memory,—all his life-tyme, to pronounce (by the helpe of his paper) once a yeare, every Christmas Day, or soe. Allsoe [if] yo*ur* graces subiect*es*, haueing theire teeth sett on edge w*i*th this preaching and Cattechiseing in such fearefull manner as is prescrib'd allready, should hunger after that w*hi*ch wee haue not for them, wee humbly craue that the Iustices of the peace in every County may not be soe stricte as they are against victuallers and good fellowshipp, but rather to aduaunce Alehouses neere to Churches, increaseing the number of them in dry townes, accordeing to the laudable example of some Burgamaster[s] in Corporations, who w*i*th one and the same hand, sendeing abroade the streames of Iustice and good fellowshipp, shew theire care for

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[1] MS. care. [2] than.

many new created Alehouses, who, as by Sluces, doe water the Allyes and streetes of theire Townes: (but espetially) our desire is, that there . . . . . [MS. breaks off.]

With the foregoing we may compare Robert Greene's description of the country vicar of 1592, in his *Quip for an Upstart Courtier*, p. 58–9 of Collier's reprint:—

"As these were going away in a snuff for beeing thus plainly taunted, we might see a made merry crue come leaping over the field, as frolickly as if they ought not al the world two pence; and drawing more nearer, we might perceive that either bottle-ale or beere had made a fray with them, for the lifting of their feet shewed the lightness of their head. The formost was a plain country Sir John, or Vicar, that had proclaimed by the redness of his nose he did go oftner into the alehouse then the pulpit; and him I asked what they were, and whether they were going? . . . 'Marry,' (quoth Sir John) . . . know, these al are my parishioners, and we have beene drinkinge with a poore man, and spending our monye with him, a neighbour of ours that hath lost a cow. Nowe for our names and trades: this is a Smith, the second a Weaver, the third a Miller, the fourth a Cooke, the fifth a Carpenter, the sixt a Glover, the seaventh a Pedler, the eight a Tinker, the ninth a Waterberer, the tenth a Husbandman, the eleventh a Diar, and the twelfth a Sailor, and I their Vicar.' . . . 'You are a little to breefe,' q*uo*d Cloth-breeches. 'Are you not some puritane, M. Parson, or some fellow that raiseth up new scismes and heresies amongst your people?' 'A plague on them all,' quoth [he,] 'Sir! for the world was never in quiet, devotion, [or] neighbourhoode, nor hospitality never flourished in this land, since such upstart boies and shittle-witted fooles became of the ministry. I cannot tel; they preach faith, faith, and say, "doing of almes is papistry;" but they have taught so long *Fides solam justificat*, that they have preached good workes out of our parish: a poore man shal as soone breake his neck as his fast at a rich mans doore. For, my frend, I am indeede none of the best schollers; yet I can read an Homily every Sunday and holyday, and keepe company with my neighbours, and goe to the ale-house with them; and if they be fallen out, spende my money to make them friends: and on the Sundaies sometime, if goodfellowship call me away, I say both morning and evening praier at once, and so let them have a whole afternoone to play in. This is my life: I spend my living with my parishioners; I seek to do al good, and I offer no man harm.' 'Well' (q*uo*d Cloth-breeches), I warrant thou art an honest Vicar; and therefore stand by; thou shalt be one of the quest' [or jury to try the cause between Clothbreeches and Velvetbreeches].

In the Introduction I ought to have referred more particularly to Skelton's *Colyn Cloute*, Works, ed. Dyce, i. 311–360. That poem no doubt suggested *The Image*, which may almost be called an expansion and generalizing of part of Skelton's work. Mr. G. Waring also reminds me that *Doctour Doubble Ale*, reprinted in *Early Popular Poetry*, iii. 247–391[1] may be mentioned in connection with the *Image*. This poem (which is of course later than the *Image*) is a capital sketch of Hary George (l. 280) a bowsing curate who, in early Reformation times, keeps his old Popish beliefs. His having the cobbler's boy turned out of church for daring to tell him he had read a wrong gospel, is a bit from the life. The old tippler wo'n't give up his faith that he, of a cake, his Maker may make (p. 317, l. 324–30; ch. p. 258–9) and he trusts to see some of these boasting Reformation fellows baked in Smithfield at a stake (p. 314, l. 228–31).

On the state of the Scotch clergy, etc., see Sir David Lyndsay's *Satyre on the Three Estaitis* (E. E. Text Soc. 1869).

L. 231, *cry creake.*

Thy mellyng is but mockyng; | Gyue it vp, and *cry creke*,
Thou mayst giue vp thy cocking, | Lyke an huddypeke.

Skelton's *Duke of Albany*, l. 298–301, *Works*, ii. 77.

P. 195, l. 471, *Sir John*, p. 214, l. 1023, 1038, *Auricular Confession*. Cp. this from Brinklow's *Lamentacion of a Christen against the Citie of London*, ed. 1545.

Ys not your aurycular confessyon also abhomynable? Yes, and that one of the moste fylthyest thynges vsed vppon earth, as hath playnlye appered by the feates of your chaplaynes in diuerse places of Englonde of late, and some within thys two yeares. I coulde name the prestes and the places also: but I will passe it ouer with sylence, trustinge in the Lorde, the hygher powers shall ones se the mischefe that commeth therof and redresse it. What an abhomynacyon is it that I shulde go poure out my vyces in the eare of an vnlearned buzarde, and specyally for a woman, whereby Syr Johan knoweth where to be sped. Yea if she will not graunt to hym, he will not shame to threaten her to ope*n* her vice, and so for feare she must agree to his abhomynable desire.

L. 561–78, *Priests cuckolding laymen.*

They saye ye leade euyll lyves | True wedlocke to confounde.
With other mennes wyues, | Thus do they rayle and raue,
And wyll none of your owne; | Callyng euery priest knaue
And so your sede is sowne | That loueth messe to saye,
In other mennes grounde, | And after, ydle all daye.

A Pore Helpe, l. 84–94. *Early Pop. Poetry*, iii. 256.

The poem, a half satirical 'defence of mother holy kyrke' should be read. Who can the 'noble clarke' of l. 209 be, who wrote the 'balad in ryme' against the Reformers before Myles Huggard? To the question on p. 249, was the *Pore Helpe* by William Roy? I answer most certainly not.

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[1] Every reader who has the volume should cut out the editor's [y-wis] p. 309, l. 107, and read 'wyfes' as two syllables: compare *beades*, p. 265, l. 367, rhyming with *read is*. In line 297 'perse' is for 'per se', like 'A per se A.'

L. 1871–80, *Seizure of Church-property by the King.* Brinklow advised this too in his *Lamentacion*, and provided for the distribution of the proceeds, thus:—

God geve the Kynge an hert to take that wycked Mammone from you, as he maye ryghtfullye do with the consent of the commones, by acte of Parliament, so that it maye be disposed to Godes glorye and the commone welthe. As to take hym selfe a porcyon for a knowledge of obeyeaunce, and for the mayntaynynge of his estate. The rest pollytyquely to be put vnto a commone welthe. Fyrst distributed amonge all the townes in Englond, in sommes accordynge to the quantyte and nombre of the occupyars, where moste neade is. And all the townes to be bounde to the Kynge, that his grace maye have the money at his neade to serue hym. And also a pollytyque waye taken for prouysion for the pore in euery towne, with some parte to the maryages of yonge parsons that lacke frendes. Wages there are ynoughe, who so lusteth to studye for them.

L. 1625, *A Mockaniste.* Sir Thomas More was called *Mr. Mocke* by Tyndale: *Works* (Parker Society) iii. 79.

"I would have hereto put my name, good reader, but I know well that thou regardest not who writeeth, but what is written: thou esteemest the word of the verity, and not of the author. And as for M. *Mocke*,[1] whom the verity most offendeth, and doth but mock it out when he cannot soil it, he knoweth my name well enough. For the devil, his guardian as himself saith, cometh every day into purgatory, (if there be any day at all), with his enmious and envious 'laughter, gnashing his teeth and grinning,' telling the proctor, with his pope's prisoners, whatsoever is here done or written against them, both his person and name too."—From "*The Supper of the Lord*" in *Tyndale's Works*, iii. pp. 267, 268 (Parker Society).

L. 1668, *Purgatory Proctoure.* This is Tyndale's name for Sir T. More.

In his "Practice of Prelates" A.D. 1530 (2 *Tyndale's Works*, ii. 297) Tyndale says:—"Moreover the PROCTOR OF PURGATORY saith in his Dialogue, 'Quoth I, and quoth he, and quoth your friend' . . . . . ". A side-note has been added in Day's reprint, edited by Foxe in the reign of Elizabeth—"This is Sir Thomas More." Mr. Walter (the Parker-Society editor) adds the following note to the passage:—"Tyndale calls Sir Thomas More *The proctor of purgatory*, in allusion to his controversial treatise entitled 'The supplication of souls,' which More composed in the form of an address 'To all good christen people' from their 'late acquaintance, kindred, spouses, companions, playfellows, and friends—now poor prisoners, the silly souls in *purgatory*.' But the 'Dialogue of Sir Thomas More' is another work, and is kept up by a repetition of 'Quoth I and quoth he' . . . . . "

L. 2322, *spadones.*

> And for my soule ryng many a mery pele
> In Venus temple, and eke in hir chapell,
> And also in many anothir holy stede
> Where *Spado* may not helpe women at ther nede.
>
> *Colyn Blowbols Testament*, in *Nugæ Poeticæ*, p. 3.

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[1] So in the original edition printed at Nornburg; but in all later editions *Mocke* has been changed to *More*.

Against the Blaspheming English Lutherans, and the Poisonous Dragon Luther.[1]

[Written in 1525–6 A.D.]

INTRODUCTION.

A change of subject. We have heard the Lutheran or Reformer against the Romanist; let us hear the Romanist against the Lutheran, and set his charges against those which the author of *The Image of Ypocresye* brings against the Pope and his Papist underlings. What Lutheran sins correspond to the Popish?—to the pride, lust, vice, and rapacity, that made men curse priest, monk, and friar; to the selling heaven and hell for gold, the corrupting the purity of the layman's home, that we have seen so vigorously denounced in the last poem? Why,—I. there is the vice most abhorrent to God, *Heresy*, which sprang from the Devil (l. 19–24).—A poisonous Dragon has stung many of God's people (l. 25–30); a Dragon worse than Cerberus or Hydra (l. 37–42), Colcas or the Python (l. 43–8), Medusa (l. 49) or the Basilisk (l. 55). His name is Luther, and his den is in Germany (l. 73–8); his soul sinks to Hell, where his brood is bred (l. 83–90). Near London is a cave, where his disciples magnify him (l. 97–102). II. God's church is derided, his Sacraments set at nought, his Priesthood despised (l. 103–8). III. Fasting, Prayers, Oblation, Pilgrimage, and good Deeds, are ridiculed (l. 109–14). IV. Almsgiving is said to be needless, Faith alone needful (l. 115–20). V. The Power of Peter's Successors is denied (l. 121–6). VI. Religion is barked at, and Saints not honoured (l. 133–8). VII. Singing and Divine Service are called 'Howling and Bearbaiting' (l. 139–144). VIII. Priests crossing themselves are called Jugglers; and watered Beer is thought as good as Holy Water (l. 145–50). IX. Holy Oil is no better than butter; and men (without license) marry within the Pro-

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[1] The title is mine, taken from the text.

hibited Degrees (l. 151–6). X. Confession is held unnecessary; Friars may marry Nuns; License is called Liberty (l. 157–62). XI. Purgatory is called a Fable (l. 163–8). XII. Other Errors and newfangled Inventions are about (l. 169–74).

This is the sum and substance of the Indictment. And no one can fail to notice how slight a thing it is, how superficial, and far from the life, as compared with the charges of the *Image* against the Papists.

The writer next calls on Henry to search through his realm, and put down these schismatics (l. 175–80), who seek to destroy God's church (l. 181–6). Like Sir Thomas More in his *Supplicacyon*, the author instances the excesses of the peasants in Germany (l. 187–98), and the terrible judgment of God on them by pestilence, famine, and battle (l. 199–204); and he appeals to *Rex, Defensor Fidei* to expel the heresy from his realm (l. 205–222, l. 235–40). If Henry does not, God will strike the Heretics and their King (l. 223–8). With an adjuration to England to be true to the doctrine of Augustine (l. 247–67), and a second call on Henry to chase 'thes blasphemyng Lutherions' out of his dominions, and thus become God's dear Darling (l. 268–76), the poem ends.

Wishing to get some passages from Luther's Works in illustration of the epithets that the poem says were applied to the Popish ceremonies, etc., I sent a proof to the greatest admirer of Luther whom I know, my most fiercely earnest friend, a man most worthy of respect; and received the following answer.—

"*December* 9, 1868.

"My dear Furnivall,

"I don't know that if I had time I should care to illustrate the blasphemous rot you have sent me,—but anyhow I have not.

"I think, however, you make a complete mistake if you fancy that the ranting lying blackguard who wrote the doggrel, (not worth the paper it is printed on,) ever read one line of Luther, or cared in the slightest degree to quote one word from him. As to Luther, passionately fond of music as he was, ever having called 'divine service with harmony' 'howling' or 'bear-baiting,' it is simply preposterous; so as to kinship of blood being no impediment to marriage. It is barely possible that some of the early so-called 'Lutherions' in England may have used some of the expressions mentioned, but it would be paying the fellow far too great a compliment to search out for proof.

"My dear fellow, how can you spend your time over such infernal rubbish, as if there were no better work in the world to do? Old filth and trash is not the less filth and trash because it is old. Yours ———."

A shower-bath of this kind is always invigorating. It takes

away your breath for the moment; then comes a pleasant glow of conviction that History *is* worth studying, and its many sides all needful to be seen, as well as the one which suits your own opinions or tastes; you scrub yourself with the bath-towel of Antiquity, and go on your way refreshed.

Unluckily I have not had time to look through any work of Luther's but his Table-Talk, translated; but there, sure enough, was the *howling* (l. 141) I wanted, used of the singing of psalms in monasteries, which the Papist writer of our poem no doubt considered to be "Deuyne servyce with armonye of songe and other melody." Thus speaks, or is reported, the great Reformer:—

> Prayer[1] in Popedom is mere tongue-threshing; not prayer, but a work of obedience. Thence a confused sea of *Horæ Canonicæ*, the HOWLING and babbling in cells and monasteries, where they read and SING the psalms and collects, without any spiritual devotion, understanding neither the words, sentences, nor meaning.—*Luther's Table-Talk*, p. 157. (Hazlitt's translation. Bohn.)

It is quite true that Luther loved Music, and that he has a fine passage about it in his Table-Talk (see the chap. lxviii, Of Musick, in *D. Mart. Lutheri Colloquia Mensalia*, translated 1652, p. 500); but then doubtless it was Protestant Music, hymns in the mother-tongue sung by a whole congregation, —*Ein fester Burg ist unser Gott*,—when the heart and understanding mind went along with the voice. Popish music was 'howling,' as Popish prayer was 'tongue-threshing.' And so some of it was, no doubt. God forbid that we should think all of it was.

On Fasting (l. 109 of our poem), and Purgatory (l. 163), Luther speaks thus in his Table-Talk:—

> The Popish *fasting* is right murder, whereby many people have been destroyed, observing the fasts strictly, and, chiefly, by eating one sort of food, so that nature's strength thereby is wholly weakened.—*Luther's Table-Talk*, p. 222.
>
> As for *purgatory*, no place in Scripture makes mention thereof, neither must we any way allow it; for it darkens and undervalues the grace, benefit, and merits of our blessed sweet Saviour Christ Jesus. Augustin, Ambrose, and Jerome held nothing at all of purgatory. Gregory, being in the night-time deceived by a vision, taught something of purgatory, whereas God openly commanded that we should search out and inquire nothing of spirits, but of Moses and the prophets. Therefore we must not admit Gregory's opinion on this point . . .—*Luther's Table-Talk*, p. 226.

If the *oblation* of l. 111 of our poem may be taken in its general sense of 'offering,' as I suppose it may fairly be, and not confined to the "blessed *oblacion* of the holy masse," as in Rich-

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[1] Good *prayrs* ys but idlenes (l. 110 of our poem.)

ardson's quotation from *Sir T. More's Workes*, p. 338, then we may take the following extract from Luther upon it, because the passage illustrates the complaints in *The Supplicacyon for the Beggers*.

"*That God will punish the Papists abominably.*

"*Luther* upon the third Chap. of the Prophet *Joël*.

"This also is one of the Papists sins; they rend and tear from their people, monie, wealth, and what els is costly, and therewith they trim and adorn their Idols, whenas with such goods, Schools, Pulpits and poor people ought to bee founded, furnished and preserved; But therewith lazie, nastie and filthie Swine are fed and fatted, and not onely that, but also the same is wasted and used to the trimming and adorning of abominable Idolatrie, and to destroie godliness, and the true service of God. They remain stiff-neckedly in their hardned hate against God's Word, and our true Christian Religion; therefore they have nothing els to exspect, then the recompence of the Law which *Tyre* and *Zidon* found and had before the revealing of the Gospel. *Ezechiel* highly extolleth *Tyre*, in that shee was mightie, but could not divert the deserved punishment: for shee was lamentably devasted, insomuch that shee laie waste seventie whole years: But far a harder punishment and horrible misfortune will com upon the Papists."—From p. 538 of Luther's *Colloquia Mensalia*, trans. by Capt. H. Bell, 1652.

Few readers will doubt that names as strong as the Papist poet gives, were applied by English Reformers to the Romish doctrines and ceremonies. By way of sample, I take from the Index to the Parker Society's volumes, part of the entries under Fasting (l. 109 of our ballad), Mass (l. 111), and Purgatory (l. 163); and for the other subjects refer the reader to the same volume:—

Fasting.—The Popish manner of fasting, 2 *Becon* 533, &c.; 2 *Tyndale* 124; this was wicked, 2 Becon 542; it rose of custom or superstition, *ib.* 535–6; Popish superstitious fasting, *Pilkington* 559, 1 *Tyndale* 90; its vanity, *Select Poetry* (ed. Farr, 1845) 281; the fondness of the Papists in their fastings, 2 *Becon* 536, &c.

Mass.—[See the title in the *Parker Soc. Index*, p. 524, col. 2, p. 525, col. 1, foot;] it is the invention and ordinance of man, 1 *Coverdale* 531; 2 *Hooper* 32; set up by Antichrist, 3 *Becon* 523; the sacrifice of Antichrist, 2 *Hooper* 32; the device and doctrine of the devil, 2 *Bradford*, 312; 1 *Cranmer* 422; 1 *Latimer* 411; a delusion, *Ridley* 409; the blindness of Papists in celebrating it, 2 *Hooper* 392; its sinfulness, 3 *Becon* 207; to be abhorred of all good men, *ib.* 257; a monster of lies, *ib.* 263; sacrilegious, 2 *Hooper* 508; horrible and blasphemous, 2 *Becon* 448, 2 *Bradford* 231, 1 *Cranmer* 348, 1 *Fulke* 241, 1 *Latimer* 445, *Ridley* 52, *Sandys* 43; masses are blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits, *Rogers* 299–301; the mass is a foul abomination, 1 *Latimer* 237; abominable and idolatrous, *Bale* 171, 215, 235, 236, 3 *Becon* 253, 264, 267, 270, 274, 275, 278, 1 *Bradford* 280, 392, 2 *Bradford* 44, 48, 141, 227, 317, 318, 1 *Cranmer* 229, 349, 350, 2 *Cranmer* 172, 1 *Hooper* 152, 311, 312, 2 *Hooper* 395, 451, 518, 589, 610, 1 *Jewel* 10–13, 2 *Lati-*

mer 440, *Ridley*, 401, 409, 1 *Tyndale* 248, 2 *Tyndale* 217, 220; it makes the creature into the Creator, *Ridley* 51; it is a fellowship with devils, 2 *Bradford* 334, 3 *Becon* 352; the table of devils, 3 *Becon* 352, *Philpot* 250; the sacrifice of the devil, *Calfhill*, 231, 2 *Fulke*, 166!

Purgatory.—(*P. Soc. Index*, p. 648, col. 1.), a tale concerning it, 1 *Latimer* 36; it is a falsehood, *ib.* 426, 550; a folly found out by man, 2 *Hooper* 31; a place of the Papist's devising, 3 *Becon* 129, 523, 1 *Cranmer* 353; rise of the doctrine, 2 *Tyndale* 162, 163; the doctrine condemned, 2 *Becon* 175, 1 *Bradford* 49, 372, 588, 3 *Bullinger* 389, 390, 2 *Cranmer* 182, 2 *Latimer* 191; the Pope's Purgatory is needless, 3 *Tyndale* 142, 143; the opinion of it is vain and dangerous, *Sandys* 162, 163; it is a most pestilent ill, 1 *Hooper* 566; its use in the mystery of iniquity, 2 *Jewel* 912; evils arising from the doctrine, 1 *Hooper* 567; purgatory devoureth all things, 1 *Tyndale* 244; it is a source of wealth to the clergy, *ib.* 244, 303, 318, 2 *Tyndale* 162; Purgatory pickpurse, 2 *Bradford* 292, 2 *Coverdale* 270, 1 *Latimer* 36, 50, 71, 1 *Tyndale* 342; Purgatory-rakers censured, 3 *Becon* 119; the doctrine prevents men from confiding in God, 2 *Tyndale* 159; it is contumelious to Christ, 1 *Cranmer* 349, 2 *Cranmer* 181; it causes men to fear death, *Pilkington* 321; they who fear Purgatory cannot but utterly abhor death, 3 *Tyndale* 281; in providing for purgatory some forget hell, 2 *Latimer* 339; provision for it has brought thousands to hell, and caused much evil upon earth, *ib.* 363.

On the question of Marriage within the prohibited degrees, l. 154–6 of our ballad, we must remember, first, that 'co-sponsors were termed by Papists spiritual kindred, and forbidden to intermarry, *Bale* 537, *Rogers* 262, 336, 1 *Tyndale* 245' (*Parker Soc. Index*), which the Reformers of course thought nonsense; and that, secondly, some of them did raise questions about the Prohibited Degrees, as 'marriage of brother with sister, regarded by Tyndale as not absolutely unlawful in all cases, 2 *Tyndale* 331; of a brother and sister-german, Parker 353; on marriage with a brother's widow, 2 *Latimer* 333, 340; Tyndale's argument that such marriage is not unlawful 2 *Tyndale* 323, etc.; marriage between uncles and nieces, whether utterly forbidden *ib.* 331.' *Parker Soc. Index*.

As to the date of the poem,—it was after Wolsey's orders to all the bishops of England, on the 14th of May, 1521, to seize all heretical books, or books containing Martin Luther's errors; after Henry's "fiery letter to Louis of Bavaria, denouncing 'this fire which hath been kindled by Luther, and fanned by the art of the devil;' and calling upon Louis, as a good Christian, to exterminate Luther and burn both him and his books;" after Henry's own book against Luther and in defence of the Seven Sacraments; after Leo X, in honour of that book, had, late in 1521, dubbed its author, Rex '*Defensor Fidei*,'—as the ballad says, 'a name of hygh report;'—after, lastly, the peasants' war in Germany, of the Anabaptists under Munzer in 1524 (see lines 187–203). The question is, how long after? I propose one year,—or two at the most: "behold what care *of late* came to Germany" (line 188–9),—as in 1525, says Mr. Froude (*History*, ii. 31):—

Tyndal saw Luther, and under his immediate direction translated the Gospels and Epistles while at Wittenberg. Thence he returned to Antwerp, and settling there under the privileges of the city, he was joined by Joy, who shared his great work with him. Young Frith from Cambridge, came to him also, and Barnes and Lambert, and many others of whom no written record remains, to concert a common scheme of action.

In Antwerp, under the care of these men, was established the printing-press, by which books were supplied, to accomplish for the teaching of England what Luther and Melanchthon were accomplishing for Germany. Tyndal's Testament was first printed, then translations of the best German books, reprints of Wicliffe's tracts or original commentaries: such volumes as the people most required were here multiplied as fast as the press could produce them. And for the dissemination of these precious writings, the brave London protestants dared, at the hazard of their lives, to form themselves into an organized association.

[The reader should turn to Mr. Froude's History, and refresh himself with the noble pages following.]

With this passage compare the 17th and 36th stanzas of our ballad:—

XVII.

Specyally yn this realme thei have
fownd out such a cave,
  not far from London cytye,
wher Luther thei do magnifye,
his falshed thei do ratifye:
  which to here ys now great pitye . . .

XXXVI.

for that thei teche, thei penne
full eruditely to all men;
  all redy hath tawght . . .

The cap fits: doesn't it? Compare also the portion of Lee's letter of Dec. 2, 1525, that Mr. Froude quotes (modernizing it) from III *Ellis* ii. 74-6. 'Edward Lee, afterwards Archbishop of York, then King's Almoner, and on a mission into Spain, wrote from Bourdeaux to warn Henry:'—

Please it your Highnesse moreover to undrestand that I ame certainlie enformed, as I passed in this contree, that an Englishman, your subject, at the sollicitacion and instance of Luther, with whome he is, hathe translated the Newe Testament in-to English, and within fewe dayes entendethe to arrive with the same emprinted in Englond. I neede not to advertise your Grace what infection and daunger maye ensue heerbie, if it be not withstonded. This is the next [= nighest] way to fulfill your Realme with Lutherians. For all Luthers perverse opinions bee grownded vpon bare words of Scriptur, not well taken ne vndrestonded, wiche your Grace hathe opened in sondrie places of your royall Booke. All our forfadres, governors of the Churche of Englond, hathe with all diligence forbed and exchued publication of Englishe bibles, as apperethe in Constitutions provinciall of the Churche of Englond. Nowe, Sir, as God hathe endued your Grace with Christen

courauge to sett forthe the standard against thies Philiste[n]es, and to venquish them, so I doubte not but that he will assist your Grace to prosecute and performe the same; that is, to vndre-treade them that they shall not nowe againe lift vppe their hedds, wiche they endevor nowe by meanes of Englishe Bibles. They knowe what hurte such books hath doone in your Realme in tymes passed.

Hidretoo, blessed bee God, your Realme is save from infection of Luthers sect, as for so mutche, that althowgh anye peradventur bee secretlie blotted within, yet for fear of your royall Majestie, wiche hathe drawen his swerd in Gods cause, they dar not openlie avowe. Wherfor I can not doubte but that your noble Grace will valiauntlie maignetaine that you have so noblie begonne.

This realme of Fraunce hathe been somewhat tooched with this sect, in-so-mutche that it hath entred amongs the Doctors of Parisse, wherof some bee in prison, some fled, some called *in judicium*. The bisshoppe also of Meulx, called Melden, is summoned for that cause, for he suffred Luthers perverse opinions to bee preched in his diocese. Faber also, a man hidertoo noted of excellent good lief and lernyng is called among them, but somme saye heer for displeasur, wiche I can well think. The Parliament of Parisse hathe had mutche business to represse this Sect. And yet, blessed be God, your noble Realme is yet unblotted. Wherfor lest any dawnger myght ensue, if thies Books secreatlie shold be browght in, I thowght [it] my duetie to advertise your Grace therof, consideringe that it toochethe your highe honor, and the wealthe and integrite of the Christen fayeth with-in your Realme; wiche can not long endure if thies Bookes maye comme in![1] The Holie Gost evermor assist your noble Grace. At Burdeaulx, the second daye of Decembr.

I have nothing more to say, except that the writer of the ballad, when thinking that the Lutherans could not sail against the wind (l. 244–5) then blowing, forgot that it was the nature of wind to change.

[Lambeth MS. 159, leaf 268, back.]

A lytle treatyse confowndyng the great hereses *that* raygne now a dayes, & repynyng agaynst *the* order of holy church: anymatyng good people to contynew in *the* constancy of fayth.

I.

God speaketh.

O man, recorde
I am *thi* lorde,
  w*hi*ch ruyth ryth & sore *thi* synn;
I moue the to ryse
in manyfold wyse;
  to loue the I can not blynn, 6

[1] A good prophecy.

II.

Syth I immortall,—
w*ith* my father et*er*nall
raygneyngˉ in trinite,—
myne enymyes to oppress,
came Down w*ith* gladness,
fro*m* care to make the fre. 12

III.

Whe*n* I loue the,
whi louest *th*ou not me?
& I so tru a frynd!
vertu to refuse,
al vyces to p*er*use;
thus art *th*ou greatly v*n*kynd! 18

IV.

But among al synn
*th*at thou lyuyst yn,
On vyce abhoreth me most;
*th*at ys, heresi vntrewe,
*th*at fro*m* the Deuyll grewe,
thou folowest w*ith* brag & bost. 24

V.

A poyso*nus* Dragon
hath infected my region,
of who*m* yo*n*g s*er*pe*n*tes hath sprongˉ,
his venemous inflations
hath *in*fectid many nations,
& moch of my people hath stongˉ. 30

VI.

No Dragon of nature, [lf. 268 bk., col. 2.]
nor s*er*pent feture,
to hym may be co*m*pared;
Hys qualytyes be so,
that where he ryde or go,
He enflameth fyre inward. 36

VII.

His breath ys more co*n*tagious
the*n* *th*e three-hedded cerberus

*tha*t kept black Pluteus chayne,
or the nyne-hedded idra
*tha*t kept *the* wat*er* of larna[1]
w*hi*ch hercules slew w*ith* Payne. 42

VIII.

Or colcas, the fyers Dragon,[2]
w*hi*ch *the* victorious Iason
subdued for the golde*n* flyce,
or the virolent python
w*hi*ch ouyde Doth treate on,
ne was of so ardent malyce. 48

IX.

Nor medusa the dau*n*gerous,
& of nature so mo*n*strous,
whos syght myght no ma*n* abyde,
tyll theseus dyd her wownde,
A-slepe as he her fownde,
as stories do not hide. 54

X.

The basilyske[3] w*ith*out fayle,
nor *the* venom of tirus tayle,
wherw*ith* great golyadys son
his father Did mortifi,[4]
By *the* means of fals sorcery
and infectio*n* of the poyson. 60

XI.

Now, these poysons & many mo [lf. 269, col. 1.]
that in worme both crepe & go,
ye may fynd, by naturall sense,
this enmyfull best,
this Deuelyshe noysom gest,
excedyth yn hy Dyfference. 66

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[1] Lernæ, near Argos.

[2] The golden fleece was 'in the possession of king Aeetes in Colchis, and was guarded by an ever-watchful dragon.'—*Dict. of Biogr.* ed. Smith.

[3] *Basilisk*, a kind of Serpent, otherwise call'd a Cockatrice, having a white spot on the Head, as it were a diadem or Crown: She drives away all other Serpents with her hissing; neither does she roll up in Folds as others do, but bears her body vpright to the Middle. This Serpent is said to destroy Living-creatures, Fruits, &c., by her infectious Breath, to burn Herbs and to break Stones.—*Kersey's Phillips.*

[4] What story does this refer to?

XII.

for this belleatt I here mene,
passith att nature clene,
  so sore infectid ys his case;
His co*m*plexio*n* ys so wylde,
He corruptith both ma*n* & childe
  w*h*ich he neu*er* saw in *th*e face. 72

XIII.

what ys *th*is Dragons name?
Luther, futt off shame!
  in germany ys his Denne:
there he swellyth, he blowyth,
he burnyth, he glowyth
  agaynst att tru chryste*n* men. 78

XIV.

not far ffro*m* his nose-thrylls
the veno*m*e owt his mouth prylle*s*.[1]
  O lord! how hideous ys his vapore!
to heaue*n* his breath stynckyth,
to hett his soule synckythe,
  so detestable ys his nature! 84

XV.

His byrd*es* be w*ith*out shett, [lf. 269, col. 2.]
w*hi*ch noryshyd are in hett
  among infernall pr*o*geny.
now are *th*ei flowne about;
my people stonde in Dout,
  so strong ys there co*m*pany. 90

XVI.

In flaunders & in almayne,
& in my litle bryttayne,
  futt sore infect *th*ei *th*e ayere:
w*ith* false ipocrisi
& corruption of Heresi
  my flock begy*n*neth to appayere. 96

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[1] ? our *purls*. 'To *Purl*. Du. *borrelen* to bubble, to spring as water; G. *perlen* to bubble, Sw. *porla* to simmer, bubble, &c. *Purl* a fall head over heels; It. *pirlare* to twirl, *pirlo* a top. O. E. *prylle* (a *pirlle*—Med.), or whyrlegygge.'—*Promptorium: in Wedgwood.*

XVII.

Specyally yn this realm *th*ei haue
fownd owt such a caue,
not farr fro*m* londo*n* cytye,
wher luther *th*ei Do magnifye,
His falshed *th*ei Do ratifye:
w*hi*ch to here ys now great pitye. 102

XVIII.

My church ys yn derision,
& almost in co*n*fusion,
my sacrame*ntes* sett at nowght.
Presthoode ys dispisid,
tru fayght ys clene disgisid,
& heresy sett a-lofte. 108

XIX.

fasty*n*g ys but folyshnes,
Good prayrs ys but idlenes;
oblatio*n*, sup*er*stitici*on* thei call.
pilgremage ys but folly,
be hit neuer so holly;
Good Dedes vnd*er* foote Dothe fall. 114

XX.

To work almes dede, [lf. 269 bk., col. 1.]
thei cownt it no nede,
but o*n*ly to sto*n*de to there faythe;
but fayth ys ded in dede,
wher good work*es* ca*n* no spede,
As Iames my s*er*ua*n*t saythe. 120

XXI.

There power & auctorite
to pet*er* & his posterite,
w*hi*ch I did my self avow,
abrogat thei wold;
there malic*e* ys so bold!
but agaynst the streme *th*ei row. 126

XXII.

quodcu*n*q*ue* ligaueris,
et q*uo*dcu*n*q*ue* solueris,

these word*es* in my gospell be;
not by me[1] yn speciall,
but spoken there in generall
to pet*er* & his posterite. 132

XXIII.

thei bark at religion,
thei spurn at devotion;
my saynt*es* not honored be:
laudet*ur* dominus
in s*anc*tis eiŭs:
thus dauid techethe the. 138

XXIV.

Deuyne s*er*uyce w*ith* armonye [lf. 269 bk., col. 1.]
of songe & other melodye:
'Howly*n*g' thei ytt call,
'bearebayty*n*g & Busseyng,[2]
fox-halowy*n*g & husseyng:'[3]
thus rayle *th*ei at you all. 144

XXV.

Whe*n* my prest*es* w*ith* devotio*n*
crosses makithe, say*n*g the cano*n*;
to a Iuggler thei hy*m* co*m*pare.
Asshis or hurthe, sand or salt;
water halowed, or myxt with malt;
w*hi*ch of the*m*, *th*ei Do not care. 150

XXVI.

W*ith* holy oyle anoynted *th*ei be,
or els w*ith* butter smered; let vs se,
make thei ony differenc*e*?
naye, p*ar*de! also in mariage,
be she neu*er* so nyhg in pare*n*tage,
wed her wyll *th*ei w*ith*out licenc*e*. 156

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[1] ? MS. The word—3 strokes and an *e*—may be *ine* or *ne*, for [*o*]*ne*, taking the third stroke as part of the *e*.

[2] ? *Buss*, to butt or strike with the head. Florio has *Aceffáre*, to *busse* or beake as a hog doth.—*Halliwell.* Kiss, the general meaning of *buss*, does not suit here.

[3] Swiss *huss*, Magyar *usz*, *uszu!* cries used in setting on a dog, Du. *hussen*, *huschen*, Magyar *uszitani*, *huszitani*, to incite, set on to attack. N. *hussa* to chase with noise and outcry. See Harass. Hurry.—Wedgwood's *English Etymology*, under *Hussar*.

XXVII.

Thei say *that* co*n*fessio*n* ys not necessary ;
fryars w*ith* nones may well mary ;
mans law ys but a vanyte :
no superior nor obedience ;
agaynst mysdoers say[1] no violence :
this call thei christe*n* libertye. 162

XXVIII.

My prison of purgatory [lf. 270, col. 1.]
w*hi*ch declareth my mercy,
as a meane to cu*m* to my blysse :
thei call *th*is thy*n*g fa*n*tastical
as a fable poetical.
se how blynd there opinion ys ! 168

XXIX.

these errowrs co*n*de*m*nable,
w*ith* other mo reprobable,
these luthario*n*s Disp*er*sith*e* about.
w*ith* cloked intentions
& new fangly inventions
thei multipli there rowt. 174

XXX.

O noble Henry,
thou Princ*e* of high p*ro*geny,
mak*e* serch thorow thy realme !
this scysmatick collection,
subDew by correction ;
for, shame to *th*e thei Dreame. 180

XXXI.

my church *th*ei wold destroy
w*ith* ther deuelyshe tyrra*n*ny,
(so perilous ys ther entent,)
w*ith* wrynches & wyles,
w*ith* frawd*es* & w*ith* gyles :
thus priuely haue *th*ei ment. 186

XXXII.

Alas ! beware ! [lf. 270, col. 2.]
behold what care

[1] try.

of late came to germany!
thei fell to rauyn & spoyle;
sanctorum sancta thei did toyle
with most cruell vilany. 192

XXXIII.

In church, chapell, & priory,
Abby, hospitall, & nunry,
sparyng nother man nor woman;
coopes, albes[1], holy ornamentes,
crosses, chalecys, sensurs, & rentes,
convertyng all to vsys prophane. 198

XXXIV.

my plage anon amongg them fell,
Pestilence, famyn, & batell;
by sworde an hundrethe thowsande
In few years I toke awaye.
How many shal after, who can say?
the turke commeth now at hande.[2] 204

XXXV.

now rex, defensor fidei,—
this name haue I geuyn the,
a name of hygh report,—
help, therfore, & ayed my prechers,
of trew faythe the feruent techers,
agaynst this arrogant sort! 210

XXXVI.

for *that thei* teche[3], thei penne
full eruditely; to all men
all redy hath tawght:
what so euer be, other be ment,
suffer neuer thy Iugement
thus to be sett at nawght! 216

XXXVII.

therfor this fals frantyck frensy, [lf. 270 bk., col. 1.]
this starck staryn̄g ipocrisy,

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[1] See the note from Horman's *Vulgaria*, p. 195, note 4, above.
[2] Was this anything more than the old Bogey cry?
[3] ? MS.

owt of *th*i realm expell!
ther doctryn*e* so seditious,
ther poyson so pestiferous,
suffer them not to sell! 222

XXXVIII.

ffor yf thou fynd no remedy,
then ned*es* strycke must I,
& doutles thei shall smart!
for both to them & the
my strooke comen must be,
but most shalbe thi part. 228

XXXIX.

this treson*us* work workyñg wormes,
as *the* snake amo*n*g greyne thornes,
preuyly to *the* people dothe crepe.
ther lyeth owt hyssyng w*ith* *the* tonḡ,
the venom boylethe out amonḡ,
thynkynḡ thou were a-slepe. 234

XL.

therfore awake ma*n*fully,
& defend *th*i realme fro*m* vylany!
thi[1] apostacy expell w*ith* spede!
Els nothynḡ shall go forwarde,
but all be turned backwarde,
& fayle at thi most nede. 240

XLI.

for wher tru fayth lackyth, [lf. 270 bk., col. 2.]
all goodnes slackythe;
no v*er*tu, rote may take.
wha*n* may[2] ma*n* p*re*uayle
agaynst the wynde to sayle
w*ith* bost, braggs, or crake? 246

XLII.

O ynglond, ynglonde!
thou hast worne the garlonde

[1] ? this.

[2] MS. ma*n* may.

Off trewe fayth euer to me!
Therfore swarue not asyde,
But be stredfast,[1] & not slyde,
and this new dysgysyng let be! 252

XLIII.

Remember thou what Doctryne
my tru seruant augustyne,
many an .C. yeare agone
hath graffed in thi brest
to beare the fayth of chryst,
& the truth he tawght the tho! 258

XLIV.

and of this graff be spronge
many martyrs stronge,
confessors and Vyrgyns pure:
thei lerned wel the lesson
of my tru seruãnt augustyn;
therfore in heuyn now raygn thei sure. 264

XLV.

That same Do thou ensue, [lf. 271.]
Exchaunge ytt for no newe
yf thou wylt haue my grace.
thes blasphemyng lutherions,
thes obstinat myscreons,
Out off thi Domynion chase! 270

XLVI.

So shall thy subiectes all
haue my grace in specyall,
and Ioye after this;
And thou, ther louyng kyngꝭ,
shalt be my Deare derlyngꝭ
In my heuenly blysse. 276

Amen.

Finis.

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[1] *for* stedfast.

The Spoiling of the Abbeys.

"In Douce MS 365, fol. 95 recto, a codex of Elizabeth's time, and written by Stephen Batman[1], is found the following poem," says Mr. George Waring, who has searched the MSS. in the Bodleian for ballads and poems bearing on the subjects of the present volume. "The present poem is by Stephen Batman,[2] who wrote MS 365 conjointly with Dr. Dee. All the pieces relating to the Reformation in the MS are written by Batman, and are liberally interspersed with denunciations against the mushroom aristocracy who were fed fat on the spoils of the old religion. These are interesting in connection with his verses, and also as from the pen of a zealous Protestant."

I regret that time fails me to collect a series of extracts from contemporary writers on the misuse of the Abbey lands, etc., but hope that a future opportunity may offer for it. Even those who agreed with Gardiner, in his sermon at Paul's Cross, in 1548, that—

> First, a great alteration it was to renounce the bishop of Rome's authority, and I was one that stood in it. A great alteration it was that abbeys were dissolved. A great alteration it was that images were pulled down . . . We had monkery, nunnery, friary, of a wondrous number, much variety of garments, variety of devices in dwelling, many sundry orders & fashions in moving of the body. These things were first ordained to admonish them to their duty to God, to labour for the necessity of the poor, and to spare from their own bellies to the poor, and therefore was their fare ordained and prepared. And because they abused these things, and set them in a higher place than they ought to do, not taking thereby the monition thereby the better to serve God, but esteeming perfection to consist in them, they were dissolved, their houses and garments were taken away . . (*Haweis's Sketches of the Reformation*, 45–6.)

were not prepared to see the Abbey lands and buildings given away to courtiers, and landlords who, following the example of rent-raising that Roy says the monks had set them, raised rents

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[1] Douce and his Cataloguers attribute it wrongly to Dr. John Dee (Mathematician and Astrologer, born 1527, died December, 1608. *Hole's Biogr. Dict.*)

[2] In the Bodleian is a 'copy of Cavendish's Wolsey by Batman, to which the latter has affixed notes. Wordsworth did not use this copy, but printed from two Lambeth MSS.—G. W.

and fines still higher, whipped tenants with scorpions instead of with whips. Those of us who desire the disestablishment of the Irish Church, don't want to see its revenues in landlords' hands; and if they ever get there, shall be quite ready to say with the author of *Vox Populi* (p. 113; and p. 139, l. 540–1, above),—

> We have taken their landes for theire abuse,
> But we convert them to a worse use.

The poem was without doubt written by a Protestant; and if any one wants a further illustration from Protestant writers of the lines

> Poor Christ's Church they furnish with rags,
> And wicked customs good manners deprave,

let them turn to Mr. Haweis's *Sketches*, the Index to the Parker Society's volumes, and the references there given, Stubs's *Anatomie*, etc. As the last-named writer says of his country and countrymen:—

> It greeueth me to remember their liues, or to make mention of their waies, for, notwithstanding that the Lorde hath blessed that land with the knowledge of his truth aboue all other landes in the worlde, yet is there not a people more corrupt, wicked, or perverse, liuyng vpon the face of the earth. (*Anatomie*, ed. 1585, repr. 1836, p. 4.)

[Douce MS. 365, leaf 95.]

The Abbaies went doune because of there pride,
And made the more covetus riche for a tyme;
There leivenges dispercid one everi syde,
Where wonce was so*m*me praier, now placis for swyne.
The goodes *that* were geven for a good intent,—
Through falshod of prelates, *that* did them bygile,—
of ovthers was spoyled, toren and rent;
thus chrafte by violence came to a foyle.
But what shal be-co*m*me of those that bee gaye,
withe the goodes of the Clergy flavnting about?
There stollen bvldinges & Landes shall a-waye,
when a thrid mischefe co*m*methe ovt*e*.[1]
They think that to heauen they shall goe for there bragges;
There howses of pompe cannot them save;
Poore Christes church, thé fourneshe w*i*th ragges,
and wicked customes good manners deprave.
Skip-Jack[2] England, and look to thy tayle!
A whipp from heauen thy pride shall qvayle!
Will you knowe when this shall be
At the ende of one, two, & thre.

[1] Don't you think the "thrid mischefe" is Puritanism?—G. W.

[2] *Nimbot:* m. a dwarfe, dandiprat, little *skip-jack*, low dapperling, three-

The copier, if not writer, of the poem above, is that Stephen Batman—first student, then Professor, in Diuinitie—whose quaint *Batman*[1] *vpon Bartholome*, 1582, one knows. He wrote besides, say *Bohn's Lowndes* and *Hazlitt's Handbook*:—'A Christil Glasse for Christian Reformation,' 1569; 'The Travayled Pilgreme, bringing Newes from all Partes of the Worlde,' 1569; 'Of the Arrivall of the 3 Graces in Anglia, lamenting the Abuses of the present Age,' (W. Norton,[2] 4to); 'The Golden Booke of the Leaden Goddes,' 1577; 'Joyfull Newes out of Helvetia: declaring the ruinate Fall of the Papall Dignitie: also a Treatise against Vsurie,' 1575; 'The Doome, warning all men to Judgemente,' 1581. Mr. Hazlitt says two other tracts may be Batman's.

Mr. Waring says of the Douce MS. 363, from which *The Spoiling of the Abbeys* is taken:—

"The MS is beautifully written, and interspersed with Batman's very curious pen-and-ink drawings and illuminated letters. No doubt he made the drawings himself for the remarkable cuts in his 'Travelled Pilgrim,' etc. The poetry is just the same sort of polemic cracker-verses with which he garnishes his prose in print. I take the E in 'then after E flowes misery' of the acrostic, the second piece following, to mean after Queen Elizabeth's death, and think that the two last lines at the end of the poem on 'the Abbaies,' which in the MS are placed at its side, allude to the current contemporary belief that Elizabeth would die at the beginning of the century. Mr. Douce, and the makers of the catalogue to his collections, equally attribute MS 363 to Dr. Dee and Batman, but on close examination it appears to me entirely the work of the latter.

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halfepenny horse-loafe. *Cotgrave.* SKIP-JACKS, youths who ride horses up and down for the sight of purchasers. *Dekker's Lanthorne and Candlelight*, 1620.

> Of Jack-an-Apes I list not to endite,
> Nor of Jack Daw my gooses quill shall write;
> Of Jacke of Newbery I will not repeate,
> Nor of Jack of both sides, nor of *Skip-Jacke* neate.
>
> *Taylor's Workes*, 1630 (additions to *Nares*).

[1] Stephen Batman was born at Bruton in Somersetshire, and after a preliminary education in the school of his native town, came to Cambridge, where he had the reputation of being a learned and excellent preacher. We presume that he was the Bateman who, in 1534, took the degree of LL.B., being then a priest and student of six years standing. Afterwards, *Abp* Parker selected him as one of his domestic chaplains, and employed him in the collection of the noble library now deposited in Corpus Christi College. B. asserts that he collected 6700 books for the *Abp*, though we suspect this to be somewhat of an exaggeration. In 1573 he was rector of Merstham, Surrey. He was also DD., and parson of Newington Butts. In 1582 he was one of the domestic chaplains of Henry Lord Hunsdon. He sometime resided at Leeds in Kent. Died in 1584. (Then follows a list of his works, all of which are to be found in the Bodleian Library.) *Cooper's Athenæ Cantabrigienses*, vol. i. p. 508.—G. W.

[2] Also 'imprinted at London by Thomas East, for William Norton and Stephen Bateman.'

On the blank leaf at the beginning of the MS is:—

[The Land's Great Misery.]

The name of Nobilitie in England beares swaye,
The name of vertue dothe dayly decaye;
ffor he that is noble of birthe, without mynde,
Is sib to the Devell, to his contrye vnkinde.
Wo worthe that nobilite that goulde nobles regarde
When povertie is pynched, & hathe no rewarde!
for stovir in feild, in towne, nor Citye,
Disarte findes none! w*hic*h is great pittye.
Prelacy is throwne downe to the grownde,
Temporall lordes have geven the wonde;
With tempering so longe in prelacies fee,
The lande is browght to greate miserye.

ENGLAND.

Enuie twixt **N**obilitie, **G**rudgeng gainst the **L**ayety, **A**cepted for **N**aught **D**iuinitie. then after **E** flowes Misery.[1]

[Revenge on the Robbing Lawyers.]

When Lawiers robbes the Layety for gayne,[2]
Their stately bowers shall florish to the skie;
Oppression hepes vpp, then Clergie feeles the paine;
Redresse is past till sworde makes theefe too flye.
Ah wofull gle! when haruest is at hande,
to th*e* spoyle of him th*a*t spoyled hath the lande.
tutissimu*m* est nulli fidere,
væ. væ. væ. in pace viuere.

Found written as a loste letter, betweene Croydon and London, a° 1580, the 20 Aprill.

"On fol. 94 of the MS.," says Mr. Waring, "begins a certificate of the value of lands and religious houses in Huntingdonshire, with a note prefixed by Batman:—

Imagine, by the suppresseng of a fewe, the great welthe that those possessed wh*i*ch weare inritched by Abbaye landes, and what the com*m*on welth is inritched by it: then was com*m*on proffet, w*i*th idolatrus religion; now, private com*m*oudite, w*i*th extreame exaction: thus is eaten ovt by prodigalitie the farmes of the poore, the goods of the clergie, & the laboures of the com*m*ons.

A Saxon Verce in English.

That Realme or kingdom shall euer decaie
Where there Clergie beares no swaye.
Yf Godes spell be the best amonge Christian kinges,
haue regarde too thy Clergie aboue all thinges.

"Batman has put the words 'A Saxon verce,' etc., in Anglo-Saxon characters. He dabbled no doubt in Anglo-Saxon, but knew little about it, for in a distich in A.-Sax., given in his printed works, he has taken the p for the thorn, and rendered it *th*."

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[1] E, Elizabeth. M-Misery, Mary.
[2] Compare *Vox Populi*, p. 126, l. 94; p. 143, l. 691.

The Overthrowe of the Abbyes,

A Tale of Robin Hoode.

HERE is a fragment of an Allegory, telling how Robin Hood, the representative of the Bishops, at first earned his living by the sweat of his brow, quelled monsters, giants, and dragons, and generally helped the world. Then he taught Adam Bell, the representative of the Abbots, how to shoot, and set him in a plain, by the river's chrystal vein. Lastly, when the world was calm, Robin placed Little John, the representative of the Universities, on the two mountains of Oxford and Cambridge, full of the springs of knowledge. At first Adam, the Abbot, was ware and wise; but afterwards he waxed fat and grew jolly, sucked sweets like the bee, and fell asleep with fat. Then a lion, hungry, seeking his prey—Henry VIII,—came that way, seized Adam, tore him in pieces, and distributed his bow and arrows. When the wolves and foxes (or Puritans and Politicians) saw the Abbot in Henry's paws, they cried, "Ours is Robin," and surrounded him. —Here the fragment ends. The moral is stated below.

[Harl. MS. 367, leaf 150.]

A tale of Robin hoode, dialouge wise beetweene
Watt and Ieffry.

The morall is the overthrowe of the Abbyes, the like being attemted by the puritane, w*hi*ch is the wolfe; and the politician, w*hi*ch is the ffox, agay[n]st the bushops.

Robin hoode: bushop
Adam Bell: Abbot
llittle Ihon: Colleauge
or the vniversity.

IEFFRY. Watt, boy, whether now so faste?
Why, man! what needs all this haste?
ffrolicke, man! for I have seene
Both our flocks in yonder greene.
Hadst thou come but heere awaye,
Thou hadste seene a p*re*tty fraye.

WATT: Who foughte heere, I pray the, shewe.
IEF: Two fatt ramms, for one leane ewe:
With sucth force each other battred
That their heads were bothe beemattred;
So all three were in one plighte,
Shee with leanesse, they with fight.
WAT: Rest they, then, if they bee weary,
And make wee a little mery
Tale,—wee, Ieffry, in this shade,
Till the soonn beeginn to glade:
Thy loves storye of thy Cyss
Wowlde delighte mee more then this.
IE: Watt, stay there! for love I care not;
Leave out love, and speake, and spare not.
Talke of Bevis[1], fighter peerlesse,
Or of Ascleparte the fearlesse;
Talke of lyons and of wonders,
lightnings flashe, or roores of thonders,
fyre and hayle, and stormes of blood,
Or tell a tale of Robin hoode.
WA: Pitty twere, hee that showlde ease thee,
Shoulde relate things cannot please thee.
Thy loves eager sawce, I feare,
Wowld wax sharper with this geare,
Ieffry; and I durste not venter
Putt thy sorowes on the tenter:
Off Robin hoode I cann thee tell,
With little Ihon and Adam Bell.
IEF. Than tell mee of those iolly markmen
Whiles our flocks go feedinge. WAT. harke then.
Robin Hoode, as thou doste knowe,
Was the firste that drewe the bowe;
[2]Adam Bell rose vp anonn;
Last of all came litle Ih[o]n.
Robin in the greatest heate
Gott his livinge by his sweate;
hee did encounter monsters fell
In forest wide, and did them quell:
him, ne're Chimæra cowld afrighte,
Nor monster men, which giaunts hight;
The flyinge dragon scap'te him not,
So stronge hee drewe, so righte hee shott;

[2] [bu]shops [w]ere f[i]rste in the primitive churche, in the heate of persecution; then succeeded monasteryes in calmer tymes, and laste of all colleages: of either which bushops wer[e] principall and firste founders.

[1] See the Romance of *Sir Bevis of Hamtoun*, from the Affleck MS, ab. 1320 A.D., ed. Turnbull, for the Maitland Club, 1838.

Even that Leviathan remorcelesse,
Shott downe to hell, did feele his forces;
With bowe and arrowes by his side,
hee walkte the woods and forrests wide;
when the worlde for helpe did cry,
And good archers were sett by,
hee taught Adam to deliver;
Hee, the firste that gave him quiver,
Gave him bowe and arrowes sure;
Gave him goodly furniture;
Hee tooke Adam by *the* hande,
Hee lead Adam throug the lande,
Hee plas'te Adam in the playne,
By the rivers christall veyne.
When the worlde was calme at laste,
And all daunger now was paste,
Little Ihon: who doth not see
What good Robin did for thee?
On two mounteynes hee thee planted,—vnivers: ox: [Cam:
ffull of springs w*hi*ch never scanted,
Whence large rivers rann amayne
Into Adams fruitfull playne.
Two fayre mounteynes thou doste holde,
ffull of pretious stones and goold,
W*hi*ch the worlde so mucth sets by
As the body doth the eye.
Adam Bell was ware and wise
when hee firste beegann to rise,
till with fatnes of his fare
hee grew iolly, past all care,
As the bee in sommers prime
Sucks the marigoolde and thyme,
Sucks the rose and daffodill,
Leavinge, takinge, what hee will;
And from flowre to flowre doth glyde
Sweetly by the rivers side,
Where christall streames delightfull ronninges
Ar ever sweetned with his hummings:
Sucth was Adam in his prime,
In the flower of his tyme;
So hee tasted evry sweete,
Till with fatt hee fell a sleepe.
As hee slombred on the dale,

Spread vpon the gentle vale,
Chaun'ste a lyon came that way, kinge hen[ry]
Hongry, [seeki]nge for his pray:
In his graspinge pawes hee hente him,
And in pieces all to-rente him;
then, his quiver by his side,
as a spoile hee did divide,
And his bowe and arrowes sur[e],
And his goodly furniture.
Yeat his cabin doth remayne,
Beaten with the wynde and rayne,
Spoyl'd of all the passers-by,
Whose huge frame doth testify
of that wondrous monym[en]t,
All the worlds astonishment.
When the wolves and foxes sawe
Adam in the lyons pawe,
"Ours is Robin," streight they cry'de,
And sett him round one evry side.

thus: [*the Poem breaks off here.*]

De Monasteriis Dirutis.

I have not come across any contemporary Manuscript Ballads lamenting the destruction of the Monasteries, though doubtless there are some. To the later ones printed above, I add here a somewhat sentimental moan over this destruction, written almost half a century after its accomplishment, by Anthony Harison, clerical attorney-secretary of the Bishop of Norwich in 1603. The writer gives the following account of himself in the Manuscript which contains his short poem, 'Repertorium Episcopale Norwicense. Collectum per Anthonium Harison, clericum, 1603, 1604, etc., usque 1631, 1632:'—

[Camb. Univ. Libr. MS. Mm. 3, 12, leaf 62.]

"I Anthonie Harison, y^e^ writer of this booke; borne at Over in the countie of Cambr. y^e^ 13th day of November *anno domini* 1563. In y^e^ yeare *anno* 1603, being 40 yeares of age, being then Solicitor and Attornie, by patent of y^e^ vniu*er*sitie of Cambridge, of which uniuersitie Dr. John Jegon had borne y^e^ office of Vicechancellour three yeares, And was consecrated Bishop of Norwich y^e^ 19th day of ffebruarie *anno* 1602, and after y^e^ death of Queene Elizabeth was very gratiously restored to y^e^ temporalties of y^e^ B*isho*prick of Norw*i*ch, together w*i*th y^e^ meane p*ro*ffitts from y^e^ death of B*isho*p Redman, his p*re*decessor, by Kinge James, the xij^th^ day of Maie following. At w*hi*ch tyme I, being chosen by B*isho*p Jegon to be his secretarie, came w*i*th him to y^e^ Palace of Norwich. At my coming thither (being required therevnto by my said Lord and then M*aster*) I began to looke into y^e^ euidenc*es* of y^e^ temporalties of y^e^ saide B*isho*prick, w*hi*ch B*isho*p Redman had left in his studie in y^e^ pallace very loosely, as formerly (as I was then informed his p*re*decessors had done,) in y^e^ custodie of William Titley, then keep*er* of y^e^ pallace, and his p*re*decessors, whoe, to gratifie y^e^ gentlemen of y^e^ countrie, farmers of y^e^ B*isho*prick, had imbezzelled all y^e^ counterp*ar*ts of their leases, and all other euidenc*es* that concerned their farmes. These gentlemen were, S^r^ William Paston, S^r^ Thomas Barney, S^r^ Miles Corbett, S^r^ John Pettus, S^r^ Edward Blen*er*haysset, S^r^ Edward Themilthorp, M^r^ James Scamler, M^r^ Adam Scamler, M^r^ Thomas Francis, M^r^ John Holl, and others."

To these particulars, the Catalogue of the Cambridge University Library MSS. vol. iv. p. 196, adds the following, "chiefly given by [Harison] himself in different places in the MS.":—

"He describes himself as collector of the tenths of the Bishoprick, and he held the office of Coroner within the liberties of the see for the 3 years immediately preceding 1608, when, in consequence of a suit in the Star Chamber, he resigned it. He was afterwards instituted to the Rectory of Catfield in Nor-

folk (according to Blomefield, in 1609), and probably died in 1638, as his successor was instituted in that year. The following observation of his own explains the origin of this collection:—'I have from tyme to tyme for the space of 30 yeares paste bene a diligent observer and preserver of all matters which did concerne the Bp of Norwich, wheresoever I found them, in print or manuscript.' MS. p. 420. Some collections of Harison relating to the See of Norwich are among Tanner's MSS. in the Bodleian Library." (See *Cat. Cod. MSS. Bibl. Bodl.* Pars IV.)

[Cambr. Univ. Libr. MS. Mm. 3. 12, leaf 6.]

What was good deemed
Six hundred yeares now paste,
This day esteemed is
As naught and badd;
ffor now those stately howses
are laide waste,
Which in those tymes
in great accompt were had.
ffrom good to badd
This world declyneth still,
ffrom holy to profane,
and passing ill.

Quod Anthō Harison.

The Ballad Society.

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An Exhortacyon to the Nobylles and Commons of the Northe.

[1536 A.D.]

Since I wrote, on p. 299, that I had found no contemporary ballad lamenting the destruction of the Monasteries, our member, Mr. Edward Peacock, has pointed out to me the following one, published at Ripon in 1843, and prefaced by J. R. W. Its original is among the State-Papers of Henry VIII at the Record Office, a sheet of paper worn in two at the fold; no doubt contemporary with the Ballad itself, which must be of the year 1536 or thereabouts, as the writer, in l. 147, urges his Papist friends not to refrain from praying for our King, "And his undowdtyd wiff, qwen lady Jhane," who married Henry VIII on May 26, 1536, and died 24 Oct^{r} 1538.

The *Exhortacyon* is addressed to 'the northorne pepull' (l. 7), 'the faithfull pepull of the boryalle Region' (l. 1), who are contrasted with 'thes Sothourne herytykes' (l. 11), 'thes Sothorne turkes' (l. 56), and who are assured (l. 137) that 'the englysch commontie' will help them in their rising to maintain the Faith, and the Right of this land, and to suppress the authors of cursed Heresy. From the writer's sharp contrast between North and South, between the English commonalty and the Northerners whom he addresses, it would seem at first sight as if he looked to a Scotch rising and invasion of England in favour of Popery; but the way in which he identifies himself with the conspirators (l. 139–143) and treats them as subjects of Henry (l. 145–6), and his complaint of Cromwell's persecutions and exactions in the North (l. 99–102, l. 115–118) show that North-Englishmen alone were in the writer's eye. From old University rows etc. we know how much more sharply North and South were divided into parties in former times than they are now. I think then that this *Exhortacyon* was written by a Northerner[1] to Northerners,

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[1] Cp. the northern *Allthoff*, although, l. 39; *knawne* known, l. 83; *abuffe* above, l. 103; the use of *ai*, *ei*, *oi*, for *a*, *e*, *o*, etc.

folk (according to Blomefield, in 1609), and probably died in 1638, as his successor was instituted in that year. The following observation of his own explains the origin of this collection:—'I have from tyme to tyme for the space of 30 yeares paste bene a diligent observer and preserver of all matters which did concerne the Bp of Norwich, wheresoever I found them, in print or manuscript.' MS. p. 420. Some collections of Harison relating to the See of Norwich are among Tanner's MSS. in the Bodleian Library." (See *Cat. Cod. MSS. Bibl. Bodl.* Pars IV.)

[Cambr. Univ. Libr. MS. Mm. 3. 12, leaf 6.]

What was good deemed
Six hundred yeares now paste,
This day esteemed is
As naught and badd;
ffor now those stately howses
are laide waste,
Which in those tymes
in great accompt were had.
ffrom good to badd
This world declyneth still,
ffrom holy to profane,
and passing ill.

Quod Anthō Harison.

The Ballad Society.

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An Exhortacyon to the Nobylles and Commons of the Northe.

[1536 A.D.]

SINCE I wrote, on p. 299, that I had found no contemporary ballad lamenting the destruction of the Monasteries, our member, Mr. Edward Peacock, has pointed out to me the following one, published at Ripon in 1843, and prefaced by J. R. W. Its original is among the State-Papers of Henry VIII at the Record Office, a sheet of paper worn in two at the fold; no doubt contemporary with the Ballad itself, which must be of the year 1536 or thereabouts, as the writer, in l. 147, urges his Papist friends not to refrain from praying for our King, "And his undowdtyd wiff, qwen lady Jhane," who married Henry VIII on May 26, 1536, and died 24 Oct^{r} 1538.

The *Exhortacyon* is addressed to 'the northorne pepull' (l. 7), 'the faithfull pepull of the boryalle Region' (l. 1), who are contrasted with 'thes Sothourne herytykes' (l. 11), 'thes Sothorne turkes' (l. 56), and who are assured (l. 137) that 'the englysch commontie' will help them in their rising to maintain the Faith, and the Right of this land, and to suppress the authors of cursed Heresy. From the writer's sharp contrast between North and South, between the English commonalty and the Northerners whom he addresses, it would seem at first sight as if he looked to a Scotch rising and invasion of England in favour of Popery; but the way in which he identifies himself with the conspirators (l. 139–143) and treats them as subjects of Henry (l. 145–6), and his complaint of Cromwell's persecutions and exactions in the North (l. 99–102, l. 115–118) show that North-Englishmen alone were in the writer's eye. From old University rows etc. we know how much more sharply North and South were divided into parties in former times than they are now. I think then that this *Exhortacyon* was written by a Northerner[1] to Northerners,

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[1] Cp. the northern *Allthoff*, although, l. 39; *knawne* known, l. 83; *abuffe* above, l. 103; the use of *ai*, *ei*, *oi*, for *a*, *e*, *o*, etc.

in the autumn of 1536, just before[1] Henry "named commissioners to take possession of the suppressed monasteries, and to prepare measures for the seizure of others" (*Macfarlane's Cab. Hist.* vi. 226), and before the Lincolnshire rebellion broke out in Oct[r] 1536,[2] though the writer was aware of the temper of the English commonalty at the time, and perhaps looked specially to Lincolnshire for help. Had he written in or after October, he would certainly have held with John Hogon (see below, p. 311), that the Duke of Suffolk—who temporised with the Lincolnshire rebels, and then quashed them—'myght a made Inglond mery,' that is, 'if the Duke off Suff*olk* hadde lete the Lynecolneshere men, & suffred them to a gon to the northen men, then they together xuld or this tyme a brought Ingelond in-to a better stey then it is now.'

The writer of the *Exhortacyon* did not shrink from the way of the sword: It is better for us to die, and make an end of our lives, than for heresies to reign, and the nobles be brought to confusion, he says, l. 19–22. To fight now, my counsel it is (l. 59, l. 125); defer not your matter till a new year; I fear aid will come out of a strange land (l. 135–6). The Northern people were not slow to follow his advice, for the Lincolnshire "insurgents did not disperse till the 30th of October, and before they retired to their homes a fierce rebellion broke out beyond the Trent." It afterwards

"spread from Yorkshire into Durham, Northumberland, Westmoreland and Lancashire . . . the rebels at one time were estimated at forty thousand, being under the nominal command of Robert Aske, a gentleman of Yorkshire, who was not destitute either of talent or of energy. These men of the north had given a religious character to their rising, and had bound themselves by oath to stand by each other 'for the love which they bore to Almighty God, his faith, the holy church, the king's person and the persons of the nobility, to expel all villain blood and evil counsellors from the privy council, not for any private profit, nor to do displeasure to any private person, nor to slay or murder through envy, but for the restitution of the church, and the suppression of heretics and their opinions.' They painted on their banners the figure of Christ in his agony; they wore upon their sleeves the emblems of the five wounds of the Saviour, with the name of Jesus; and they called their march 'The Pilgrimage of Grace.' Wherever they advanced they restored the monks and nuns to their houses" . . . (*Macfarlane*, vi. 230.)

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[1] Christes churche *very lyke* ys spoilyd to be,
And all abbays suppressit: it is more petye! l. 23-4.

[2] In the month of October the commons of Lincolnshire being assembled touching certain subsidies to be paid to the king, suddenly, as if animated by one spirit, took up arms to the number of twenty thousand men, forcing certain lords and gentlemen to be their leaders, and to swear to their articles [requiring the redress of their grievances].—*Macfarlane*, vi. 228.

All this suits well the urgings of the *Exhortacyon*. The result of the *Pilgrimage* I need not restate. The winter and Henry's bribes did his work, and the re-gathering of the rebels in arms in 1537 ended in their confusion, and the execution of their leaders. 'Bloide was sheide with gret crudelitie,'—far more of it and with far greater cruelty than the ballad accuses Cromwell of having used before (l. 118).

This curseide Cromwell (l. 121, 69) is the special object of the ballad-writer's hate. Another Haman he is (l. 73); and as his prototype was hanged as a notable thief (l. 92), so the hanging of Cromwell is the one thing necessary for the redress of the realm (l. 109–12). Of this Cromwell, says l. 71, 'the arte of a Shermane, it was hys begynnyng,' and Mr. Froude follows Foxe in making Cromwell's father a cloth-shearer :—

"At length we catch for a moment an accurate sight of him. In the autumn of 1515 a ragged stripling appeared at the door of Frescobaldi's banking-house in Florence, begging for help. Frescobaldi had an establishment in London, with a large connexion there; and seeing an English face, and seemingly an honest one, he asked the boy who and what he was. 'I am, Sir,' quoth he, 'of England, and my name is Thomas Cromwell; my father is a poor man, *and by occupation a cloth-shearer;* I am strayed from my country, and am now come into Italy with the camp of Frenchmen that were overthrown at Garigliano, where I was page to a footman, carrying after him his pike and burganet.' . . ." (Froude, *Hist. of England*, ii. 108.)

But on this and the rest of the passage he extracts, Prof. Brewer comments as follows in the *National Review*.

"Circumstantial as this narrative seems to be, there is hardly a statement in it correct. . . . We cannot disprove every assertion made by Mr. Froude, because we cannot always discover when he speaks from authority. Having assumed that the minister of Henry VIII. belonged to the Cromwells of Lincolnshire, Mr. Froude assumes the probability of Foxe's story, borrowed from Bandello. And though he doubts in his notes, as reasonably he might, how Cromwell could, according to Foxe, be at the storming of Rome with the Duke of Bourbon in May 1527, when he was employed in Wolsey's household in England, Mr. Froude is inclined to prefer the more dramatic but unsubstantial narrative of the martyrologist to the drier but indisputable testimony furnished by official documents. We are sorry to dissipate such a pleasant illusion. But the whole account is little else than a mistake. . . . The facts known of Cromwell's life, so far as they can be drawn from the indisputable data furnished by his own correspondence, are briefly these. The first notice that occurs of him is that of a merchant trading in 1512, at the mart of Middleburgh, to all appearance a member, even at this early period, of the Society of Adventurers who had dealings with the Low Countries. Sir Henry Ellis has published a letter addressed to him, at a later date, from Antwerp, in which the writer wishes to engage Cromwell in a speculation for buying cheese; and the whole style of the letter shows that the future

minister was perfectly well versed in such operations. In 1520 and the following years, he was practising in London as a scrivener and attorney, combining with his other occupations that of a cloth-dyer. He was then living in Fenchurch Street. On wandering scraps of dirty papers, and dry-as-dust heaps in the Record Office, quite beneath the notice of the hero-worship of history, we stumble upon queer bits of information relating to his early career. Here is the back of a bill for cloth-dressing and facings, mixed up with items paid in the course of his business at the law-courts; here the draft of a petition in Chancery, or a list of his creditors, hopeful and desperate. As early as the year 1521 he was flourishing in business and lending money. In 1525 Lord George Grey is his debtor for 30*l.*; and Lord Harry Percy, Ann Boleyn's unfortunate suitor, for 40*l.* in 1527. Here again is a letter sent to him by one T. Tressell, dated from Worcester, 20th October, 1522: 'Mr. Cromwell, I commend me unto you, and I trust that ye have dressed my cloth long ere this time. I pray you to send me word what ye paid for dyeing of my cloth. But, sir, I do suppose unkindness in you that you do not send unto me my pouch of velvet, &c. Commend me to Mr. Woodall and Anthony Bonvysy.'"

The 'Chancelleres towe' of l. 64 of *The Exhortacyon*, the Chauncellors of l. 128, are no doubt "the Lord Chancellor Audley, who was the worthy coadjutor of Cromwell," and "Sir Richard Rich, Chancellor of the Augmentations, of whom, together with Cromwell, the men of Lincolnshire complained to Suffolk, by name, as being 'such personages as be of low birth and small reputation, which have procured the premises most especial for their singular lucre and advantage.'" (J. R. W. Pref. of 1843, but printing *or* for *and*, in consequence of leaving out the *es* in the chancell*er*es of the MS, l. 64.) On the 'heretycall byschoppes' of l. 65, J. R. W. says, "The bishops of Rochester, Salisbury, St. David's, and Dublin, were accused also at that time, together with the Archbishop of Canterbury, of having 'subverted the faith of Christ.'"

In an Appendix to *The Exhortacyon* I add the Deposition of Thomas Bek and others as to the singing by John Hogon, on Thursday, Feb. 15, 1537, of a song on the rebellions of 1536 and 1537. [The originals of the following pieces in the Record Office have unluckily been mislaid, so that I have not been able to read the proofs or revises with the originals. 5 Nov. 1870.]

I.

O faithfull pepull of the boryalle Region,
cheiff bellicous champions, by dyvyn *pro*videns
of god hie electe, to maike Reformatione
off gret mysch[e]v*es* and horryble offence,
goo ye forwarde valyently in y*our* p*er*egrinacyon!
It is chryst*e* plesur, and to your saluacion.

II.

The northorne pepull in tyme longe past*e*
haith lytyll beyn Regardyde of the awstrall[1] nacione;
But now I doo trust, evyn-at the Last,
Renowne we shall wyne, to oure holle congregacyon,
off thes Soth*ou*rne herytyk*es*, devode of all vertu,
and them ou*er*-thorwe: ther faithe is vntrewe.

III.

desist not of your purposse both good and co*mm*e[n]dable,
p*ro*seqwuit your entent w*i*th power and mayne,
Inspyryde of gode, by mocyon cclycalle,
thes heretyk*es* to suppresse, and tyranny Restrayne.
It is wrytyn in the machabies,—Loke well the Storie—
Accingemini potentes q*ui* estote filii.

IV.

For ws yt is better in battyll for to dye,
and of oure mortayll lyve to maike a co*n*clusyone,
Then heresies extremly to Ryne w*ith* tyra*n*nye,
the nobilite off the Reame browght to co*n*fusione;
Christ*es* churche very lyke ys spoilyd to be,
And all abbays suppress*it*: it is more petye!

V.

Abbas to suppresse we haue lytyll nede,
the wyche off charyte gude men dyd fownde;
to them yt wais thowght it wais great meide;
but boldly now downe streght to the grownde
many are besy them to dekay,
And them profanyth: non dar say nay.

VI.

Yff pouerte haide beyn cheffe causse off thys,
then gode the lesse we shulde offende;
But theis falls heretyk*es* procuryth thys mysse;
they Reine to longe: gode sende an[2] ende
off all the myscheves! *tha*t we may see
thes nowghty heretyk*es* prevate of *ther* dygnyte.

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[1] *Austral* . . Southerly; of, or belonging to, the South.—Cotgrave.
[2] *Orig.* and.

VII.

Thes ennormyties to Recovor, now lette vs tayke payne!
thynges amysse to Redresse, we owre selff must enforce;
All-thoff in battyll many shulde be slayne,
Regarde noit the plesure of owr mortall corse,
but call to owre memoré wher gode sayth thus,
Confortamini in bello; nam vobiscum dominus.

VIII.

Oure cause yt ys lefull, I der well Reporte; [p. 2.]
more sowrly our enmyss we may assaye,
noitt dowtyng off them to maike gret morte,
or ells very sone to brek *ther* array,
Thorowe helpe of hym that lyghtly may
gyve strenght vnto fewe, vt fiat victoria.

IX.

The machabies beyng fewe in the comparason
of ther enmys, *that* in nomber wer many mo,
Zit, trustyng in gode, thai haid Roboracyone,
and many of them thay dyd ouer-throwe,
mantenyng *ther* lawe with rytes manyfolde,
and fawght Ryght manly, as werrears most bolde.

X.

We beyng therfor in lyke distresse,
thes Sothorne turkes pervertyng owre lawe,
Spoilyng crist churche, to owre gret heuynesse,
the welth of the Realme not Regardyng on strawe,
Ther-for to feght nowe, my cowncell yt[1] ys,
nam deus non deerit pugnantibus nobis.

XI.

The auctors off all ill, to Rehers by name
me thynk yt no neide; many doth tham knowe,
ffor *ther* coursyde cownsell god sende *them* myche shame,
bothe nowghty cromwell and *the* chancelleres towe.
The heretycall byschoppes cawsyth[2] our desolacyon:
christ curs on them lyght, Small havyng devocyon!

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[1] *Orig.* ys.

[2] *Orig.* cawsygh.

XII.

Ther propertes to dyscryve, me thynk yt Ryght necessary
for the trowht ons knowe of *ther* generasyone
wyll move vs to abbore *that* cursyde company 69
of cromwell the captayne, and all hys subtyll Resone:
the arte of a shermane, it was hys begynny[n]g,
but layt of fauoure promottid by oure kynge. 72

XIII.

Alter aman[1] he is, as ys mayde mention
in the booke of Hester—yt doth *ther* appere—
whome assuere exaltyd to hye promotion, 75
makyng hym cheff Ruler of all ys empire
Thys aman, in mynd Repleit with vayngloré,
of euery man dyd coveit honored to be. 78

XIV.

Thys for to do, non durst yt Rekewsse,
better ne worsse, thorowe all the cowntre,
Saue only mardoche, who dyd Refusse 81
hym for to honore in any degre.
This knawne to aman, Repleit with furie, [p. 3.]
in mynde dyde Imagyne howe mardoch shulde dye; 84

XV.

And with *that* noit content, hys mallys put in vre[2]:
agaynes *the* trew Iewes of hys propagation
Sent wrytyng a heide brode with his besy cure, 87
all his pepull to be browght to gret desolacyon;
but ȝit noit-with-standyng, gode dyd so provyde:
he myst of hys purposse; gode was *ther* gyde. 90

XVI.

the chaunche fortonyde so[3], (this ys no fable,)
the gallous apone, prepared for mardoche,
hanged he was, as a theiff notable,— 93
Assuere commandyng *that* so it shuld be,—
And hys Rommys Ryall, no fardell[4] delay,
were gyven onto mardoche in *that* same day. 96

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[1] Another Haman. [2] put his malice in execution.
[3] *thus* precedes *so*, but seems to have been struck out.
[4] ? fardle, bundle, bit; or for 'farther.'

XVII.

This storrye for to marke, who hayth gude affectyone,
now trewly verefyed in p*ar*te may be se:
this cruell Aman by his falsse inue*n*tyone,
in the northe doth p*er*sewe the faythfull co*m*mauntie,
By hys gret expensis endentyng[1] vtterly
vs to distroie, and bryng in captivite.

XVIII.

But gret god a-buffe, *that* eu*er* doth p*ro*cure
ffor his faythfull pepull all *that* is necessarie,
And eu*er* p*ro*vyde, I ȝoue doo ensure,
his falseid to be knowne, and eke hys pollicé,
No faire wordes we shall truste, efter my opynyone,
but boldly to go forwarde in oure p*er*egrinacione.

XIX.

Iff this A-man wer hanged, then der I weⁿ say
this Realme then Redressyde fuⁿ sone sholde be,
And the byschopp*es* Reformyde in a new array:
then stablyssyde shulde be our trewe crystianite.
But to[2] *th*is be done, we may be well sure
thes grevosse offenses we ca*n*not Recure:

XX.

the intollerable exact*i*ons *that* longe he dyd vsse
the laffye[3] emong*es*, and also the spiritualtye,
is a vorthe[4] dethe. who can this exkews?
I see bloide by hym sheide w*i*th gret crudelitie;
[For[5]] him a shamfull deth by Ryght doth it clame,
w*ith* otter co*n*fusyon and extreme shame.

XXI.

this curseide cromwell by hys gret pollicie
in this Realme haith causid gret exaction,
them hyly p*ro*motyng that sett*es* outt*e* heresie;
by the aide of the chauncellors, vsyng exortacyon.
Agans them all for to fyght, I think yt co*n*uenie*n*t, [p. 4.]
and noit for to seisse tyll *ther* lyves be spent.

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[1] intending. [2] till. [3] laity. [4] is worthy of. [5] MS torn off.

XXII.

Iff longer thei shold Reyne in this nobill Region,
chryst*es* lawe to dystroie, it is ther intent;
then shortly wolde *th*ei bryng vs to wtt*er* co*n*fusion;
our nobyll*es*, for ther boldnesse, shortly shuld be shent,
ther heid*es* to be loste; and that wer gret petye,
this contre to be desolate of so nobille p*ro*genie.

XXIII.

where-for, faythfull co*m*muners, be of gude chere;
youre entent to purssew, nowe taik vpon honde;
differ not your matt*er*es tyll a new ȝere;
I fere aide wyll come owt of a strang lande.
the englysch co*mmon*tie, now may ȝe be sure,
yo*ur* purposse will aide, thes wronges to Rekure.

XXIV.

now gode,—in wois causse we tayk vp*on* hande,
(not agans our prince,—this may he well spie,—
but) faith to mayntene, and Ryght of this londe,
the auctors supp*r*essing of cursyde heresie,—
Valyently to spead, he graunt vs by grace,
that fynally we may see his Ioifull face.

XXV.

In att owre distresse, leit ws noit Refrayne
delygently for to p*r*ay, owr kynge for to save,
And his vndowdtyd wiff, qwen lady Jhane.—
And we do offende, p*ar*don*e* we do crave.—
gode send hyme longe tyme to Reyne w*ith* eqwytie,
That vertewe may abownde w*ith* gracyous plentye.

God Save oure Kynge!
na*m* hoc cupit Auctor.

Finis.

Appendix to "The Exhortacyon."

—◆—

The Deposition of Thomas Bek, John James, John Folsar, and William Davy, as to John Hogon, a fiddler, having sung a Seditious Song on the Rebellions of 1536 *and* 1537, *on the* 15*th of February*, 1537.

This Deposition was shown to me by an officer of the Record Office, and may well find a place here. It is the original document, in the writing of Thomas Bek, the other signatures being those of James, Folsar, and Davy.[1] Of the song which Hogon sang, only part is written, and that as prose, though I have broken it up into what I suppose were its lines. The first of these 'the hunte is vp, the hunte is vp &c." represents no doubt the popular song made by 'one Gray,' of whom Puttenham (or whoever the author was) speaks thus in *The Arte of English Poesie* 1589, lib. I, Chap. VIII 'In what reputation Poesie and Poets were in old time with Princes, and otherwise generally, and how they be now become contemptible, and for what causes :'

"And one *Gray*, what good estimation did he grow vnto with the same king *Henry*, afterward with the Duke of Sommerset, Protectour, for making certaine merry Ballades, whereof one chiefly was *The hunte it* [? is] *vp, the hunte is vp.*" (ed. Arber, 1869, p. 32.)

Mr. Chappell, who quotes the above, and gives much other interesting information about the song, also prints the song, with the tune. Its first verse is :

"The Kinges Hunt is upp.

"The hunt is up, the hunt is up,
And it is well nigh day ;
And Harry our king is gone hunting,
To bring his deer to bay."

If Hogon's verse was rightly reported by Thomas Bek, it could not have suited the metre or tune of its original ; but that probably did not much matter then. The deponents honestly say that they report Hogon's words only "as nygh as we can remembre them."

As to Hogon's complaint that the Duke of Suffolk did not carry out his pledge to get all the Linconshire men a free pardon, we may quote a passage from Macfarlane vi. 229 :

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[1] Mr. Wm. Chappell has noticed it in his *Popular Music* i. 60, and refers to Collier's Shakespeare i. p. cclxxxviii for some particulars about it.

"Of the men of Lincolnshire, fifteen victims were given up to satisfy the royal vengeance. Among these were holy Dr. Makerel, the prior of Barlings, or Oxley, and Captain Cobbler, the chief leader, who is said by some historians to have been the prior himself, though it is conjectured from a contemporary paper, that the real name of this Captain Cobbler was Melton.[1] These men were respited for a season, but they were afterwards executed as traitors with the usual barbarity. But Henry's thirst of blood grew with his years. On the 9th of October a priest and a butcher were hanged at Windsor by martial law, 'for words spoken' about the insurgents. At the same time, Dr. Mallet, who had been chaplain to the late Queen Catherine, was summarily executed at Chelmsford, in Essex, for some words spoken to the like effect."[2]

If John Hogon was caught, no doubt he paid for his song with his head too.

The student of our dialects will notice the initial *x* of *xuld* etc. well known as a characteristic of our East Midland forms—in Lynn, Coventry, and Lincolnshire, at least.—See my 1868 Report of the Early English Text Society p. 3–4 and note.

The examination of a Minstrel or Fidler who went about the country, 28 Hen. VIII, singing a song against the Duke of Suffolk.[3]

*Memoran*dum th*at* oone Iohn^{o} Hogon^{o} goyeng abought the Cuntre wyth a Crowde or a ffyddyll*e*, was at Dysse in the County of Norff*olk* on Thursday next aft*er* asshe-wenysday in the xxviij yere of the regn^{o} of oure Sou*er*eyn^{o} lorde kyng herry the viij[4]; and in the house of Edmond Broun^{o}, Bocher, of Dysse forseyd, the same Iohn Hogon dyd syng a songe by these wurd*es* ffoluyng:

the hunte is vp, *the* hunte is vp, &c.
the Master*es* of Arte, & Doctour*es* of Dyvynyte
haue brought this realme ought of goode vnyte.
Thre nobyll*e* men haue take this to stey,
My lorde of Norff*olk*, lorde Surrey,
& my lorde of Shrewsbyry:
The Duke of Suff*olk* myght a made Inglond mery,

and so dyd p*ro*cede forth to thende of his songe. And at thende of his songe, oone Iohn^{o} Iamys seyd thus: "Be ware how thou syngyste this songe in Suffolke." And the ffelawe seyd ageyn "why xuld I be ware? I haue songe this songe twyse a-fore my lorde of Surrey; at Cambryd[g]e, and at Thetfforth abbey." And Thom*as* Bek, heryng the same songe, and also heryng the ffelawe

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[1] Note by the editor of State Papers. [2] Stowe.
[3] Late heading to the original State Paper.
[4] Tuesday next after Ash-Wednesday 28 H. 8. was 15 Feby. 1537. [Late note on the original State Paper.]

speke that he dyd synge this songe afore my lorde of Surrey, seyd that "he was sewer, yf he had song this songe a-fore my lorde of Surrey, he wuld a sette the ffaste by the ffeete, ffor thou slawndryste that nobyll man." And then Thom*a*s Bek askyd the ffelawe what he ment by this in his songe, 'The Duke of Suf*folk* myght a made Inglond mery'; and he answeryd thus: "I meane therby, that if the Duke off Suff*olk* hadde lete the lyncolne*s*here men, & suffred them to a gon to the northen men, then they to-gether xuld, or this tyme, a brought Inglond in-to a better stey then it is now. And then this Iohn^{9} Hogon^{9} seyd that "the Duke of Suff*olk* p*ro*mysyd, and was bounde, onto the lyncolnshere men, to gette ther p*ar*don for them all*e*, And that noon^{9} of them xuld suffre dethe. And cuntrary to that, the same Duke dyd vij men to be hangged aft*er* that, and dyu*er*se moo ar sent for." And that the same ffelawe dyd goo ffrom house to house, and dyd syng this songe, & made the reporte afore seyd, in the house of Rob*er*t ffraunce$\frac{s}{9}$ & Iohn^{9} Ketylbergh, Iohn Harlewyn. And vpon the heryng therof the seyd Iohn^{9} Iamys came onto Thomas Bek, and shewyd hym that suche a ffelawe went a-bought town syngyng of these song*es* And then Thom*a*s Bek desyryd Iohn^{9} Iamys to bryng this ffelawe to Edmunde Brownys house; and ther he dyd syng the songe: & [we have] reportyd the wurd*es* afore seyd as nygh as we can remembre them. In the p*re*sence of Thom*a*s Bek, Iohn^{9} Iamys, Iohn ffolser, Will*ia*m Davy, and other. In wytnes wherof we haue sette our*e* seall*es*.

ex.

Thom*a*s Bek	Iohn Iamys	Iohn ffolsar boscher	Davy wyllyam
L. S.	Seal.	Seal.	Seal.

The felowe comparyd the hunte
is vp, to the northen men ar vp.

(Endorsed in another hand,) Thomas bek
Io: Iames
Iohn folser &
their felowes.

A godlye sayng.

(Before 1539 A.D.)

[Then put in prystes wyffes your trust and confydens.]

THIS ballad too was brought to me by an officer of the Department, from the State-Papers of Henry VIII in the Record Office. The burden of it seemed familiar to me, and I still suppose it to be in print, though after some search, and enquiry among men likely to know, I cannot find where.

As we have seen in pages 60–75 of this volume, the priest's wife or wench was a familiar topic with Englishmen from 1150 to 1535 A.D.; but the present ballad seems intended to ridicule the notion of priests even being allowed to have lawful wives, and puts off the period for it till Salisbury Plain shall sit and beg at St. Paul's Cathedral door, and till other such like impossibilities shall happen. This makes Professor Brewer assign the Ballad to (or about) the year of "The Bloody Statute," of which Gardiner was the author, A.D. 1539. The Act is 31 Hen. VIII, c. 14, "An Acte abolishing diversity in Opynions;" and from its savage enactments I quote those applying to Priests' wives and concubines.

After reciting the King's supreme headship of the Church of England, and that Six Articles had been proposed and set forth in the Parliament, and the Synod and Convocation of the Clergy, summoned for the purpose, and that it had been resolved (among other things) "Thirdly, that Preestes after the order of Presthode receyved as afore, may not marye by the law of God; Fourthlye, that vowes of Chastitye of Wydowhood by Man or Woman made to God advisedly, ought to be observed by the lawe of God, and that it exempteth them from other libertyes of Cristen people, which without that they myght enjoye" &c., the Act proceeds to enact that any Person denying the First Article (the real presence in the Sacrament) shall be deemed a heretic, and suffer death by way of burning, and (§ II) that any Person offending against the other Five Articles, and any Priest or any other Man or Woman who had vowed or should vow chastity, marrying or contracting marriage, should be deemed Felons, and being thereof convicted, should suffer death without benefit of clergy. By § IV all prior marriages and marriage-contracts of Priests are declared

utterly void, and the Ordinaries are to make separation and divorces of such marriages. § V declares felons those Priests who keep on their wives or sweethearts:

"And further it is enacted by the auctoritie abovesaide, that if any man w*hi*ch is or hathe bene Preest as is aforesaide, at any tyme from and after the saide xijth daye of July next comynge doe carnally kepe or use any woman, to whom he is or hathe bene maried, or with whome he hathe contracted matrimony, or openly be conversaunt [ne[1]] kepe companye and famyliarite withe any suche woman, to the evell example of other p*er*sons, everie suche carnall use, copula*ci*on, open conv*er*sa*ci*on, kepinge of company and famyliarity, be, and shalbe demed and adjudged, felony, as well against the man as the woman; and that everie such p*er*son soe offendinge shalbe enquired of, tried, punyshed, suffer [losse[2]] and forfeyt all and everie thinge and thing*es* as other felons made and declared by this Acte, and as in case of felonye as is aforesaide."

§ XX is directed against Priests keeping Concubines, and § XXI gives the Concubines the same punishment as the Priests:

XX. "Be it also further enacted by thauctoritie aforesaide, not giving advantage or detrement to any article aforesaide, that if any man, w*hi*ch is or hath bene priest, or hereafter shalbe, at any tyme after the saide xijth daye of July doe carnally use and accustome any Woman, or kepe her as his Concubyne, as by paying for her bourde, maynteyning her with money, array, or any other giftes or meanes, to the evill example of other p*er*[s]ons, That then everie suche Offender, being thereof duely convicted or attaynted by the lawes mencioned in this acte, shall forfeyt and lose all his good*es* and catall*es*, benefices, prebendes, and other sp*iri*tuall p*ro*mocions and dignities, And also shall have and suffer ymprisonment of his bodye at the Kinges will and pleasure" [The 2nd offence is to be deemed Felony, and punished by Death, & forfeiture of Lands and Goods].

XXI. "And be it further enacted by thauctoritie aforesaide, that those women with whom all or singuler of the foresaide priest*es* shall in any of the foresaide waies have to doe with, or carnally knowe, as is aforesaide, shall have like punyshment as the Priest*es*."

For other burlesque poems of this kind, see *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*.

I.

When wreneys weare wodknyves, Cranes for to kyll,
And Sparrows bylde churches vppon A grene hill,
and *the* Ruddoke[3] bryngyth forth ffrankancence,
then put in pryst*es* wyff*es* yo*ur* trust & confydence. 4

---

[1] *O* omits. [2] lose. *O*.
[3] *Ruddock* (1) The redbreast . . . (3) a kind of apple. *Howell.*—Halliwell.

II.

When swallows saylyth to bordues,[1] & selle good wyne,
& pyes caryeth draff, & help to *ser*ve swyne,
and Catt*es* vnto myse do swere obedyence,
then put in pryst*es* wyff*es* yo*ur* trust & confydence.

III.

When poll*es* steple p*ro*vythe mens testament*es* and wyłł,
& myghelmas comyth rydyng vnto malbery hiłł,
& Sheape in *th*e coynynge howse Coynyth henry pence,
then put in pryst*es* wyff*es* yo*ur* trust & Confydence

IV.

When *th*e bosse of byllyngate wa[x]ythe so merye
To daunce w*ith* a bagpype at scala celi,
& *th*e crose of chepeside dothe kepe a scole of fence,
then put in pryst*es* wyff*es* yo*ur* trust & confydens.

V.

When *th*e playne of Salsbery waxyth so f[2]
to syte for to begg at powl*es* church do[re],
and apes haue *th*e grace doctors to [recompence,]
then put in pryst*es* wyff*es* yo*ur* trust & [confydens]

VI.

When banbery castele & barwyke dothe [meet]
At blakheth to fyght wit*h* watlyng stre[et],
& fflete brydge armyth hym to dryve the[m thens],
then put in pryst*es* wyff*es* yo*ur* trust & [confydens]

VII.

When plymeworth prowdely comyth to london brydge,
and bryngyth whytehall on hye vppon his bakk,
and charyng Crose sweryth he will end[3] the expense,
then put in pryst*es* wyff*es* yo*ur* trust & confydence.

---

[1] Bordeaux. [2] ? for 'pore.' [3] ? MS. ere = earn.

Two Prophecies in rhyme, on the state of England[1].

[State-Papers of Henry VIII in the Record Office.]

The First Prophecy.

I.

fflaund*er*s and England shall fall at decensyon̄
By cause of the falsenes of trayto*ur*s vntrewe;
Therfore a Dragon̄ shalbee theyr confuci*o*n̄;
A King to were a flemyshe flese, all Sacksons shall hyt Rewe.[2]

II.

The th*a*mys shall Ron̄ on blod as red as a Rose,
And all the sherys abowte shall wepe & Crye;
ffor the Sklaunderyng of the Olyfaunte w*ith* the longe nose,
The Rose femall w*ith* theyr flowers dulfully shall dye.

III.

A ffawkyn̄[3] downe shall fall; an egyll for fear downe shall flee;
They shall com̄e ayen̄ to Gelynssysors place.
A Bore shall shake his Cheyne; a fals maior he shall distroye;
The Reuerys [?] and the Assynytes shall neu*er* haue *gra*ce.

IV.

The same prince, fayre of face, & full of formosyte,
Shall Call p*re*lattes to his p*re*sence, & p*ri*ncipall p*ri*[4]mettes,

---

[1] A pencil title is in Prof. Brewer's hand, with the date of '1534?' The allusion to the much wanted 'newe parliament,' l. 21, 33 of the Second Prophecy looks like early days in Henry VIII's reign. The Officer, referred to before, first showed me the document.

[2] *Orig.* Rewe hyt.

[3] Is not this Ann Boleyn? See *Ann Boleyn's Fortune* below.

[4] The contraction is p*er*.

To Set the holy Churcħ in peas,
the Realme in tranquilite & Rest.

But Marlyon̄ of Selladon̄, Sainct Thom*as* of Cant*er*bury, Saincte Bede, saincte Joħn of Berdelington̄[1], Saincte Jerh*a*m, w*i*th aƚƚ theyr p*r*ofytt*es*, shewyth at confucion̄ :—

When the Chyld smyteth his mother, his father shaƚƚ hi*m* dystroye.

The folddys[2] flowyng in Breten shaƚƚ cause a greate Insurrexcion̄.

The Second Prophecy.

When that Rome Remeueth̄ Into England[3],
and eu*er*y p*r*est hath the popis power in hande,
(Bytwene xvij & oon who wyƚƚ vnd*er*stande ?)
Moche Care & Soroug̃h shaƚbe brought Into England.
When that the lambe is lowys that holy Churcħ kepyth,
And Cheyf covytes[4] in theyr hand*es*, and lechery,
And none spare oother, but playn Occur[5],
The Churcħ lawles, Iustes[6] lawles,
Knygħt*es* and knavys booth bee Clothyd in a lyke Clothynge,
God*es* fleshe and his blod ys sworne in eu*er*y mans herynge[7],
Lordes & knyghtt*es* bee made that Neu*er* wane Armys,
Marchaunte Straȳng*er*s beryth the Rowme[8],
Englishmen wot neu*er* howe for to goo, but after oother land*es* fashyonys[9],
And eu*er*y man fayne to begyle oother,
Than, England, take hede sone after !

---

[1] Bridlington. These are all known as Middle-age prophets.
[2] floods. [3] ? When Henry VIII is Pope of England.
[4] covetise, covetousness. [5] ? okyr, usury. [6] Justice.
[7] See, on the Swearing in England, the introduction to William Gray's *New-Years'-Gifts* below, and my reprint of *Boorde*, p. 82, 243.
[8] See p. 56, 97, 104, above, on the complaints against alien traders in Henry VIII's reign.
[9] Compare Andrew Boorde's lines before 1542, under his witty woodcut of an unclad Englishman, with a piece of cloth over his right arm, and a big pair of scissors in his left hand :

> I am an English man, and naked I stand here,
> Musyng in my mynde what rayment I shal were ;
> For now I wyll were thys, and now I wyl were that ;
> Now I wyl were I cannot tel what.
> All new fashyons be plesaunt to me ;
> I wyl haue them, whether I thryue or thee.
>
> *Fyrst Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge*,
> p. 116, ed. F. J. F. 1870, E. E. Text Soc.

A Prophecy, (?) 1450 A.D.

Then *quater*[1] shall a-Ryse
and set vppe *sise*,
Then England shalbee in p*ar*adyse.
When *trey* and *quater* ys myswente,
Then att England shalbee shente,
Then shatt ye haue a newe p*ar*liament;
Then *cinq*[2] shatt a-Ryse, And *cinq* shatt vndre,
A ded man shatt a-Ryse, And that shalbee greate wondre;
He that [is] **dedde** and buryed in sight shatt a-Ryse agayne
and lyve in land, In comforting of a yonge knyght[3]
That fortune hath Chosyn to be his feer.

Whan *sise* ys the best Caste of the dyesce,
And oon beryth vppe *sise*
Then England ys p*ar*adysce.
But when *cinq* and *quater* bee set a-syde,
The worde of *sise* shatt sprynge futt wyde;
But when *deuce* put owte *trey*, **Then** ys att shente,
for than we shatt haue a Newe p*ar*liament.
Yet *sise* shatt vppe, and *ace* shatt vndre;
When dedde men Ryese, It shalbee greate wonder.
The Lyon, the Redrose, and the flower de luce,
The Locke shatt vndo *deuse*,
Yet *sise* shatt bere the p*ri*ce,
And *ace* shall help therto.
The Blacke shatt bleed,
the **Blewe** shatt haue his hed
The Whyte & the Blewe shatt t*ou*rne att to oon,
The sonne shatt shyne *deuce*[4] starr*es* that stytt **the Moan**[5]:
That callyd ys the fyxt, shatt moveable be anone,
The Sonne, the Moan, ou*er* the Starr*es* shatt gone,
That after shatt neu*er* shyne nor keu*er*:
And Iubiter shatt do this Deed at Dover.

[1] These italics represent the drawings of dice and dominoes in the MS. *Then* of this line is, no doubt, a miswriting of *When*, and begins a fresh Prophecy.

[2] ? for *sise*. Compare

> *Syce* shall vp, and *sinke* shall vnder.
> the dead shall rise, and worke great wonder.
> *The Prophesie of Merling*, in *The Whole Prophesie of Scotland* etc. 1603, repr. Bannatyne Club 1833, p. 12.

[3] See l. 25, page 320.

[4] ? two: a domino with 2 points on it.

[5] *the Moan* is struck out, and '*stode*' written over it.

A Prophecy, (?) 1450 A.D.

[Another copy of parts of the Prophecy on p. 318 occurs in Harl. MS. 7332, p. 28.]

When Ase beareth vp Syse,
Ingland shall be in Paradise. (see l. 18, 29 opposite) 2

When sinke and kater be on one side,
The wourd of syse shall go wyde. (see l. 29, 30 opp.) 4

When deade men ryse, men shall mutch wonder; (l. 23 opp.)
Syse shall vp, and ase shall vnder. (l. 34 opp.) 6

The red rose, the lyon, & the flower de lyce, the lock shall vndoe;
Syse shall vp, and ase shall helpe thereto. (l. 38–9 opp.) 8

When Deux putteth forth traye, then all is spent;
Then must we cum to a new parlyament. (l. 32–3 opp.) 10

A° Dñi Mil^mo CCCC l° in anno trino.

Caveat omnis homo!

I exscribed this, verbatim, not altering the ortographie, out of an old written paper sayd to have bin brought out of the Tower by S^r W^m Wade, & stopt in a hole in a wall in his house, where it was taken out after his death.

The yeare 1450 is the 28 of Henry 6. when began y^e warre betweene Yorke & Lancaster. The y. 1453, the 31. of H. 6.

J. M.

Jan. 18. 162¾

Jhesu[1].

[Record Office, No. 3425.]

That a dogge shall di a-for his preye [2]M[l] for . . .
and l & C shall kepe vppe the keyes
of hes kenell for eu*er* wythe-owt any lett;
a C shall dwn*e* tomble sone aft*er* at his fete; 4

[1] I can make nothing of this prophecy.
[2] MS is badly stained. ? 'in a fot . . .'

with þ*at* shall we worthe the s*er*pente*s* kynde;
sone after I shaⱡⱡ lose the bale in hes hode,
mawgre in hes gray berde suchhe a blast shaⱡⱡ hem blynd*e*.
Then a fale of an Egle shall grete hem be kynde
to fellowshep w*ith* the honde by towne & by stret,
the bere welp be starlyght to vnbynde.
at a tristur vnd*er* a tre in a daunyng shaⱡⱡ they mete;
in haste aftar on a sonday by watlyng stret[1]
a dragon fol of drede shaⱡⱡ dresse fro hes denne,
a rede knyght redles w*ith* hem shall mete,
a-companed*e* w*ith* bare legg*es*, & mane a brody[2] henne.
then the lay & the londe to-gethar shaⱡⱡ mete,
they & olde wrathe to wreke w*ith* delyng of handes[3].
betwene monstreⱡⱡ & wyt-crosse in a hygh stret
ther shaⱡⱡ falle mane a freke w*ith* mane a blode wonde,
brettyng of benes[4] & fondyng of foles, aftur they & mastures be lyght
ther shaⱡⱡ be many a carefuⱡⱡ cry & many a grett grone
teⱡⱡ the day of desteney be drewen to the nyght.
then shall on the morur be the mone[5] lyghte;
betwne a pallis of sentuary & a walshe stone[6]
ther shaⱡⱡ on the weste syde be a yonge knyght[7],
[*MS. broken*] h . . . dyng is he wolde hes horse kyⱡⱡ;
hes kreste & hes cognysance shaⱡⱡ be bot*h*e won*n*e,
he shaⱡⱡ chose hem to a syde, & downe shaⱡⱡ the[8] tothar;
he shaⱡⱡ breke yn, & breke bothe the fleshe & bone,
& fr[e]ely fawle to hes frende, & chere hem as hes brothar.
[9]then a brem[10] bore shaⱡⱡ boldely a-byde
betwyne hom̄br & sew*er*ne on a beme brome,
& the mone m*er*velows shaⱡⱡ mowe on hes syde,
& dyng downe a pawelyan pyght in the stret;
& that wo shaⱡⱡ hem worke the fote that hee shall hem mete.

---

[1] There was a *Watling Street* in the sky too:'

'Now,' quod he thoo, cast up thyn ye;
Se yonder, loo, the galoxie
Whiche men clepeth the melky weye,
For hit ys white; and somme, parfeye,
Kallen hit *Watlynge strete*,
That ones was ybrente with hete,
Whan the sonnes sonne, the rede,
That hight*e* Phetoun, wol*de* lede
Algate his fader carte, and gye.

Chaucer. *The House of Fame*, l. 427–435. *Works*, ed. Morris, v. 237.

[2] ? brood. [3] ? MS hindes. [4] ? carving of bones. [5] ? MS mane.
[6] ? MS. [7] See l. 25, p. 318. [8] ? MS they. [9] Back of leaf.
[10] Brym or firs, *Ferus*, *ferox*, Promptorium; Brimme, feirse, *fier*, a brymmyng as a bore of a sowe doth, *en rouge*, Palsgrave; *subo*, to brymme as a boore doth, when he getteth pygges, Elyot: quoted by Way.

Dr. Haddon's Exhortation to England to repent.

(*Made in the year of the Great Sweat*, 1551, *and englished by* Arthur Golding[1].)

For her sins, England is scourged by God with the three Plagues of Rebellion, Dearth, and the Sweat; and unless she repents, she must 'to nowghte fall quite awaye.' The Rebellion was that of Devonshire, (Wilts, Oxford, and Buckinghamshire); of Norfolk and Suffolk; then of Yorkshire too in 1549[2] (see above, p. 147, p. 301). Of a Dearth in 1551, I find no notice; but as in 1528 the third outbreak of the Sweating Sickness, called *The Great Mortality*, was preceded by a famine—from the destruction of the crops by heavy rains—so no doubt it was on its last visit to England, when on the 16th of April, 1551, the Sweat made its first appearance at Shrewsbury.

Its 'sudden sharpness and unwont cruelness passed the Pestilence [the Plague]. For this [the Plague] commonly giveth 3 or 4, often 7, sometimes 9, sometimes 11, and sometimes 14 days respect to whom it vexeth. But that [the Sweating Sickness], immediately killed. Some in opening their windows, some in playing with their children at their street doors, some in one hour, many in two, it destroyed, and, at the longest, to them that merrily dined, it gave a sorrowful supper. As it found them, so it took them, some in sleep, some in wake, some in mirth, some in care, some fasting, and some full, some busy, and some idle; and in one house, sometimes 3, sometimes 4, sometimes 7, some-

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[1] Golding is the well-known translator of Cæsar (1563), Ovid's Metamorphoses, (1565, 1575), Seneca's Benefits (1577), Trogus Pompeius's or Justin's History (1564), Solinus's Polyhistory (1587, 1590), Pomponius Mela's Geography (1585), Calvin on Deuteronomy (1583), Mornay on the truth of the Christian Religion (1587), etc. He wrote a Discourse on the Earthquake in England etc., 6 April, 1580), and some verses prefixed to Baret's Alvearie (or Dictionary) 1580. See Warton's *Hist. Engl. Poetry*, iii. 331–5, ed. 1840.

[2] There was Plague in London in 1549 too. Stowe says, under 1549, "This yeare a great Mortality by the Pestilence was in London, wherefore commandement was giuen to all Curates & other hauing to doe therewith, that no corps should be buried before 6. of the clocke in the morning, nor after sixe of the clock at night, and that there should at the buriall of euery corps, be rung one bell at the least, by the space of three quarters of an houre."—*Stowe's Chronicle*, p. 596, col. 1, ed. Howes 1631.

times 8, sometimes more, sometimes all."[1] Contemporary historians say that the country was depopulated. Women ran about negligently clothed, as if they had lost their senses, and filled the air with dismal outcries and lamentations. All business came to a stand. No one thought of his daily avocations [*rather* vocation]. The funeral bells tolled night and day, reminding the living of their near and inevitable end. Breaking out at Shrewsbury, it [the Plague] spread westward into Wales, and through Cheshire to the north-western counties, and easterly to London, where it arrived in the beginning of July. It ravaged the capital for a month, then passed along the east coast of England towards the north, and finally ceased about the end of September. Thus, in the autumn of 1551, the Sweating Sickness vanished rom the earth. . . . Modern medical science avers that the *Sudor Anglicus* was a rheumatic fever of extraordinary virulence; still, of a virulence not to be wondered at, when we take into consideration the deficiency of the commonest necessaries of life that prevailed at the period at which it occurred. *Chambers's Book of Days*, i. 519, col. 1.

Stowe says, in his *Chronicle*, ed. Howes, 1631, p. 605, of 1551 A.D.

The 15. of Aprill, the infectious sweting sicknesse began at Shrewsbury, which ended not in the North part of England vntill the end of September. In this space, what number died, it cannot be well accounted, but certaine it is that in London, in few dayes, 960. gaue vp the ghost: it began in London the 9. of Iuly, and the 12. of Iuly it was most vehement, which was so terrible, that the people being in best health were sodainly taken, and dead in foure and twenty houres, and twelue, or lesse, for lack of skill in guiding them in their sweat. And it is to be noted, that this mortality fell chiefely on men, and those also of the best age, as betweene 30. and 40. yeeres; fewe women, nor children, nor olde men, died thereof. Sleeping in the beginning, was present death; for if they were suffered to sleepe but halfe a quarter of an houre, they neuer spake after, nor had any knowledge, but, when they wakened, fell into pangues of death. This was a terrible time in London, for many one lost sodainly his friends by the sweat, and their money by the proclamation [of 9 July, that the base shilling of Henry VIII and Edw. VI was to go for 9*d*., and the base groat for 3*d*.] Seauen honest housholders did sup together, and before eight of the clocke in the next morning, sixe of them were dead: they that were taken with full stomackes scaped hardly . . . this nation was much afeard of it, & for the time began to repent, and remember God; but as the disease relented, the deuotion decayed. The first weeke died in London 800. persons.

The Sweating Sickness, says Andrew Boorde, "is infectiue, and is one of the kyndes of the Plage or Pestilence." A dire foe to England it was, and first appeared there in August 1485 among the followers of Henry VII at Bosworth Field. The battle was fought on Aug. 22, and on the 28th the king entered London, bringing in his train the fatal and unknown pestilence (*Chambers*).

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[1] Modernised quotation from Dr. Kaye or Caius, the founder of Caius Coll Cambridge, in *Chambers's Book of Days*, i. 518, col. 1.

Here is Hall's account of its first invasion, its ravages, and the treatment by which men, for a time overcame it:—

Kyng Henry the .VII. The Second Yere. (P. 425.)

In this same yere [1485] a newe kynde of sicknes came sodenly through the whole region,—eue*n* after the first entryng of the kyng into this Isle,—which was so sore, so peynfull, & sharp, that the lyke was neuer harde of, to any ma*n*nes remembrau*n*ce before that tyme: For sodenly a dedly & burnyng sweate inuaded their bodyes & vexed their bloud with a most arde*n*t heat, infested the stomack & the head greuously: by the tormentyng and vexacion of which sicknes, men were so sore handled & so painfully pangued, that if they were layed in their bed, beyng not hable to suffre the importunate heat, they cast away the shetes & all the clothes liyng on the bed. If they were in their apparell and vestures, they would put of all their garme*n*tes euen to their shirtes. Other were so drye, that they dranke the colde water to quenche their importune heate & insaciable thirst. Other that could, or at the least woulde, abyde the heate & styntche (for in dede the sweate had a great and a strong sauoure), caused clothes to be layed vpon theim as much as they coulde beare, to dryue oute the sweate, if it might be. All in maner assone as the sweate toke them, or within a short space after, yelded vp their ghost. So that of all them that sickened, ther was not one emongest an hundreth that escaped: in somuche, that beside the great nombre which deceased within the cytie of London, two Mayres successiuely dyed of the same desease within .viij. daies, and .vi. Aldermen. And when any person had fully and completely sweat .xxiiij. houres (for so long did the strength of this plague hold them) he should be then clerely delyuered of his desease: Yet not so cleane ryd of yt, but that he might shortly relaps and fall agayn into the same euyll pit, yea, agayne, & twyse agayne, as many one in dede did, whiche after the thyrd tyme died of the same. The Sweatyng sycknes.

At the length, by study of the Phisicians, & experience of the people, dryuen therunto by dreadfull necessytie, there was a remedy inuented: For they that suruyued, considering thextremytie of the peyne in them that deceased, deuised by thynges mere co*n*trariaunt, to resist and withstand the furious rage of that burning furnesse, by luke warme drynke, temperate heate, & measurable clothes. For such persons as relapsed again into the flame after the first delyueraunce, obserued diligently, & marked, suche thynges as did theim ease and co*m*fort at their first vexacion; & vsyng the same for a remedy & medicine of their peyne, addyng euer somewhat therto that was sanatyue & wholsome. So that if any person euer after fell sicke agayn, he, obseruyng the regyme*n*t that emongest the people was deuysed, could shortly helpe him selfe, & easely tempre and auoyde the strength and malyce of the sweate. So that after the great losse of many men, they learned a present & a spedy remedy for the same desease and malady, the whiche is this: If a man on the daye tyme were plagued with the sweate, then he shoulde streyght lye downe with all his clothes & garme*n*tes, and lye styll the whole .xxiiij. houres. If in the night he were taken, then he should not ryse out of his bed for the space of .xxiiij. houres, & so caste the clothes that he myght in no wyse prouoke the sweate, but so lye

temperately that the water myght distille oute softly of the awne accorde, and to absteyne from all meate, if he might so longe susteyne and suffre hungre, and to take no more drynke, neither hote nor colde, then wyll moderately quentche and delaye his thrustye appetyde. And in this his amendynge, one poynte diligently aboue all other is to be obserued and attended, that he neuer put his hand or foote out of *the* bed to refreshe or coole him selfe, the which to do is no lesse peine then short death. So you may plainly see what remedy was by the daily experience excogitated and inue*n*ted for this straunge and vnknowen desease, the which at that tyme vexed and greued only the realme of England in euery toune & village, as it dyd dyuerse tymes after. But .lv. yere after, it sayled into Flaunders, and after into Germany, wher it destroyed people innumerable, for lack of knowlege of the English experience. This co*n*tagious & euell plague chaunced in the first yere of kyng Henryes reigne, as a token and a playne signe (if to the vaine iudgeme*n*t of the people,—whiche co*m*monly co*m*men more fantastically then wisely,—any faith or credite is to be had, geue*n*, or attributed) that kyng Henry should haue a harde and sore beginning; but more truly, if vayne supersticion can set furth any truthe, it pretended & signified that kyng Henry, to the extreme poynte and ende of his naturall life, should neuer haue his spirite and mynde quyet, consideryng that nowe, in the very begynnyng of his new obteyned reigne, he was (as you shall shortly heare) with sedicion & co*m*mocion of his people, troubled, vexed, and vnquyeted, and it was in maner a manifeste profe that hereafter he should lyue in small rest & great mistrust of suche rebellious and sedicious co*n*spiracies.

These were the phantasticall iudgementes of the vnlettred persons, whiche I ouerpasse, and retourne to my purpose.

The second outbreak of the Sweating Sickness in 1506 was much less virulent than the first, and Hall passes it over with slight notice (*Chron.* p. 502, ed. 1809); but the third was as bad as the first, and Hall's account of it has been already quoted on p. 90 above: see also p. 91.

In 1526, there was another slight outbreak of the Sickness, and a bad one in 1528:—

> In the very ende of May began in the citie of London the sickenes called the *sweating sickenes;* and afterward went [through] all the realme almost; of the which many died within v. or vi. houres. . . The king was sore troubled with this plage . . & . . for a space remoued almost euery day, till at the last he came to Tytynhanger, a place of the abbot of saint Albones, & there he, wi*th* a few, determined to byde the chaunce that God would send him; whiche place was so purged daily with fyers and other preseruatiues, that neither he, nor the quene, nor none of their company, was enfected of *tha*t disease; such was the pleasure of God (*Chron.* p. 750, ed. 1809).

Chambers says "the learned writers of the period all cordially agreed in ascribing the English pestilence [of 1528] to the sins of Englishmen, though they differed in opinion as to the particular sins which called down so terrible a manifestation of divine dis-

pleasure. Not one of them conjectured the real causes of the epidemic, namely the indescribable filthiness of English towns and houses, and the scarcity and disgusting unwholesomeness of the people's food."

Andrew Boorde does not seem to have been impressed by the terrors of this Sickness in 1528[1], or if he was, they had worn off before he wrote his *Breuiary of Health* by 1542, publisht it in 1547. Here is his chapter on the subject:—

The Breuiary of health, Fol. C. ix.

☞ The .337. Chapitre doth shewe of swetynge, or the Swetynge sicknes.

SVdor is the latin worde. In greeke it is named *Hydros*. In Englyshe it is named 'sweat': and there be dyuers sweates; the one doth come by labour, the other may come by sickenes and peyne, and those be hote and colde; and there is an other sweat the which is vehement; and that sweat is named *the sweatyng sickenes:* and some sweates doth stynke, and some doth not.

☞ The cause of these impedimentes.

¶ The cause of sweates: eyther it doth come of heat, or corrupcion of the ayer, or it may come by one person infectyng another, or, as I sayd, by labour or some sicknes.

¶ A remedy for the *Swetyng sycknes*.

* Fyrst, kepe the pacient nor to hote nor to cold, but in a temperance, and let hym not caste oute armes, fete, nor legges out of the bed; let the head be couered, and the face open; kepe a fyer in the chamber, be the ayer neuer so hote; eate no meate [=food] for .xxiiii. houres, onles it be an ale-brue; drynke warme drynke, and no wyne; and euery thynge that is receyued, sucke it thorowe quylles of a Swan or Gose, .iiii. or .v. quylles put togyther, the one in an other: and they the which be not infected, let them beware of infectiouse persons, for the sycknes is infectiue, and is one of the kyndes of the Plage or Pestilence. for vnnatural swetes, the which doth come by sycknes, a Saphyre is good, to drynk it, or to holde a Saphyre in ones hand; or els, take of Myrtylles, and of Rose leues, of eche of them .iii. vnces; make pouder of it, and cast it in the shetes, shert, or smoke, and lay some to the Pulses, and drynke of these aforesayd thynges soden in Ale; and anoynte the Pulses of the hart, brayne, and the Lyuer, with the oyle of Mandrake. And as for sweat that doth stynke, loke in the Chapitre named Fetor assellarum [or *Fetor oris* etc., Fol. lvi.]

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[1] He may have just gone abroad at the time. See my Life of him in his *Introduction* etc. E. E. T. Soc. 1870, p. 48.

[Harl. MS. 425, leaves 73, 74.]

An exhortation to england to Repent, made in Latin by m*aster* doctor haddon[1], in *the* greate sweate, 1551; and translated by m*aster* arthur gold*i*ng.

1.

O england! whie doeste thou deferre
to put on sackcloth nexte thye skinne,
Or ashes on thyne head to scatter,
since god doth scourge the for thy sinne?

2.

P*er*chaunce thow lokest *that* god shuld send
ionas: behold! he is præsente!
And Calles vpon *the* to Amend,
threatninge *the* plages *that* shall be sente.

3.

but yet *the* prophete p*ro*fitt*es* small
to spend his breath in vayne All daye;
thou playeste, & Riottinge w*ith* all,
doeste let the tyme passe ill Awaye.

4.

but aft*er* ionas by & by,
god comth in his iuste wrath therfore,
& w*ith* his fearfull hand lett*es* flye
his bloudy dart*es* amonges you more.

5.

yet snowrteste thow, & sleapeste sowñd,
even in A grave of wretchednes.
& yet, alas! thow arte soo bownde,
that wake thow nilleste, for no distres.

6.

the firste plage, Rebellion.

whan *that* *the* franticke folke, as fyndes[2],
w*ith* weapons wownded thye bowell*es*,
when they dyd breake w*ith* furious myndes
the lawes they shuld have feared ell*es*,

[1] The Poem is printed in Latin among his verses, p. 61. [2] fiends.

7.

Whan all thy bodye Ranne on blowde,
even from *the* crowne vnto *the* foote,
& all throwgh thyne Awne Cruell moode
to which thy Rage dyd *the* p*ro*moote,

8.

[1]Diddeste thow not thinke *that* thow did see
An Iron Rodd from heave*n* descend
to tame *the* hawtye harte in the,
because thow doeste soo often offend?

9.

Yet is thy stomacke sturdye still,
& hardened w*ith* Continuall vice;
thow myndeste thy selfe yet in more ill,
fro*m* which thow canste not well Arise.

10.

Dearth *the* 2. plage.

Heareof, soo sore A dearth doth spri[n]ge;
heareof, cometh filthie povertie;
A scourge eke sente from god to stinge
& plage *the* prowde w*ith* scarcitie.

11.

[2]yet Careste thow not, but laugheste still!
out of *the* world thou gathereste
moche goode*s*, *that* thow doeste afte*r* spill
moste dronkenly at thy beheste!

12.

Thow sekeste & hoordeste vp treasure
which thow mayste lashe out nawghtely!
thexcesse is Cause & Ringleader
of gredines *that* Raigneth in the.

13.

Whithe*r* wilt thow Rushe? o thow mad-head,
gapinge for worldly thinge*s* but vayne!
Whie doest thow seke thinges to be fled?
whye fleeste thow thinge*s* to be sought w*ith* payn?

[1] Leaf 73 back. [2] On leaf 74.

14.

thadvenger nowe in his fierce mood
shaketh his brighte sweord ou*er* thine head,
& quickly for to shed thy blood
he layth his dart*es* furth to be sped!

15.

the thyrde plage, *the* sweate.

[1]A pestilente sweate flieth nowe About,
which sone p*er*seth throwgh *the* bodye,
Rendinge the harte even from *the* roote,
with deadly paynes moste cruellye:

16.

It stealth vpon on*e* sodeinly
or *that* he can it well p*er*ceave,
& killeth hym out of hand shortly,
or *that* he can his hurt*es* conceave.

17.

Yet, wonderous great is the mercye
of our fath*er* *the* god of heaven,
which kindleth, & yet wyll not see
the fier starte out, in flames to bren.

18.

England! hold vp thyne head, & see
thy dolefull, daylye, depe decaye!
thow blind foole! yet I saye to *the*,
looke on *the* lorde, yf *that* thow maye!

19.

[2]he is thy fath*er* & thy lorde:
thy fath*er*, yf *that* thow hym love;
but yf thow doo despise his worde,
his lordely wrath then shalt thow p*ro*ve.

20.

thrise god hath thundered from *the* heaven,
thrise hath he also nowe lightened,
leaste for sinne, to which thow arte geven,
thow shuldeste escape vnpunished.

[1] Back to leaf 73 again. [2] Leaf 74.

21.

thrise god hath bente his bowe at the,
& gentlye layd it downe Againe,
that yf thou wold yet warned be,
thou myghte avoyd All plage & payne.

22.

[1]Therfore, england, awake from sleape!
for of thy lyfe, this is the day
In which thou muste A better kepe,
or els to nowghte fall quite awaye.

23.

If thow begynne for to Amende,
the clowdes shall wanishe from eche side,
& then the true lyght without ende
shall shyne on the, & still abyde.

24.

but yf thou geve thy selfe to sinne,
& that thy herte be bounde to soore,
thou shalt be sathans souldiour then,
& death thyne ende for euer more.

25.

Death of the sowle ensueth after,—
the Right Reward of wickednes,—
from which thow maist escape neuer,
but still muste lye in paines endles.

26.

O God, the maker of mankinde,
& of the world the gouernour,
by whose stronge hand & mightie mynde
All kingdomes have their might and power,

27.

Be good vnto this thy kingdome!
Which, yf thy selfe do not defende,
None can Restore it to his home
Yf thow doo caste it downe An end.

[1] Leaf 74 back, col. 1.

28.

Thow art our onely god Alone,
guyde of our lyfe & mouds, certesse;
thow onely haste (besyd*es* *th*è none)
*th*e godly sedes of vertuousnes. 112

29.

Onles *that* thow *th*e Cities kepe,
onles *that* thow *th*e wall*es* defend,
though we take labo*ur* sore & depe,
there co*m*meth no p*ro*fitte at *th*e end. 116

30.

[1]England hath dronke—tha*nkes* be to god!—
Abu*n*da*n*t of *th*e lyvelye well.
lorde! *that* their lyves were nothi*n*g od
vnto their sayenge *that* they tell[2]! 120

31.

but as it lackt, so is it gone,
& shall Returne at thy pleasure;
yf thow Restort[3] not, there is none
that can Restort, we be Righte sure. 124

32.

But thow to vs will it Restore;
& the*n* thow shalt Againe behold
our hert*es* waxe fresh for eu*er*more,
w*hi*ch w*ith* thy powre thow diddeste vphold. 128

33.

The*n* england shall begi*n*ne to si*n*ge
so*n*ge*s*, p*ra*yse, & hymnes, Righte hu*m*blye;
the*n* shall they fall to worshippi*n*g
thy name w*ith* hono*ur* Reveren*t*ly; 132

34.

The*n* england shall of Realmes be head,
& of *th*e world *th*e onely quene;
the*n* se*r*vice shall be ministred
to god, as it is well besene! 136

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[1] Leaf 74 back, col. 2.
[2] Oh that their lives were as good as their words!
[3] restore it.

Of the Cardnall Wolse.

(A.D. 1521–2.)

THIS poem seems to have been written after the Field of the Cloth of Gold in 1520, which may well have been the "pleasure" that Henry is called on to leave in line 17; after Buckingham's execution on May 17, 1521 (l. 34) and before the summoning of the Parliament of 1522, the first called by the King after the Parliament of 1515 was dissolved,—or why should the writer pray Henry to call his noble peers to him (line 16), and thus stop the government of the One, the Churl, the Butcher's Cur (l. 21), Wolsey, who, as long as he doth reign and rule, so long in poverty the realm shall be(l. 14)?

Like Skelton,[1] like Roy,[2] and others, the writer notices

---

[1] Our barons be so bolde,
Into a mouse-hole they wolde
Rynne away and crepe
Lyke a mayny of shepe:
Dare nat look out at dur
For drede of the mastyue cur,
For drede of the bochers dogge,
Wold wyrry them lyke an hogge.
For and this curre do gnar,
They must stande all a far
To holde vp their hande at the bar.
For all their noble blode,
He pluckes them by the hode
And shakes them by the eare,
And brynges them in such feare;
He bayteth them like a bere,
Lyke an oxe or a bull:
Theyr wyttes, he saith, are dull;
He sayth they haue no brayne
Theyr astate to mayntayne:
And maketh them to bowe theyr kne
Before his maieste.

Why come ye nat to Courte, l. 289–310, Dyce's *Skelton*, ii. 36.

And see l. 611–35, *ib.* p. 46, etc.:

No man dare come to the speche
Of this gentell Jacke breche,
Of what estate he be,
Of spirituall dygnyte,
Nor duke of hye degre, etc.

[2] Thou woldest surely marvell /
To se their fare and aparell /
In all poyntes superfluously.
There be monkes of soche statlynes /
That scant will soffer at their messe /
A lorde of bludd with theym to sitt.
Whose prowde service to beholde /
In plate of silver and golde /
It passeth a mans witt.
Knyghtes and squyers honorable /
Are fayne to serve at their table /
As vnto Dukes excellent.
Divers of theym have the degre /
Of worthy Erles in dignite /
And are lordes of parlement.
Wat. ¶ They descende of famous progeny?
Jef. ¶ Ye, beggeres sonnes most commenly /
Their fathers scant worth a groate.
Commynge fyrst to the abby gate /
A beggynge with a scalled pate /
Havynge nether goode shurt nor coate.
Which, as sone as he is ones clad /
For a gentilman he is had /
Though he be but a starcke knaue.

Roy's Satire.

Wolsey's pride[1], and how the nobles, even the White Lion (l. 37), and Talbot (l. 43), fawn and bow to him. All fear him. None dare speak against the Cardinal, for fear of losing his head. As Shakspere makes Buckingham say,—that Buckingham whose head Wolsey had off in 1521, a fact no doubt alluded to in l. 34 of our poem[2]:—

> This Butchers Curre is venom'd-mouth'd, and I
> Haue not the power to muzzle him, therefore best
> Not wake him in his slumber. A Beggars booke [brat]
> Out-worths a Nobles blood.
>
> (*Henry VIII*, Act i, Sc. 1; p. 206, col. 2, Booth's reprint.)

The writer of the Poem even dare not sign his name, though he may have been a noble, so often does he recur to the ignominy of being ruled by a born churl. But he appeals to Henry by the love of his subjects so true and good, so willing to spend their blood for him, to be up and doing, and rid them of this flattering villain Wolsey, and his proud knaves.

On line 37, Mr. G. E. Adams, Somerset Herald, says, "As to the subservient White Lion,—that, *I think*, refers to Thomas Howard Duke of Norfolk. The cap would fit pretty well for the 2[d] Duke, who was joined with the Cardinal in the commission respecting the marriage of Mary, the King's sister, to Louis XII. It does not appear (I think) that he and Wolsey were otherwise than friendly.

"His supporters were (at that time) 2 white lions; and one of the principal quarterings of his coat was *The white lion rampant* 'of Mowbray,' formerly Dukes of Norfolk, by right of descent from whom he was granted the title of Norfolk. Thomas, the 2[d] duke, died 1524, having been distinguished (as Lord Surrey) for his victory at Flodden, and this I suppose to be he, 'that valyaunte knyghte.' Sir Walter Scott speaks twice of the *white lion* as the symbol of the Howards.—'Lay of the Last Minstrel,' Canto IV. 23[d] stanza, l. 11–13

> "All in Lord Howard's livery dressed,
> The *lion argent* decked his breast;
> He led a boy of blooming hue."

> "Yet hear," quoth Howard, "calmly hear—
> Nor deem my words the words of fear:
> For who, in field or foray slack,
> Saw the *Blanche Lion* e'er fall back?"—Canto IV. st. 30.

alluding evidently to himself.

"The 'whyte lyon, that valyaunte knyghte' could hardly have been meant for Thomas the 3[d] duke of Norfolk, who married 'the Buck's' daughter, and who was certainly no friend to Wolsey."

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[1] Compare the extract from Hall's *Chronicle* on p. 361.
[2] See p. 344 below.

[Harl. MS. 2252, leaf 156.]

I.

God save kyng herry, owur nobyll kyng,
And all þat byn to hym lovyng!
god saue owur quene! god saue hyr grace!
god save owur princes[1] that lovely fase,
god saue owur nobles of Ryall Byrthe!
god saue owur Comyns, And send them myrthe!
he þat swette Bothe water & Blode,
Amend owur prestis, And make them good!

II.

Alas! good pepyll, whyche ar full woo
To se the world how hyt dothe goe,
ye May be sure, remedy ys none
Whyche ye shall haue! As long as on
Dothe Reyne & Rule, as ye do see,
so long in poverte þis Realme shalbe.
But, gracius kyng! we pray yow all,
your nobyll perys to yow, do Call[2],

III.

And spare your pleasure[3] for A season,
& stody remedy by your awne Reason,
To sette your Realme in quyetnes,
þat now ys in grete hevynes
To se A Churle, A Bochers Curre[4],
To Rayne & Rule in soche honour.
hyt ys to hye, with-owte mesure;
hys pryde hathe wastyd mvche of your Tresure.

[1] Mary, born 1516.
[2] No Parliament was summoned by Henry VIII. between 1515 and 1522.
[3] The Field of the Cloth of Gold was in 1520.
[4] Hall, under 1525 A.D. says of Wolsey "but when the common people, and in especiall suche as had been kyng Henry the seuenthes seruauntes, sawe the Cardinal kepe house in the Manor royall of Richmond, whiche kyng Henry the seuenth so highly estemed, it was a maruell to here how thei grudged and said, 'see *a Bochers dogge* lye in the Manor of Richemond!' these, with many approbrious wordes, were spoken against the Cardinal, whose pride was so high that he nothyng regarded; and yet was he hated of moste men."—*Hall's Chronicle*, p. 704, ed. 1809.

IV.

o gracius kyng! Reuerte your mynde
from þat Churle borne by kynde,
and from þat vyle bochers Blode;
for he shall nevyr do your grace good.
he Blyndeth your grace with sotell Reason,
& vndyr-myndyth yow by hye treason;
And yf your grace wold pleas to here,
hys falsed & treason shall Apere.

V.

There ys not on The truthe dar speke,
for fere of losyng of hys hede.
They flater, & they clater, oon to Another,
and well darre not truste hys awne brothor.
o whyte lyon, that valyaunte knyghte!
where ys þi power, where ys thy myghte?
A lyon to fawne to A Bochers Curre!
Ayenste all Reason and good honour!

VI.

Thowe faunyste & Bowyste to the Churle full lowe [leaf 156 *b*.]
A grete Abusyon to see hytt soo!
o gentyll Talbott, the day hathe byn,
þou woldyste be hard, or else be sene;
But nowe ye are soo stoppyd with wolle,
ye Can not Barke[1], your mowþe ys Full.
o gentyll Chevalry, ye have byn bolde!
your Corage ys gon, your hartis byn Colde!

VII.

Not on of yow ys Callyd wyse;
god ys not contente for your vyse.
yow Stampe & Stare with long swerdis,
and all your manhod ys in your berdis.
ye Begge, & borow, & nevyr paye;
Thys ys your gyse: whoo Can say nay?
see þis subiection þat ye be yn,
vnderneth A Churle borne by kynde!

[1] A talbot is a kind of mastiff, and was the badge of the family of Talbot, Earls of Shrewsbury. The Ballad of "the Rose of England" says of Sir Gilbert Talbot, the uncle of the 4th. Earl of Shrewsbury, "the *Talbott*, he bitt wondrous sore."—*Percy Folio Ballads and Romances* iii. 194, l. 111.

VIII.

As flaterynḡ A vyllayne as ever was borne!
for all gentyll Blode he had in scorne.
And marke well whom̄ he dyd Retayne:
All prowde knavys full of dysdayne,
And þat Can̄ bothe polle & shave,
be mete for hym̄: suche wyll he have.
whoo dar speke, or them̄ denye,
or to þer myndis doe contrary?

IX.

Whate so ever he be, lesse or more,
he shuld be sure to paye therfore.
nowe gracius prynce! loke on̄ þis byll!
your grace may helpe, yf þat ye wyll.
for all þe worlde dothe speke at large,
& leyithe the Fawte all to your Charge.
But of on̄ thynge ye may be sure,
There ys no kynḡ hathe suche tresure,

X.

Soo lovynḡ subgettis, so trewe & good,
& for your sake wyll spende þer blode.
Besechynḡ your grace be not dyspleasyd,
My mynde ys openyd, my herte ys easyd;
Wherfor, good pryns, set þi purpose on̄ good dede.
þat þou may purches hevy to mede.
I dar not wrete vnder my name,
For fere to have to myche blame.
god save the kynḡ!

The Complaynte of Northe to *the* Cardnall Wolsey.

[Harl. MS. 2252, leaf 33, back.]

PART I.—*North's Ill-fortune, and Imprisonment for his Book.*
PART II.—*North's Flattery of Wolsey, to set him free.*

IMPRISONMENT of writers against them, by Wolsey and Henry VIII., was, no doubt, an ordinary occurrence of their time; and when the writers found themselves in prison, such of them as were not of the martyr type would naturally try the effect of a little 'soft sawder' on Wolsey, in order that he might let them out. We have one such instance in the following poems; another in the case of Polydore Vergil, the writer of the English History in Henry's reign. Sir Henry Ellis, in the Preface to the translation of the First Eight Books of that History,—published by the Camden Society as *vol. i.* in 1846, but not yet continued, says—(p. viii.):

"Polydore Vergil . . . was imprisoned. He had written to his relation the Cardinal S. Chrysogoni, '*pessima quæque*' both as related to Wolsey and the King. What the slander was, appears nowhere; but a letter from Polydore to Wolsey, which he wrote from his prison, and which is still remaining among the papers of the latter [in the State Paper Office, Wolsey's Corresp. vol. i. 201], is a curious specimen at once of his fright on this occasion, and of the adulation, almost blasphemous, with which he sought to soften Wolsey's resentment. He seized the moment when Wolsey was made Cardinal, at once to compliment him, and to entreat for his own release."

This letter is given in the Appendix, Num. IV, p. xv. of Sir Henry's *Pol. Verg.* For full details of Polydore's imprisonment, Mr. Gairdner refers to the Preface to vol. ii. of Prof. Brewer's *Calendar*, p. 239–42.

Who North, the writer of the present 'Complaynte,' was, I cannot find out. 'Makyng,' or writing verse, was his joy, he says, in l. 7. He could hardly have been the George North, whose 'Description of Swedland, Gotland, & Finland,' Awdelay, 1561, we have; and his englishings of Philibert of Vienne's 'Philosopher of the Court,' 1575, and the 'Stage of Popish toyes; Conteining both Tragicall and Comicall partes: played by the Romish roysters of former age: notably describing them by degrees in their colours. Collected out of H. Stephanus in his Apologie vpon Herodot. &c.' Binneman 1581.

PART I.—NORTH'S ILL-FORTUNE, AND IMPRISONMENT FOR HIS BOOK.

I.

Nowe Beyng in presoñ, am I not Abyll—
  sythe þat quyetnes from me ys sep*a*rat—
playnlye to shewe hys v*er*tu*us* ynnumerabyll.
  my mynde ys waverynge & not in quyete;
  yette þis wyll I speke in word*is* Brevyatte,
    fortune vnstabyll Chaungyd hathe my chaunce;
    for makyng[1] was my Ioy, & now ys my grevaunce.

II.

o flat*er*ynge fortune! now tell me whyee,
  yf thow arte the lady þat dothe me*n* Avaunce,
wherfor thow tornyd thy whele so sodenly,
  & hathe Caste me in extreme p*er*turbance?
  ys thy mean*us*, & Also my Chaunce,
    thus to be put Alone fro*m* co*m*pany?
    o tyme Infortunate of my natyvite!

III.

Now moste I Syghe, & alway lamente,
  Reme*m*brynge a boke, my grownde of hevynes,
by me co*m*pyled . wherfor I Repente,
  Sayinge to my selfe, & nevyr sease:
  "þou arte chefe Cawse of my dystres!
    wherfor I wesshyd þat I were dede,
    or else þat I cowde neyther w*re*te nor Rede."

IV.

But sythe fortune hyr face hathe tornyd, & ys goñ,
  & hathe me lefte in thys p*er*plexite,
To whom shulde I now make my mone,

---

[1] Writing verse. The old poets are always Makers.

"Go, litel boke; go, litel myn tragedie!
Ther God my maker, yet er that I dye,
So sende me myght to *maken* som comedye!
But, litel book, no *makynge* thow nenvye,
But subgit be to alle poesie,
And kype the steppes, wheras thow seest space,
Of Virgile, Ovyde, Omer, Lucan, and Stace."

Chaucer, *Troylus & Cryseyde*, Bk. v. st. CCLVII. vol. v. p. 74, ed. Morris.

but only to *þis* lorde moste full of petye?
desyryng hys grace to p*ar*don me.
wherfor I moste, & wyll do evyr,
to pray for hys grace my selfe endevyr.

V.

Thu*us* now I sease; & all thyng*is* do Remytte
vnto hys nobyll grace—*þis* ys my mynde—
excellyng all hothyr bothe of tonge & wytte,
whose name *con*tryvyd ys in these v*er*sus blynde,
folowyng lyne by lyne, so yow shall hyt fynde[1],
besechyng hys grace on me to take pete,
And duryng my lyfe I shall pray for hym dayly.
Explic*it*.

By Northe to the same Cardnall.

PART II.—THE PRAISE OF WOLSEY.

VI.

Gou*er*nyd ys *þis* Realme by moste nobyll prudens
of mann*us* wytte, ev*er* groundyd on Reason;
devydyng, lernyng, myxid w*ith* conciens,
p*ar*telye to mytigate all mat*er*s in season,
Redressyng wrong*is*, (moste hygheste poynte of wysdo*m*,)
eu*er* more in tyme: whate shuld I now sey?
Surely all ynglond for hym ys bownd to pray!

VII.

Endewyd w*ith* grace I thynke that he be, [leaf 34.]
Reme*m*bryng hys wytte & goodlye eloquens,
verrey desyrow*us* of pure humanite,
enflamyd w*ith* v*er*tu And goodly Counten*a*nce,
þat noman (I thynke) hathe Bettyr p*er*seueraunce;
hys Reasons ar so good, *þat* well I may sey,
"o ynglond, ynglond, for hym *þou* moste ned*is* pray!"

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[1] This looks as if the writer meant to make an acrostic on Wolsey's name. But in neither this poem nor the next is there one.

VIII.

Mervelous hyt were for me now to wrete,
& yf þat I cowde, hys famus actis dysclose;
surely I Cannot yet, yf þat I myghte,
levyng in þis lyfe; hyt were not for my purpose
of hys vertue to speke with-owte ony glose;
Repete hyt I Cowde not: wherfor now I sey,
"duryng þer lyvys for hym they moste nedis pray."

IX.

lawde, prayse, & Thankys, be to god Above!
evyr consideryng hys grete mercy,
gevyng vs suche A on, whyche þis Realme doþe Rure,[1]
& alwayes studyethe—as we see dayly—
To make þis Realme bothe Ryche & welthy,
encresyng more & more: wherefor now I say,
"Assuryd I am þat for hym they wyll praye."

X.

Nevertheles, thys on thynge trobyllythe me
day by day, & puttythe me in grete drede,
consyderyng the dethe of wyse men many,
as salamon & hother, whyche now ar dede,
Restyng there Bodyes closyd in lede,
departed From lyffe: wherfor now I sey,
"ynglond! for hys helthe dayly moste thou[2] pray!"

XI.

Nowe moste I leve, & shortly make an ende,
as A man trobyllyd, trustyng for grace,
lyvyng in hope, & All thynge to Amende,
& þat my prayer here-after may purchas
yn hevyn for þis lorde A dwellyng place.
wherfor I Conclude, & þus do I sey,
"Surely all ynglond for hym ys bownde to pray."

The complaynte of northe.

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[1] ?'Rule'; though that does not rhyme with "Above" of l. 57.
[2] MS. "then^{2}."

An Impeachment of Wolsey.

(A.D. 1528.)

A Prophecy of his Fall.

A CHANGE, this, from the last sounds in Wolsey's ears. No fearful prisoner now prays to him, no smooth tongue flatters him that all in England bless and pray for him. A stern man speaks. One of the commons,—or at least a Latin-knowing representative of them,—whom he has "gnawen as a Dogge dothe a Catte" (l. 197), one of those whom he has plucked low and bare (l. 199) has tolled and polled and scourged (l. 34, 31), rebukes him to his face, cries for vengeance on him with exclamation (l. 261), warns him that Inevitable Fate is running to arrest him (l. 229), and threatens him with the Tower of London for his crimes (l. 240). Still, if he will repent, he may. If he will do like the peacock,—look on his feet, and down with his tail,—off with his golden shoon, lay down his pillars, poleaxes, and crosses,[1] "little and

[1] Compare Roy's capital description (in his *Satire*) of Wolsey, with these crosses, pillars, golden shoon, and poleaxes:—

Before hym rydeth two prestes stronge /
And they beare two *crosses* right longe /
  Gapynge in every mans face.
After theym folowe two laye men secular /
And eache of theym holdynge a *pillar* /
  In their hondes / steade of a mace.
Then foloweth my lorde on his mule /
Trapped with golde vnder her cule / [tail]
  In every poynt most curiously.
On eache syde a *pollaxe* is borne /
Which in none wother vse are worne.
  Pretendynge some hid mistery . . ,
A grett carl he is, and a fatt /
Wearynge on his hed a red hatt /
  Procured with angels subsidy.
And as they say in tyme of rayne /
Fower of his gentelmen are fayne /
  To holde over it a cannopy.
Besyde this, to tell the more newes /
He hath *a payre of costly shewes* /
  Which sildom touche eny grownde.
They are so goodly and curious /
All of golde and stones precious;
  Costynge many a thousand pownde,

A sketch from the life, this,

little down again creep," and give over superfluity, he may win again the people's love, and be in better case than ever he was before (l. 253–64); no longer "the monster," "the nuisance to God and man," "the pest of the kingdom, and caterpillar of England," as Luther called him (*Macfarlane*, vi. 159). So strong is the language against Wolsey and his taxation-schemes that one is at first inclined to date the ballad 1525, the year in which Henry's wild scheme of a joint invasion of France by himself and the Emperor Charles was hatcht (cp. l. 79–80), and when the invaders were to march from west and east respectively, "meet in Paris, and there amicably divide the French kingdom between them." To raise the money for this plan, Wolsey and the ministers (as Henry would not summon a parliament) "demanded a fourth from the clergy and a sixth from the laity." But clergy and laity—people of all classes and conditions—most firmly opposed this most illegal attempt. "How the great men took it, was marvel; the poor cursed; the rich repugned; the lighter sort railed; and, in conclusion, all men execrated the Cardinal as subverter of the laws and liberty of England." (Hall, in *Macfarlane's Cab. Hist.* vi. 154.) We must remember that this was after the heavy tax of 1523. Wolsey went to the House of Commmons to argue them into granting a 20 per cent. war-tax, but they refused to debate in his presence:—

"He went away as he had come; but soon after, the House agreed to a property-tax of about ten per cent., or half what Wolsey had asked. He had boasted of the readiness of the spirituality; but he now found the clergy almost as refractory as the Commons; and, after being defeated in rather a humiliating manner in several of his manœuvres and high assumptions of authority over the church, as pope's legate, instead of succeeding in his enormous demand of fifty per cent. at once, he only obtained a grant of ten per cent. each year for five years.

"During the debates the Londoners frequently caught the members of the Commons by the sleeve as they passed through the streets, and cried out to them, 'Sirs, will ye grant four shillings in the pound? Do it, and take our threats and curses home with you to your households.' But in many parts of the kingdom the people were dissatisfied even at the ten per cent.; and Wolsey, urged on by his master, who was now almost penniless, made matters still worse by attempting to accelerate the mode of payment. In many places the poorer people, driven to desperation, refused to pay the tax-gatherers anything. The blame of all fell upon the Cardinal; and Henry did not scruple at condemning the proceedings of his ministers in order to recover his own popularity." (*Macfarlane*, vi. 145–6.)

The date of 1525 would also suit l. 16 of the Ballad, where Wolsey is accused of building his college—if his Oxford college

be meant—"with Abbayes good" (see, too, l. 77–8.) For in this year was the first misunderstanding between Henry and Wolsey, arising partly out of Wolsey's suppression (by his officers) of certain small monasteries, "wherein neither God was served, nor religion kept," and which he intended, "with the gracious aid and assistance of the King," to convert to a far better use, by annexing their revenues to the new college intended to be founded at Oxford [Cardinal's College, now Christ Church, founded 1525 A.D.] "for the increase of good letters and virtue."[1] If however Wolsey's College at Ipswich was meant, then the date 1527 better suits the Ballad, for "about 1527 he began to erect a college in his native town of Ipswich[2], giving an ample, and apparently a magnificent endowment out of the lands and tenements belonging to the monastery of St. Peter and other suppressed priories or cells in that town or neighbourhood, intending, as he himself said, that 'Many scholars' should be 'brought up and maintained therein,' and 'always trained in virtue; to the end that a perpetual memory of God shall be kept and honoured.'" (Legrand, quoted in *Old England's Worthies*, p. 42, col. 2.)

Line 17 of the Ballad which speaks of the gilding of Wolsey's Palace, Hampton Court, would suit the date of 1526–7. For the Palace was not finished till 1527, when Wolsey, on his return from France, entertained at Hampton for four or five days the noble Montmorency and his numerous suite. Among the latter was du Bellay the historian, who has left upon record an account of the magnificence of the Palace. "The chambers had hangings of wonderful value, and every place did glitter with innumerable vessels of gold and silver: there were two hundred and four-score beds, the furniture to most of them being silk, and all for the entertainment of strangers. But during Wolsey's recent absence in France, the king had taken counsel of other men; and perhaps it is a proof of Wolsey's uneasiness and declining favour, that he now gave this splendid palace, with all its furniture, to the king. Henry took the gorgeous bribe." (*Old England's Worthies*, p. 40, col. 2.) But there is some question about this gift to the King, says Mr. Brewer, as during 1528 Wolsey still lived at Hampton Court.

It is also doubtful whether any date earlier than 1527 will suit lines 139–141 of the Ballad:—

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[1] Wolsey's schemes to divert some portion of conventual revenues to the furtherance of a sound education, even in their incomplete state, embraced 24 monasteries; 69 benefices were appropriated to Christ Church; and he received authority to annex altogether to the value of 11,000 ducats a year.—*Home and Foreign Review*, iv. 169.

[2] Ipswich College was never finished; the portions which had been erected were destroyed soon after his [Wolsey's] sudden fall from greatness, and the appropriated revenues were seized.—*Ib.*

Also they say, by þ^i circumvencion
þou haste suscitate suche a wonderfull dyssencion°
Betwyxte þ^e moste nobyllyste *hunc* & *hanc*,

Henry VIII. and his first Queen, Catherine of Arragon—as is clear from the close of the ballad "God save the kyng, the quene, & my lady prynces" [that is, Mary]—for it was not till 1527 that Henry fell in love with Anne Boleyn, and "began to talk of religious scruples regarding his marriage with Catherine, the widow of his own brother" Prince Arthur. If we knew to what loan the ballad alludes in l. 184–8, which Wolsey swore by his priesthood should be repaid within eight months, this would help to settle the question. It need hardly be said that the fixing of the dissensions between Henry and Catherine, on Wolsey, was most unjust, though the Emperor Charles did the same thing. "Can I," said the emperor, "overlook the indignity with which he [Henry VIII.] threatens my aunt by applying for a divorce, or the insult which he has offered to me by soliciting me to marry his daughter Mary, whom he now pronounces a bastard? . . . *But I well know who has suggested all this.* I would not gratify the rapacity of *the Cardinal of York*, nor employ my armies to make him Pope, and he has sworn vengeance against me, and now seeks to work out his purpose." (Legrand in *Macfarlane*, vi. 170–71.) Lines 128–9 refer to the wet autumn of 1526, and wet spring of 1527, which wrought a dearth in 1527–8.

The date of 1529 would suit well two points of the Ballad: the summons of Wolsey to trial (l. 232), and the hope that he will (repent, and so) be in better case than ever he was before (l. 262–4). For soon after the beginning of Michaelmas term 1529 the Attorney-General filed two bills against Wolsey in the Court of King's Bench, on which he resigned all his personal property, valued at half a million of crowns, to the king, and shortly afterwards, when ready for a journey to Esher from Yorkshire, resigned the Great Seal.

"He then issued from his most sumptuous palace, and entered his barge. The news had got wing, and the Thamas was covered with boats full of men and women, who hooted and shouted, and told him how happy they were to see him *sent to the Tower*[1]. . . . They were fools for their pains; for the words of Wolsey's faithful attendant were fully verified, and there came 'another hungry and lean officer in his place, that bit nearer the bone than the old one.' They were also disappointed as to the lord cardinal's present journey, for, instead of descending the river to the Tower, he ascended it to Putney.

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[1] Our ballad-writer in l. 240, threatens Wolsey with committal to the *Tower;* however, it's not the Tower of London, but that of Babel (l. 242, p. 360) or Hell.

"As he was travelling by land from Putney to Esher, one of the royal chamberlains (Sir John Norris) spurred after him, and overtaking him on the rise of a hill, presented him with a ring which the king, who had taken it from his own finger, sent him, with a very comfortable message. 'Therefore,' added Sir John, 'take patience, for *I trust to see you yet in better estate than ever.*'" (Macfarlane, vi. 180–1, quoting Cavendish.)

But though the Ballad's call on Wolsey to repay the loan above-named, and to reform and amend, may have been made in 1529, I should fix the date of the ballad in 1528, on account of its statement about Henry and Catherine, and its allusion to the *proceedings* for a divorce, l. 143–4,

> *yf* þe *dede folow*, all comythe to destruccion,
> the devyll þerfor þ^e^ thankythe.

Prof. Brewer thinks too that the date cannot be earlier than 1528, and may be 1529, at the beginning of Wolsey's impeachment. In 1528 the tax voted and paid in 1523 was redemanded, in certain districts, and this caused the outbreak of the cloth-workers in the former year. It explains also the strong language of the Ballad against Wolsey's taxes.

The *Bucke*, whose head the Ballad states in l. 95 to have been chopped off by Wolsey's means, must have been, says Mr. G. E. Adams, Rouge Dragon, "the Duke of Buckingham, the unfortunate Edward Stafford, K.G., and Lord High Constable, who was executed on May 17, 1521, entirely by Wolsey's (in *this* case,—for I am a great admirer of Wolsey—) malignant influence, and of whom Charles V said "A Butcher's dog has killed the finest *buck* in England." (See p. 331, above.) Shakspere makes Surrey say to Wolsey,

> Thy Ambition.
> (Thou Scarlet sinne) robb'd this bewailing Land
> Of Noble Buckingham, my Father-in-Law;
> The heads of all thy Brother-Cardinals,
> (With thee, and all thy best part bound together)
> Weigh'd not a haire of his. Plague of your policie,
> You sent me Deputie for Ireland,
> Farre from his succour; from the King, from all
> That might haue mercie on the fault thou gau'st him:
> Whil'st your great Goodnesse, out of holy pitty,
> Absolu'd him with an Axe.
> (*Henry VIII.* Act iii. Sc. 2, p. 222, col. 1, Booth's reprint.)

On the date of the Ballad, and its allusions, Mr. Charles H. Pearson, the author of *The Early and Middle Ages of England*, has kindly sent me the following interesting letter:—

"MY DEAR FURNIVALL,

"I think the date of this poem is 1526 or 1528, not very late in the first year, or the beginning of the second. You must

decide from the evidence. The line 94, 'though some heads be off-chopped,' surely refers to Henry VIII's threat on June 22, 1525, to behead a member for opposing an increased supply. In that year English policy veered round from Spain to France, being alarmed by the battle of Pavia. The people, however, through the connection with Flanders and the old grudge against France were Spanishly-inclined; and this explains lines 79–80, which refer, apparently, not to an open rupture with the Emperor, but to secret encouragement given to Francis. As Queen Catherine always supported Spanish interests, this would account for Wolsey's fomenting discord between her and the King. Pole accuses Wolsey of having first suggested the divorce; and Charles V also brought the charge. As Henry's acquaintance with and love for Anne Boleyn is referred by Lingard to June, 1525, we get here a pretty exact coincidence of dates. On the other hand, Henry levied a tax in 1526 without authority of Parliament, and was compelled to desist by the opposition provoked.

"June, 1525, is the date of the first royal commission for the suppression of a large number of monasteries.

"Heretics were not persecuted till 1527, but there can be little doubt that heretical books were burned at any time after May, 1521, when Luther's works were burned at Paul's cross.

"I don't think the lines about committal to the Tower mean that Wolsey was in disgrace. Stanza 37 shows that his fortunes had culminated: but the poet is sustained by a feeling that the people would be too strong for him in the end.

"There is, however, one line that seems to imply a later date, l. 152, 'course of merchandise thou hast restrained.' In the spring of 1528 there was an open rupture with Spain, and merchants were ordered to frequent fresh marts in France. This occasioned great dissatisfaction. Perhaps in these cases the latest date is the safest: but it is not easy to reconcile this with the allusions to forced taxation and a promise to repay, as there was no Parliament between 1525 and 1529; and I cannot find any notice of extraordinary taxes between 1526 and 1529; when, indeed, the country was at peace. But my library is very scanty for this period. It is just possible that the line means nothing more than the illicit tampering with trade by monopolies in which the Crown constantly practised.

"The Buck (l. 95) was the Duke of Buckingham, beheaded in 1521. He was a man of popular qualities, and his death has often been ascribed to Wolsey.

"l. 36, 'had-I-wist.' This expression occurs also in Spenser's *Mother Hubbard's Tale*, ll. 892, 893.

> Most miserable man, whom wicked fate
> Hath brought to court to sue for *had-y-wist*.

"Altogether I think we may say that the song is probably not earlier than 1526, and not later than March, 1528.

"The poems are very interesting. By-the-bye, is line 239 right? What is the meaning of *to* after *quod?* Should it not be *tu?*

"Sincerely yours,
"CHARLES H. PEARSON."

l. 71–4.

A wonderfull Collection of Substaunce . .
And sum men sey hyt ys sente to Rome.

Compare one of Surrey's charges against Wolsey in *Shakespere's Henry VIII*, Act ii. Sc. 2 (p. 222, col. 2, Booth's reprint:)

SUR. Then, That you have sent *innumerable substance*,
(By what meanes got, I leaue to your owne conscience,)
To furnish Rome, and to prepare the wayes
You haue for Dignities, to the meere vndooing
Of all the Kingdome.

l. 217, 223.

þou haste Assendyd as hyghe as may be . .
dyssende betyme, for fere of a Falle.

Compare *Shakespere*, in Henry VIII, Act iii. Sc. 2, of Wolsey:—

I haue touch'd the highest point of all my Greatnesse,
And from that full Meridian of my Glory,
I haste now to my Setting. I shall fall
Like a bright Exhalation in the Evening,
And no man see me more. (p. 221, col. 2, Booth's reprint.)

l. 263.

Thou knowest that Lucifer had a fall.

Mr. Gairdner says, compare Shakespere's *Henry VIII*, Actus Tertius, Scena Secunda (p. 223, col. 1, Booth's reprint):—

Oh how wretched
Is that poore man, that hangs on Princes fauours?
There is betwixt that smile we would aspire too,
That sweet Aspect of Princes, and their ruine,
More pangs, and feares then warres or women haue;
And when he falles, he falles like Lucifer
Neuer to hope again.

The burning of the books of heresy mentioned in l. 215, Mr. Brewer refers to the great Oxford burning at Carfax in 1528, when the heretical students Dalabar, Garret, Farrars, and others, marched round the fire and threw their books into it (*Froude*, ii. 70). But Mr. Pearson and Mr. Gairdner think that the Ballad refers to the former burning of Tyndale's New Testament at Paul's Cross in London in 1527. The general words of the Ballad may well include both these events, and also the more

numerous small burnings of Tyndale's and other heretical books that must have gone on during 1527 and 28. Mr. Froude (*Hist.* ii. 60) says that in 1527 the country was covered with Wolsey's "secret police, arresting suspected persons and searching for books. In London the scrutiny was so strict, that one time there was a general flight and panic; poor butchers, tailors, and carpenters, hiding themselves in the holds of vessels in the river, and escaping across the Channel." But of the two book-burnings mentioned above, the one which would attract most notice must have been that at Paul's Cross. Tonstall, Bp. of London, acting under Archbp. Wareham's directions (*Froude*, ii. 42, note, and *A Proper Dyaloge*, below,) bought the New Testaments to burn; and this was how he managed it:—

[Folio. Clxxxvi. of the reign of Hen. 8. in *Halle's Chronicle*. 1548; p. 762, ed. 1809.]

"Here is to be remembred, that at this present tyme, Willya*m* Tyndale had newly translated and imprinted the Newe Testament in Englishe; and the Bishop of London, not pleased with the translacion thereof, debated with hymself, how he might compasse and deuise, to destroye that false and erronious translacion, (as he saied).[1] And so it happened, that one Augustine Packyngton, a Mercer and Merchant of London, and of a greate honestie, the-same tyme was in Andwarp, where the Bishope then was; and this Packyngton was a man that highly fauored William Tindale, but to the bishop vtterly shewed hymself to the contrary. The bishop, desirous to haue his purpose brought to passe, commoned of the New Testamentes, and how gladly he would bye them. Packyngton then hearyng that he wished for, saied vnto the bishop, 'my Lorde, if it bee your pleasure, I can in this matter dooe more, I dare saie, then moste of the Merchauntes of Englande that are here,

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[1] Roy makes Bp. Standish first tell Wolsey about Tyndale's book. See the quotation in the Introduction to *The Ruyn of a Reame*, above, p. 154, and these further lines from Roy's *Satire*:—

Wat. ¶ Howe did he [Standisshe] the gospell betraye?
Jef. ¶ As sone as ever he hearde saye /
That the gospell cam to Englande,
Immediately he did hym trappe /
And to the man in the red cappe /
He brought hym with stronge honde,
Before whose prowde consistory /
Begynnynge in falce testimony /
The gospell he did theare accuse . . . .
Thus to the Cardinall he spake.
Pleaseth youre honourable grace /
Here is chaunsed a pitious case /
And to the churche a grett lacke.
The gospell in oure Englisshe tonge /
Of laye men to be red and songe /
Is nowe hidder come to remayne.
Which many heretyk*es* shall make /
Except your grace some waye take /
By youre authoritie him to restrayne. &c. &c.

As the fellow-worker of Tyndale, Roy ought to be right on this point.

for I knowe the Dutche men and straungiers that haue bought theim of Tyndale, and haue theim here to sell, so that if it be your lordshippes pleasure to paye for them; for otherwise I cannot come by them; but I must disburse money for theim, I will then assure you to haue euery boke of them, that is imprinted and is here vnsolde.' The Bishop, thinkyng that he had God by the too, when in deede he had (as after he thought) the Deuell by the fiste, saied, 'gentle Master Packyngton, do your diligence, and get them, and with all my harte I will paie for them, whatsoeuer thei cost you, for the bokes are erronious and naughtes, and I entende surely to destroy theim all, and to burne theim at Paules Crosse.' Agustine Packyngton came to Willyam Tyndale, and saied, 'Willyam, I knowe thou arte a poore man, and hast a hepe of newe Testamentes and bokes by thee, for the whiche thou hast bothe indaungered thy frendes, and beggered thy self; and I haue now gotten thee a Merchaunt, whiche with ready money shall dispatche thee of all that thou hast, if you thynke it so proffitable for your self.' 'Who is the Merchant?' said Tindale. 'The bisshoppe of London,' saied Packyngton. 'O, that is because he will burne them,' saied Tyndale. 'Ye Mary,' q*uod* Packyngton. 'I am the gladder,' said Tyndale, 'for these two benefites shall come therof, I shall get money of hym for these bokes, to bryng my self out of debt, (and the whole worlde shall crie out vpon the burnyng of Goddes worde). And the ouerplus of the money, that shall remain to me, shall make me more studious to correct thesaied Newe Testament, and so newly to Imprint thesame once again; and I trust the second will muche better like you, then euer did the first:' And so forward went the bargain; the bishop had the bokes, Packyngton had the thankes, and Tyndale had the money. Afterward, when mo newe Testamentes were Imprinted, thei came thicke and threfold into Englande; the bishop of London, hearyng that still there were so many Newe Testamentes abrode, sent for Augustyne Packyngton, and saied vnto him: 'Sir, how commeth this, that there are so many Newe Testamentes abrode, and you promised and assured me, that you had bought them al?' then said Packyngt*on*, 'I promes you I bought all that then was to bee had: but I perceiue thei haue made more sence, and it will neuer bee better, as long as thei haue the letters and stampes; therefore it were best for your lordeshippe, to bye the stamps to, and then are you sure:' the bishop smiled at him, and saied, 'well, Packyngton, well!' and so ended this matter."

The burning, let Mr. Froude tell (Hist. ii. p. 3–4). Out of the books collected by the police, and those which Tonstall bought, helped by subscriptions from other bishops:—

"A pyramid of offending volumes was ready to be consumed in a solemn *auto da fé*.

"In the morning of Shrove Sunday, then, 1527, we are to picture to ourselves a procession moving along London streets from the Fleet prison to St. Paul's cathedral. The warder of the Fleet was there, and the knight marshal, and the tipstaffs, and 'all the company they could make,' 'with bills and glaives;' and in the midst of these armed officials, six men marching in penitential dresses, one carrying a lighted taper five pounds' weight, the others with symbolic faggots, signifying to the lookers-on the fate which their crimes had earned for them, but which, this time, in mercy, was remitted. One of these was Barnes; the other five men 'Stillyard men! undistinguishable by any other name, but detached members of the [Christian] brotherhood.

"It was eight o'clock when they arrived at St. Paul's. The people had flocked in crowds before them. The public seats and benches were filled. All London which at that hour could be spared from work, had hurried to the spectacle. A platform was erected in the centre of the nave, on the top of which, enthroned in pomp of purple and gold and splendour, sate the great Cardinal, supported on each side with eighteen bishops, mitred abbots and

priors,—six-and-thirty in all;—his chaplains and 'spiritual doctors' sitting also where they coulde find place, 'in gowns of damask and satin.' Opposite the platform, over the north door of the cathedral was a great crucifix—a famous image, in those days called the Rood of Northen, and at the foot of it, inside a rail, a fire was burning, with the sinful books, the Tracts and Testaments, ranged round it in baskets, waiting for the execution of sentence.

"Such was the scene into the midst of which the six prisoners entered. A second platform stood in a conspicuous place in front of the cardinal's throne, where they [the prisoners] could be seen and heard by the crowd; and there upon their knees, with their faggots on their shoulders, they begged pardon of God and the Holy Catholic Church for their high crimes and offences. When the confession was finished, the Bishop of Rochester mounted the pulpit, and preached a sermon: and, the sermon over, Barnes turned to the people, declaring that 'he was more charitably handled than he deserved, his heresies were so heinous and detestable.' There was no other religious service: mass had perhaps been said previous to the admission into church of heretics lying under censure; and the knight marshal led the prisoners down from the stage to the fire underneath the crucifix. They were taken within the rails, and three times led round the blazing pile, casting in their faggots as they passed. The contents of the baskets were heaped upon the faggots, and the holocaust was complete.[1] This time, an innocent sacrifice was deemed sufficient."

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[1] Halle puts in 1530 the burning of the Testaments bought in 1529 (p. 762). See the last paragraph of the following quotation:—

[From the back of folio Clxxxxii. of Halle's Chronicle temp. Hen. 8. edit. 1548; p. 771 ed. 1809.]

"In the begynnyng of this two and twenty yere, [A.D. 1530,] the kyng, like a politike & a prudent prince, perceiued that his subiectes and other persons had diuers times within foure yeres last past, brought into his realme, greate nombre of printed bokes, of the new Testament, translated into the English tongue by Tyndall, Ioy, and other, which bokes the common people vsed, and dayly red priuely, which the clargie would not admit, for thei punnished suche persones as had red, studied, or taught thesame, with greate extremitie; but bycause the multitude was so greate, it was not in their power to redresse there grefe: wherfore they made complaint to the Chauncelor (which leaned much to the spirituall mennes part in all causes,) where vpon he imprisoned and punished a great nomber, so that for this cause a great rumor and controuersie rose daily emongest the people: wherfore the kyng, co*n*sideryng what good might come of readyng of the new Testament with reuerence, and folowyng thesame, and what euell mighte come of the readyng of thesame if it were euil translated, and not folowed, came into the starre chambre the fiue and twentie day of May, and there commoned with his counsaile and the prelates co*n*cernyng this cause; and after long debatyng, is was alleged that the translacion[s] of Tyndall and Ioy were not truely translated, and also that in them were prologues and prefaces which sounded to heresie, and rayled against the bishopes vncharitably: wherefore all suche bokes were prohibited; and commaundeme*n*t geuen by the kyng to the bishoppes, that thei, callyng to them the best learned men of the vniuersities, should cause a new translacion to be made, so that the people should not be ignoraunte in the law of god: And notwithstandyng this commaundement, the bishopes did nothing at all to set furth a new tra*n*slacio*n*, which caused the people to stody Tindalles translacion, by reaso*n* where-of many thinges cam to light, as you shall here after.

"In this yere in Maye, the bishop of Londo*n* caused al his new Testame*n*tes which he had bought, with many other bokes, to be brought into Paules churchyard in London, and there was openly burned."

Mr. Francis Fry, in his Introduction to his facsimile reproduction[1] of the *Proper Dyaloge* of 1530, quotes Roy's notice in his *Satire*, of this burning of the New Testaments and compares it with the two passages on the same subject in the *Proper Dyaloge*, which he thinks may have been written by Roy. The *Satire* says:—

JEFFRAYE. Diddest thou not heare whatt villany
They did unto the Gospell?
WATKYN. Why, did they agaynst hym conspyre?
JEFFRAYE. By my trothe they sett hym a fyre
Openly in London cite.
WATKYN. Who caused it to be done?
JEFFRAYE. In sothe, the Bisshope of London
With the Cardinall's authorite,
Which at Paulis Crosse ernestly
Denounced it to be heresy
That the gospell shuld come to lyght,
Callynge them heretics execrable,
Which caused the gospell venerable
To come unto laye mens syght.
He declared there in his furiousnes,
That he founde erroures more and less,
Above thre thousande in the translacion.
Howe be it, when all cam to pas,
I dare saye, unable he was
Of one erroure to make probacion, &c.[2]

Compare with this the following passage in the "proper dyaloge:" a strong similarity both in sentiment and expression will be at once seen:—

GENTILLMAN.
Yf the holy gospell allege we shuld,
As strong heretikes take us they would,
Unto their churche disobedient.
For why, they have commanded straytely,
That none, under great payne, be so hardye
To have in englishe the testament;
Which, as thou knowest, at London—
The bisshop makinge ther a sermon,—
With shamefull blasphemy was brent . . . .

This passage occurs about the middle of the "proper dyaloge." Toward the end of it, however, the author recurs to the subject as one in which he took especial interest; which would most likely have been the case with Roye, from his companionship with Tyndale. The second passage relative to the burning of the New Testament is as follows:—

GENTILLMAN.
Whan they brennyd the Newe testament,
They pretended a zele very feruent
To maynteyne onely goddes honour,

---

[1] The text is facsimiled; but each page contains more than one of the original. [2] *Rede me and be nott wrothe*, 1st ed. c. ij, and g 8. Brit. Mus.

Which they sayde (with protestacyon)
Was obscured by translacyon
  In englysshe / causynge moche errour.
But the trueth playnly to be sayde,
Thys was the cause why they were a-frayde,
  Least laye men should knowe theyr iniquite,
Which throuh goddes word is so vttred,
That it were not possyble to be suffred
  If to rede scripture men had lyberte.

While on the subject of this Testament-burning, we must not omit to notice the Ballad on this subject inserted in Roy's *Satire*, near the end, with the burden 'To brenne goddis worde, the holy testament.' The first stanza is :—

O miserable monster / most malicious /
Father of perversite / patrone of hell.
O terrible Tyrant / to god and man odious /
Advocate of antichrist / to Christ rebell.
To the I speake / o caytife Cardinall so cruell.
Causles chargynge by thy coursed commandment
To brenne goddis worde, the wholy testament.

Mr. Arber has shown me a bit of the proof of his Preface (1871) to Tyndal and Roy's first printed Testament, in which he proves that the date of Roy's *Satire* is late in 1528 or early in 1529. We may therefore conclude that in the lines above, Roy alluded to the Paul's Cross burning in 1527 ; and that Mr. Hazlitt (*Handbook*, p. 525) had no good reason for his date for the first edition of the Satire, "1526."

Line 157 "All plenty & sporte þou haste put down" refers, no doubt, to the games stopt in 1526 :—

In the moneth of Maie [1526] was a proclamacion made against al vnlawfull games, accordyng to the statutes made in this behalf; & commissions awarded into euery shire for the execucion of the same ; so that in all places, Tables, Dice, Cardes and Boules, wer taken and brent. Wherfore the people murmured against the Cardinall [Wolsey], sayeng, that "he grudged at euery mannes pleasure, sauyng his awne." But this Proclamacion small tyme endured : and when young men were forbidden Boules, and suche other games, some fell to drinkyng, and some to ferretyng of other mennes Conies, and stealyng of Dere in Parkes, and other vnthriftines. *Hall's Chronicle*, 1548 ; ed. 1809, p. 712.

To conclude : the Ballad alludes to no event that happened after 1528 ; and though a general rule leads critics to date all prophecies after the events they foretell have happened, yet I see no reason to suppose that the rule is applicable here. Stanza xxii, p. 356, implies that the rains of 1526–7 (see p. 363) were falling when it was written. No later date for the whole piece could well be suggested than the autumn of 1529, when the first blow fell on Wolsey. The Ballad may have been written at the latter date ; but I incline to put it in 1527 or 1528, and to consider it a remarkable instance of the foresight of its writer, who knew how to judge the signs of the times.

[Harl. MS. 2252, leaf 158.]

I.

Thom*a*s! Thomas! aⱡⱡ hayle! Sythe
of yngland[1] the Rule, & Souere*n*te
of ynglond thow haste had,
Reme*m*byr on̄ Thom*a*s of Cant*er*bury,
whyche Made aⱡⱡ yngland gladde & mery,
And thou haste made hyt Sadde.

II.

By hym̄ the Chyrchys & co*m*mons Also
were sette at lybertye, in welthe & woo,
for the whych[e] hys lyffe he spente;
But *þ*ou the Chyrche dothe ov*er*-throwe;
ye, & the Comons *þ*ou doste brynḡ full lowe;
*þ*at ys aⱡⱡ thyne entente.

III.

hym̄ men̄ do worsshyppe w*ith* prayers & lyghte;
Thè, peopyⱡⱡ do Curse bothe day & nyghte;
Thys ys the Comon̄ voyse.
w*ith* Abbayes good thy Colage *þ*ou byldeste,
w*ith* pore mens good thy plac*e*[2] *þ*ou gyldeste;
Howe Canste *þ*ou thys Reioyse?

IV.

The Comyn̄ welthe nothynḡ entendythe,
Butt aⱡⱡ in pompe & p*r*ide thow spendys,
The Comons to Subdew.
Saynte Thomas, inordynat Apetyd denyed,
whyche to mayntayne *þ*ou doste p*r*ovyde,
olde myschefe to Renewe.

V.

Then̄ Thom*a*s was; & nowe Thom*a*s ys:
where he dyd weⱡⱡ, thowe doste Amys
by thy pharo*n*[i]caⱡⱡ mynde;
& aⱡⱡ *þ*ou doste, by Craftye p*re*tence;
Vsurpyd awtoryte is thy defence;
no man̄ darre the Resyste.

[1] Most of the *d*'s have a tag to them. [2] or 'plac*es*.'

VI.

Thow haste the Comons scowrgyd so sore,
There ys nome Mory of suche on̄ before,
  þat Any man̄ Can̄ fynde.
þou pyllyste, þou pollyste, & borowste eke;
To pay A-gayne, no man̄ þou doste seke;
  beware of haddye-wyste[1]!

VII.

defferre not þe tyme! fynde A provision̄,
with-owtyn̄ delaye or Collusyon̄,
  To pay the Comons Agayne;
for þou haste presumyd A-bove all̄ hoþer.
men trowe þou be þe devyllis brother,
  or þou doste hym̄ Retayne.

VIII.

for "demon habes," the peopyll dothe say,
by whom þou doste all̄ thyngis convey,
  þat all̄ thynḡ gothe thè with;
"quia nemo poteste facere sygna
que tu facis, & tam̄ in-digna,
  Nisi diabolus secum̄ sit."

IX.

"Ite, predicate," was commaundyd by Cryste;
but þou haste Caste suche A comberous myste[2]
  by thy grete commaundment,
þat fewe with-owte[3] lycens may preche,
syn̄ to rebuke, or þe Ryght wey to teche;
  þat ys A wonderfull Intente.

X.

. . . . . .

þe Rodde of Correccion̄ þou haste purposyd
  To mynester grete extorcion̄,
In̄ Chestis, baggis hepyd & pochyd,
  of every man̄ Takynḡ A porcion̄;

---

[1] *Had-I-wist*, repentance when it is too late: 'Oh, had I but known how it would have turned out!'

[2] ? MS. "nyste."

[3] MS. "withowte, owte."

XI.

of Sum by the pownde, of Sum by the poll,
by foxly polecy þou dyd them in toll
Throwe-owte all thys londe;
of Sum be flatery*n*g, & Sum by swery*n*g,
and for after Clappus dowghty*n*g & fery*n*g,
þat fewe dyd scape thy hande.

XII.

Thy mynesters did *in* all placis probate,[1]
seying they mvste haue, to may*n*tayne þ^in^ astat[e],
gold, Sylu*er*, or treasure,
By the Mean wherof, & by þ^i^ proteccion,
they haue Made A wonderfull Collecc*i*on
of Substaunce owte of Measure,

XIII.

Whych all men merveyle where hyt be Come;
And Sum men sey hyt ys sente to Rome
To pu[r]ches lycens for Chaungys,
to Turne Altyr, transmute & transpose
All vowys, fundacions to breke & lose,
and of Abayes to make graungis.

XIV.

and som sey þ^e^ frenshe kyng A grete pourcion haþ^e^,
Ayenste the emperour to mayntayne hys wraþ,
wherby myche pepyll hathe byn slayn.
for when þ^e^ quarell or tytyll ys nowgh[t],
& Crafty pretens to mayntayne it ys brow[ght],
Then selfe-wyll laborythe yn veyne.

XV.

for losyng of promocion to speke, þ^e^ prelattis [mitres] of;
yf the Temporall lordis speke, then gothe the hedis of,
or else to þ^e^ Towur they be sente;
But yet þou knoweste thys prophecy
& mystycall sentens, "si tacuerint hii,
lapides loquentur," whom the Comens presente[2].

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[1] Of Wills. See note at the end, p. 361–2.

[2] ? "represente."

XVI.

wherfor, nevyr looke *þer* mow*þis* to be stoppyd
Tyll *þer* money be restoryd, thow S*um* hed*is* be of Choppyd,
as thowe dyd s*er*ue the Buckke[1];
for as me*n* sey, by thè *þat* was do*n*
. . . . . .
þat sens had *þis* lande no good lucke.

XVII.

Be ware & wyse, & loke well A-bowte,
or else res puplica wyłł Com w*ith* A rowte,
hyr Ryghte for to requyre,
whyche ys, Restytucio*n* for dewty & dette,
And for extorcio*n*, reformac*i*on to be sette;
Thys ys p*ar*te of hyr desyre.

XVIII.

for Singulare Co*m*moda, she seythe,
By sotell p*re*tens all thyng *con*veyethe,
& Craftely hathe contryvyd
to banysshe hyr from ev*er*y degre,
where before thys tyme here[2] she was wonte to bee:
*þu*s haste *þo*u of hyr *þis* lande dep*r*iuyd.

XIX.

Wherfor, *con*syderyng suche A resonabyłł request,
hyt to denye, me*n* thynke hyt not beste,
But graunte hyt w*ith* A shorte conclusio*n*;
the*n* in *þis* regio*n* all myschefe shall seas
& w*ith* all nacions we shałł haue peas,
and of ma*n*nys bleode save grete effucio*n*.

XX.

To Bre*n* bok*is* of heresy, whate do*þ*[e] hyt Avayle?
sythe howsys of Relygyo*n* *þo*u doste so Assayle,
whyche were made by devoc*i*on,
and, as hyt ys to be supposyd,
Suche thyng*is* to doe were p*ur*posyd
By the holye goost*is* Mocio*n*.

---

[1] Also a ryght noble Prince of fame /
Henry the ducke of buckyngame /
He caused to deye, alas! alas!—*Roy's Satire.*

[2] MS. he*r*.

XXI.

Therfor A questyon̄ we do desyre:
where dothe devocion̄ moste Apere?
  yn̄ Many p*er*son*us*, or in oon̄?
In̄ A mvltytude, moste men̄ wyll sey.
then̄, Many chyrchys in one to *con*vey,
  ys lytyll wysedom̄, or*e* none.

XXII.

But & thow Cowdyste, w*ith* thy polycis all̶,
Stoppe the eleme*ntis*, þ*at* Rayne ne falle,
  Then̄ sholdyste þ*o*u myche Corne save;[1]
or ell*is* þ*at* thow woldyste Take yn̄ charge
by þ^i poletyck wysdom̄ þ^e See to enlarge,
  these animall̶ watyrs from vs to have;

XXIII.

Then̄ wold þ^e pepyll *in* þ^e co*n*fyde[2],
and take þ^e as[3] a new god to be hyr g[yde]
  In̄ trobyll*is* smalle & grete;
But sythe þ*o*u doste for the*m* nothynḡ,
but all *in*-to misery & w*re*chydnes brynḡ,
  the lesse by thè they Sette.

XXIV.

Also they sey, by þ^i circu*m*ven*c*ion̄
þ*o*u haste suscitate suche A wo*nder*full̶ dyssencion̄
  Betwyxte þ^e moste nobyllyste hu*n*c & hañc:
wherfor, by þ^i diabolicall̶ inducam[4]
yf þ^e dede folow, all co*m*ythe to destruccion,
  the devyll̶ þ*er*for þ^e thankythe.

XXV.

Wherfor all̶ gendyrs dysconte[nt] be,
the Comyn̄ of ij^e, the Comyn̄ of iij^e,
  the dubyu*m* & the epysyn̄ Also,
Whose puysaunce cannot [thy oppression][5] sta*n*[d];
Therfor leve thyne ent*er*p*r*ice þ*o*u hast taky[n] in hand,
  & in hyt no ferther goee.

---

[1] Alluding to the dearth and murrain in 1527–8 from excessive rains.—*Brewer*. See p. 363 below.
[2] MS. "co*n*fyde."
[3] MS. as As.
[4] read "induction."
[5] Blank in MS.

XXVI.

By thè, owte of Servyce Many be *con*straynyd,
and Cow[r]se of m*er*chaundyse *þ*ou haste restreyned,
wherefor men̄ syghe and sobbe; 153
but & they had as myche money *in* store[1]
as men̄ sey *þ*ou haste, they wold syghe nomore,
but purchesse A dyspensacion̄ to Robbe. 156

XXVII.

All plenty & sporte *þ*ou haste put dow[n]
yn̄ cowrte, cete, borow, & Towne;
men*n*ys Corage ys gon̄ yn̄ dede. 159
To here of the pepyll the lamen*t*ac*i*on,
& Cryinḡ for ven*g*eance w*ith* exclamac*i*on,
*þ*at hyt wold make A manse herte to[2] [blede.] 162

XXVIII.

Thow knowyst *þ*at lucyfer had A fall;
& all *þ*at folow hym̄, so shall
In-to the pytt of hell. 165
Symond Mag*us* assendyd alsoo
by arte Magike; down̄ ca*m* he tho;[3]
When petyr prayed, he fell. 168

XXIX.

Thow k*n*owyste how *þ*^e^ prowde spe*n*cer[s] twayne,[4]
& mortim*er*,[5] *in* *þ*is lande dyd Rule & Rayne,
For whom̄ no man̄ durste quyche; 171
for whoe *þ*at them̄ displesid or denyed,
they wold fro*m* *þ*er bodyes *þ*er hed*is* devy[de],
or hanḡ them̄ at A twycche. 174

XXX.

But suche as *þ*er ende was, to *þ*er *con*fusion̄, [fol. 159.]
shalbe vnto thè: m*ar*ke thys *con*clusion̄,
exsepte *þ*at thow Amend 177
and seas[6] thyne *in*saciat covetou*s* mynde;
or else ympossibyll Any man̄ to fynde,
Thy p*er*sone to defende. 180

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[1] "MS. "stere." [2] MS. "co." [3] MS. "the."

[4] Hugh Spencer or Despencer: the father (executed 9 Oct. 1326) and son (executed 29 Nov. 1326), favourites of Edward II.

[5] Roger Mortimer, Baron of Wigmore, 1st Earl of March, the favourite and paramour of Queen Isabella, and murderer of her husband, Edward II. He was hanged 29 Nov. 1330.

[6] stop, make to cease.

XXXI.

For, fortitudo vibrilla*torum*[1]
þe Cannot p*reser*ue, yf þe Como*n*s Cry Alar*um*;
where-for hyt ys beste þou seace,
and on̄ [to all] of theyn̄[2] Restore Agayne
þer money, thowe hyt be to þi payne,—
In̄ a venture thow breke not the peas,—

XXXII.

Acordynḡ to þi promys, as þou then̄ sayd,
þat w*ith*-in viij Monthys it shulde be repayd,
& sware by thy presthod;
wheryn̄ thow haste byn̄ vntrew & vnstabyll,
whych in A grete man̄ is moche vnlawdabyll:
Be ware of the Ferrall Rodde!

XXXIII.

haddyste not þou all þi di*n*gnyte & p*ro*mocion̄
of the kyng*is* grace, by good mynde & devocio*n*,
he thynkynḡ the to do well.
But whate haste þou do vndyr that?
gnawen̄ hys pepyll as A dogge doþe a Catte,
That petye hyt ys to tell;

XXXIV.

And plucke[d] them downe so lowe & bare,
þat evyry man̄ on̄ othyr dothe stare,
wonderynḡ whate they may doe,
lokynḡ evyr when̄ þer Sou*er*aynḡ lorde
wyll [sette] all thynge in dew Acorde,
as hym̄ belongythe vnto.

XXXV.

for now they be in suche Case
that, exsepte god send sum̄ grace,
all goethe at vj or vij^{e};
for they do vttyrly entende
Theyre lyvys to venture, & sum̄ to send
owthyr to hell or to hevyn̄.

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[1] *Vibrillator*, a gunner.—*Brewer*.

[2] read 'theym,' them.

XXXVI.

Wherfor, almyghty god Above,
þat knowyste how all *þis* gere shall prove,
send Som Reformacion!
or else there shalbe, *with*-owte ony fayle,
oon p*ar*te be slayne, þ^e^ ho*þer* p*ar*te wayle
with-owte ony consolac*i*on.

XXXVII.

*þo*u haste assendyd as hygħe as may be;
*þo*u Canste no hygher, but on degre;—
Men mvse myche whythyr thow wylte;—
on þ^e^ whyche degre thyne on fote dothe stonde,
& moste of hys power *þo*u haste in thy honde,
and all ys Coste loste & spylte.

XXXVIII.

dyssende betyme, for fere of A Falle!
there ys no p*ro*teccion to defend þ^e^ *with* all,
but ned*is* *þo*u moste Cum downe.
for bettyr hyt ys, t*em*porall wordly shame
of the peopyll, then of god et*er*nall blame:
lett *þis* in thyne erys sowne!

XXXIX.

And loke where Antropose[1] co*m*myth, Ry*nn*yn*g* a pase,
þ^e^ to Areste *with* hys feryall Mase,
& somon the to Apere
before the hygħe Iuge, boþ^e^ preste & kyng,
where *þo*u moste ansswere for ev*er*y thynge
þat he shall of thè Requyre.

XL.

Amo*n*ge hother questyons *þat* shalbe layde,
"q*uo*modo *in*trasty" to þ^e^ shalbe sayde:
hyt thè Avaylythe not then to lowre.
"q*uo*modo vyxisty," there moste *þo*u declare;
quod to[2] "quomodo Rexisti"; but & þ^i^ ansswer be bare,
then goeste *þo*u streyghte to the Tow*u*r.

[1] Atropos, the fate that no one can avoid. [2] He saith (he'll say) too.

XLI.

whiche Towur? of londō? nay! sothe to tell.
whythyr thēn? streyghte to þe towre of babe[ll];—
  þou knowyste therof the Interpretacion,— 243
In to the whyche who enteryth, Certayne
hyt ys Inpossybyll to Com owte Agayne
  By Reches or Adulacion. 246

XLII.

Repente thyne exsampyll of mysery,
By pride, Covetous[1], lechery,
  whych men dred thè to blame; 249
By extorcion, gloteny, tyranny,
prevy envye, with opyn Ingyry[2]:
  after whyche Comythe Shame. 252

XLIII.

And do lyke the pecoke, for thyne Avayle:
loke on thy fete, and down with thy tayle,
  and of with thy goldyn shone, 255
& ley downe þi pyllers, pollaxis, & crosse[s][3],—
by the whych þis lande haþe had grete lossys,—
  & pyll the peopyll nomore, 258

XLIV.

And lytell & lytell downe Agayne Crepe, [fol. 159, b.]
geve ovyr superf[l]uyte, & nesessary kepe;
  for þat ys goddys wyll to be don; 261
So doyng, god wyll gyve thè grace
to haue love of the peopyll, & to be in better Case
  Then evyr thow waste before. 264

XLV.

yf ony mannys mynde to knowe be preparyd,
Whoo hathe þis matyr so playnly declaryd,
  or hathe the labowur Take; 267
hyt was good mynde, & dylygens,
trewe herte, Trewe love, & good pretens,
  and for the Comons sake. 270

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[1] Covetise. [2] MS. Inyyry. [3] See the quotation from Roy above, p. 340.

XLVI.

Therfor we desyre noman vs blame;
& thowgh thys mater be owte of frame,
and owte of ordyr sette,—
for when the mynde ys Trobyllid & vexid,
the body to pou*er*te Cowplyd & Annexyd,
Then ys myche wysdom lett;—

XLVII.

But yet A wyseman, yf hym lyke,
owte of þ*is* mater may englysshe pyke,
as an henne dothe owte of Strawe;
Refusyng the worste, & Meanyng the beste,
Besechyng god of peas & Reste,
& to kepe sensualyte in Awe.

God Save the kyng, the
quene, & my lady pry*n*ces!
Amen!

L. 20, 67, etc. *Wolsey's pride and exactions.* A.D. 1518, after July:—'When the Cardinall of Yorke was thus a legate, he set vp a court, & called it the court of the legate, and proued testame*n*tes, and h[e]ard causes, to the great hinderaunce of all the bishops of the realme. He visited bisshopes, and all the Clergie, exempt and not exempt; and, vnder colour of reformacion, he gat muche treasure; & nothyng was reformed but came to more mischief: for, by exa*m*ple of his pride, priestes & all spirituall persones wexed so proude, that thei ware veluet & silke, bothe in gounes, iackettes, doblettes, & shoes; kept open lechery; and so highly bare the*m*selfes by reason of his aucthorities & faculties, that no ma*n* durst once reproue any thing in the*m*, for feare to be called heretike; & then thei would make hym smoke, or bare a faggot. And the Cardinall hymself was so elated that he thought hymself egall with the kyng: & when he had said Masse, he made dukes & erles to serue him of wyne, with a say[1] taken, & to holde the baso*n* at the lauatories. Thus the pride & ambicion of the Cardinal & clergie was so high, *tha*t in maner al good persons abhorred and disdeined it.' *Hall's Chronicle*, p. 593, ed. 1809. On the next page Hall says that Henry VIII and the French Ambassadors went to St. Paul's, "And there the Cardinall of Yorke sange high masse, & had hys cloth of estate of Tyssue; hys Cupboord set with baso*n*s all gilt couered: his place was .v. steppes high. At the first lauatory, .iii. Erles serued him, & at the seco*n*d .ii. dukes & a Marques; &, with the saye[1] taken, they gaue hym wyne, & after, water." On the exactions of the Spiritualty, see also Hall

[1] Assay, tasting to see that no poison was in it. Assay was not taken for any one of rank below an Archbishop or an Earl. See *Babees Book*, p. 196, l. 1195–8.

under November, A.D. 1529, 21 Henry VIII. "When the commons were assembled in the nether house, thei began to common of their grefes wherwith the spiritualtie had before tyme greuously oppressed them, both co*n*trarie to the lawe of the realme, & co*n*trarie to all righte; and in especial thei were sore moued with sixe greate causes.

The first for the excesse fynes, which the ordinaries toke for probat of Testamentes[1], insomuche that Sir henry Guilford, knight of the gartir, and comptrollor of the kinges house, declared in the open Parliament on his fidelitie, that he and other, beyng executors of Sir William Compton, knight, paied for the probate of his wil to the Cardinal & the Archbishop of Cauntorburie, a thousand Marke sterlyng: after this declaracion were shewed so many extorcions done by ordinaries for probates of willes, that it were to muche to rehearse.

The second cause was the great polling and extreme exaccion, which the spirituall men vsed in takyng of corps presentes, or mortuaries[2]; for the children of the defunct should al dye for hunger, and go a beggyng, rather then thei would of charitie geue to them the sely kow[3] which the dead man ought, if he had but only one: such was the charitie then!

The third cause was, that priestes beyng surueiors, stuardes, and officers to Bishoppes, Abbotes, and other spirituall heddes, had and occupied Fermes, Graunges, & grasing, in euery contrey, so that the poore husbandmen coulde haue nothyng but of them; and yet for that they should pay derely[4].

The fourth cause was, that Abbotes, Priors, and spiritual men, kept Tanne houses, & bought and soulde woll, clothe, and all maner of marchaundise, as other temporall marchauntes did[5].

The fift cause, was because that spiritual persones, promoted to great benefices, & hauyng there liuyng of ther flocke, were liyng in the courte in lordes houses, & toke al of the parishoners, and nothing spent on the*m* at al; so that, for lack of reside*n*ce, both the poore of the parish lacked refreshyng, & vniuersally all the parishioners lacked preaching, & true instructio*n* of Gods worde, to the greate perell of there soules.

The sixt cause was, to se one priest, beyng litle learned, to haue tenne or twelue benefices, and to be resident on none, and to know many well learned scholers in the vniuersitie, which wer able to preche & teache, to haue nether benefice nor exhibicion.

These things before this time might in nowise be towched nor yet talked of by no man, except he would be made an heritike, or lese al that he had; for the bishopes were chauncelors, and had all the rule about the kyng, so that no man durst once presume to attempt any thing contrary to their proffit, or commoditie.

But now, when God had illumined the eies of the kyng, and that ther subtell doinges was once espied, then men began charitably to desyre a reformacion, and so at this Parliament bega*n* to shew their grudges (*Chronicle*, p. 765–6, ed. 1809).

A Mortuaries Bill was soon carried,—that was a priests' and curates' affair—; but at the Probate Bill, which toucht their own pockets, the Archbp. of Canterbury and Bishops 'frowned and grunted,' and defended their rights 'by prescripsion and vsage:' to whome an answere was made by a gentleman of Greyes Inne: 'the vsage hath euer ben of theues to robbe on shoters hill; ergo it is lawfull:' with [which] answere the spirituall men were sore offended, because there doynges were called robberies; but the temporall men stode still by their saiynges, in so muche the saied gentle man saied to the Archebishop of Cauntorburie, that both the exaccion of probates of Testa-

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[1] See p. 213, l. 1021. [2] See p. 213, l. 1022.
[3] poor cow. [4] See p. 21 above, the second quotation.
[5] See p. 95, l. 81–4 above. An Act was past about the Tan-houses.

mentes, and the takyng of Mortuaries, as they were vsed, were open robbery and theft." (*Hall's Chronicle*, p. 766–7.)

P. 353, l. 54; p. 358, l. 184. *The Loan.* Can this be the loan of 1524, for the invasion of France, which the Parliament released to the King in 1529, much to the people's disgust. Wolsey askt, and prest hard, for 4*s* in the pound, 'the fifth part of euery mans goodes and landes.' Parliament granted 2*s* in the pound of goods or lands up to 20£; 1*s* in the pound from goods worth 40*s* to 20£; and under 40*s*, fourpence for every head above 16 years. The gentry worth 50£ or more, in land or goods, gave afterwards another 1*s*. (*Hall*, p. 656–7.) In 1529, the Lords sent down a Bill to the Commons, releasing the Loan to the King; and as 'the moste parte of the commons were the kynges seruauntes,' the Bill was passed. "When this realease of the loane was knowen to the commons of the Realme,—Lorde! so they grudged, and spake ill of the hole Parliament! for almoste euery man counted it his dette, and reconed suerly of the payment of the same; and therefore some made there willes of the same, and some other did set it ouer to other for debt; and so, many men had losse by it, which caused them sore to murmur; but there was no remedy." (*Hall*, p. 767.)

P. 356, l. 128. *Rains.* In the end of this yere [the 18th of Henry VIII, 22 April 1526 to 21 April 1527] the people were sore troubled with pouertye for the great paymentes of money that were past; and also in wynter in the seede season fell such aboundans of rayne in Septembre, Nouembre, & Decembre [1526], and on the xvi. daie of Janiuer [1526–7] fell suche a great rayne that there-of ensued greate fluddes whiche distroyed corne, feldes, and pastures, and drouned many shepe and beastes. then was it dry tyll the .xii. day of Aprill, and from thence it rayned euery day or nyght tyll the third day of June; and in May [1527] it rayned .xxx. houres contynually with-out ceasyng, whiche caused great fluddes, and did muche harme, so that corne sore fayled the next yeere, as you shall perceiue hereafter. (*Hall's Chronicle*, p. 721.)

The .XIX. Yere [22 April 1527 to 21 April 1528] . . By reason of the great raines whiche fell in the sowing time & in the beginning of the last yere, now in the beginning of this yere corne began sore to fayle throughout the realme, insomuche that in the citie of London, bread for a while was very skant, and people did starue daily for bread; for wheat so failed that none could be gotten for money. (*Hall*, p. 736, ed. 1809.)

Leland's and Udall's Verses before the Coronation of Anne Boleyn.

(*Whitsuneve. May* 31, 1533.)

In Nicholas Udall's 'Roister Doister, carefully edited . . by Edward Arber . . 1869,' that careful and excellent editor, to whom all lovers of old books owe a large debt of gratitude, quoted the titles of the following verses of Leland's and Udall's, from the '*Royal MS* 18 *A. lxiv, p.* 275,' as if they had never been printed. Misled by this, and by Mr. Arber's subsequent assurance (on the authority of Mr. J. P. Collier) that these little poems had not been in type, I was indignant that our literary antiquaries had so long neglected the work of such men as Leland and Udall on such a person as Elizabeth's mother, and I got the verses copied; Mr. Hales kindly looked over them, and abstracted them for me; and they were going to press as novelties, when, on opening the first edition of Queen Elizabeth's Progresses, by that more careful and thorough editor John Nichols, 1788–1805,—to see the differences between its print of *Laneham's Letter* and that in the 2nd edition of 1823—what should catch my eye on pages i–xx (second set of numbers) but these "Verses and Ditties made at the Coronation of Queen Anne [Boleyn] (Royal MS 18 A. LXIV. p. 275);" printed before the accounts of Elizabeth's triumphal Progresses for this reason (*Pref.* p. vi.)

> "The marriage, the coronation, and the execution of her mother, and the ceremonial of her christening, are prefixed, as suitable, though perhaps melancholy, introductions to her subsequent splendour."

Still, as men with the knowledge of Mr. J. P. Collier and Mr. Arber had believed these verses not to be in type, as Nichols had left them out of the second edition of his Progresses of Queen Elizabeth—that now in general use,—and as I wanted them for a prelude to the ballad of *Anne Boleyn's Fortune*, printed below, I decided to let these Coronation Ditties go again to press, with their necessary accompaniment, the trusty old chronicler Hall's[1]

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[1] Hall was probably an eye-witness, and may be thoroughly trusted in these descriptions. Wherever we are able to test him, which sometimes happens, by independent contemporary accounts, he proves faithful in the most minute

account of all the gay doings that he saw on the Thursday, May 29, 1533, when Anne was brought by water from Greenwich to the Tower of London, (on which procession Leland wrote the first Latin verses below); and on the Saturday, Whitsuneve, May 31, 1533, when she was received in, and conveyed through, the City of London, on her way to Westminster, and when Leland's and Udall's verses in Latin and English were, some set up, for Anne to see, some spoken to her, all congratulating her on her happy fate, & some hoping that the babe whose life then beat within her, might be the son that England longed-for to settle the succession to the crown, and be only the first of many from the same womb. A gallant show the City made, and Hall describes it well. Further, as Leland has verses for the doors of Westminster Cathedral, and the Coronation held in it, I add Hall's account of that too, feeling assured that no one who takes an interest in the subject, or wants to realise the scene, will grudge the space given to this contemporary report.

[Hall, p. 798 of reprint, fol. 212 of black-letter.]

The receiuyng, conueiyng, and coronacion of quene Anne, wyfe to the high and mightie prince kyng Henry the eight.

After that the kynges highnes had addressed his gracious letters to the Maior and cominaltie of the citie,—signifying to them that his pleasure was to solempnise and celebrate the coronacion of his moste deare and welbeloued wyfe, Quene Anne, at Westminster, the Whitsonday next ensuyng, willyng theim to make preparacion, aswell to fetche her grace from Grenewyche to the Tower by water, as to see the citie ordered and garnished with pageaun*t*es in places accustomed, for the honor of her grace, When she should be conueyed from the Tower to Westminster,—there was a common counsail called, and com-maundement was geuen to the Haberdashers, (of which craft the Maior, sir Stephen Pecocke, then was,) that they should prepare a barge for the Batchelers, with a wafter[1] and a foyst[2] garnished with banners and streamers, likewyse as they vse to dooe when the Maior is presented at Westminster on the morowe after Symon and Iude[3]. Also, all other craftes were commaunded to prepare barges, and to garnishe them, not alonely with their banners accustomed, but also to

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particulars. *Froude's Hist.* 1856, i. 437, note. We ought certainly to have a cheap reprint of Hall's most picturesque *Triumphant Reigne of Kyng Henry the VIII.* In the earlier parts of his Chronicle or *Vnion*, Hall's descriptions of armour are not to be trusted, as Mr. Planché has shown.

[1] To *waft* is to convoy or guard any Ship or Fleet at Sea, as Men of War use to do Merchantmen. *Wafter*, a Frigat, to convoy after such a manner: Kersey's Phillips. *Wafters* (or passage barkes), *Barques de nauleage* (freight or passage): Sherwood.

[2] *Foist*, a Pinnace, or little Ship with Sails and Oars. (Kersey's Phillips.) Fr. *fuste:* f. A foist; a light gally that hath about 16 or 18 oares on a side, and two rowers to an oare. *Cotgrave.* Foyst to carry marchaundyse, *fuste marchande;* Foyst, a bote lyke a gally, *fuste.* Palsgrave.

[3] St. Simon and St. Jude's Day is Oct. 28.

decke them with targettes by the sides of the barges; and to[1] set vp all suche semely banners and bannerettes as they had in their halles, or could gette, mete to furnishe their sayd barges, and euery barge to haue mynstrelsie; accordyng to whiche commaundementes, great preparacion was made for all thynges necessary for suche a noble triumph.

The commyng by water from Grenewyche the thursday[2].

The .[x]xix. day of Maye, the Maior and his brethren, all in Scarlet, —and suche as wer knightes had collers of Esses[3], & the remnant hauyng good chaynes,—and the counsail of the citie with them, assembled at saint Mary Hyll; and at one of the clocke discended to the Newstayre, to their barge, whiche was garnished with many goodly ba*n*ners and stremers, and richely couered, In whiche barge were Shalmes, Shagbushes[4], & diuers other instrumentes, whiche continually made goodly armony. After that the Maior and his brethren wer in their barge,—seyng that all the companyes, to the nomber of fiftie barges, were ready to wayte vpo*n* theim,—They gaue commaundement to the companyes that no barge should rowe nerer to another then twyse the length of the barge, vpon a great paine. And to see the order kept, there were thre light wheryes prepared, and in euery one of them two officers, to call on them to kepe their order; after whiche commaundement geuen, they set forth in order as hereafter is described.

Fyrst, before the Maior's barge, was a Foyst or Wafter, full of ordinaunce, in whiche Foyst was a great Dragon continually mouyng, & castyng wyldfyer; and round about the sayd Foyst stode terrible monsters and wylde men, castyng fyer, and makyng hidious noyses. Next after the Foyst, a good distaunce, came the Maior's barge, on whose right hand was the Batcheler's barge, in the whiche were trumpettes and diuers other melodious instrumentes. The deckes of the sayd barge, and the sailyardes and the toppe castles, were hanged with riche cloth of golde and silke. At the foreship and the Sterne were two great banners, riche beaten with the armes of the kyng and the quene; and on the toppe castle also was a long stremer, newly beaten with the sayd armes. The sides of the barge was sette full of Flagges and banners, of the deuises of the company of Haberdashers and marchauntes aduenturers; and the cordes were ha*n*ged with innumerable penselles, hauyng litle belles at *the* endes, whiche made a goodly noyse, and a goodly sight, waueryng in the wynde. On the outsyde of the barge were thre dosen Scochyons, in metal, of armes of the kyng and the quene, whiche were beaten vpon square bocrame, deuided so that the right side had the kinges colors, and the left syde the quenes, whiche Scochyons were fastened on the clothes of gold and siluer hangyng on the deckes on the left hand. On the left hand of the Maior, was another Foyst, in the whiche was a mount, & on thesame stode a white Fawcon, crouned, vpon a rote of golde, enuironed with white roses and red, whiche was the Quenes deuise; about whiche mount satte virgyns singyng & plaiyng swetely. Next after the Maior, folowed his felowship, the Haberdashers. Next after them, the Mer-

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[1] so, *orig.* [2] See p. 379. [3] Gold chains with links like the letter S.
[4] *Sackbut* or *Sagbut*, an Instrument of Wind-Musick, somewhat like a Trumpet.—*Kersey's Phillips.*

cers; then the Grocers; and so euery company in his order; and, last of all, the Maior's and shiriffes' officers,—euery company hauyng melodye in his barge by himselfe, and goodly garnished with banners, and some garnished with silke, and some with Arras and riche carpettes, whiche was a goodly sight to beholde: and in this order they rowed to Grenewyche, (to the point next beyond Grenewyche); and there they turned backward in another order; that is to wete, the Maior and Shiriffes' officers first, and the meanest craft next, and so ascendyng to the vttermost craftes in order, and *the* Maior last, as they go to Poules at Christmas; and in that order they rowed douneward to Grenewiche toune, and there cast anker, makyng great melody. At thre of the clocke the quene appeared, in riche cloth of gold; entered into her barge, accompanied with diuers ladies and gentlewomen; and, incontinent, the Citizens set forwardes in their order, their minstrels continually plaiyng, and the Batchelers' barge goyng on the quenes right hand, whiche she tooke great pleasure to beholde. Aboute the quene's barge were many noble men, as the duke of Suffolke, the Marques Dorset, the Erle of Wylshyre (her father), the Erles of Arrondel, Darby, Rutland, Worceter, Huntyngton, Sussex, Oxford, and many bishoppes and noblemen, euery one in his barge, which was a goodly sight to behold. She thus beyng accompanied, rowed towarde the Tower; and in the meane way, the shippes (whiche were commaunded to lye on the shore for lettyng of[1] the barges,) shotte diuers peales of gunnes; and or she landed, there was a meruailous shotte out of the Tower as euer was harde there. And at her landyng, there met with her the lord Chamberlain with the officers of armes, and brought her to the kyng, which receiued her with louyng countenaunce at the Posterne by the water-syde, and kyssed her; & then she turned backe againe, and thanked the Maior and the citezens with many goodly wordes, and so entred into the Tower. After which entry, the citezens all this while houed before the Tower, makyng great melody, & went not a-lande, for none wer assigned to land but the Maior, the Recorder, and two Aldermen. But for to speake of the people that stode on euery shore to beholde the sight, he that sawe it would not beleue it.

On Fryday at diner serued the kyng all suche as were appointed by his highnes to be knightes of *the* bath, whiche, after dyner, were brought to their chambers, and that night were[2] bathed and shreuen accordyng to the old vsage of England; and the next day, in the mornyng, the kyng dubbed theim accordyng to the ceremonies thereto belongyng; whose names ensueth:—The Marques Dorset, The Erle of Darby, The lorde Clyfforde, The lorde Fitzwater, The lorde Hastynges, The lorde Mountaigle, Sir Ihon Mordant, The lorde Vaux, Sir Henry Parker, Sir Wyllyam Wynsore, Sir Fraunces Weston, Sir Thomas Arrondell, Sir Iohn Hulstone, Sir Thomas Pownynges, Sir Henry Sauell, Sir George Fitzwyllyam, Sir Ihon Tyndall, Sir Thomas Iermey.

Saterday the xxxi. day.

The receiuyng and conueiyng of the quene through London.

To the entent that the horses should not slide on the Pauement, nor that *the* people should not be hurted by horses, the high stretes where

[1] to prevent hindering.

[2] *nere* in the reprint.

the quene should passe were all graueled, from the Tower to Temple barre, and railed on the one side; within whiche rayles stode the craftes, along in their order from Grace churche, where the marchauntes of the Styllyard stode till the litle conduite in Chepe, where the Aldermen stode; & on the other syde of the strete stode the Constables of the citie, apparelled in veluet & silke, with great staues in their handes, to cause the people to kepe rome and good order. And when the stretes were somewhat ordered, the Maior, clothed in a goune of crimosyn Veluet, and a riche collor of Esses, with two footemen clad in white and red damaske, roade to the Tower, to geue his attendance on the Quene, on whom the Shiriffes with their officers did wayte till they came to Tower hill, where they, takyng their leaue, roade doune the high streates, commaundyng the Constables to see rome and good order kept, and so went and stode by the Aldermen in Chepe. And before the quene and her traine should come, Cornehill and Gracious streate were hanged with fyne Scarlet, Crimosyn, and other grayned clothes, and in some place with riche Arras, Tapestry, and Carpettes, and the moste parte of the Chepe was ha*n*ged with clothe of Tyssue, Golde, Veluet, and many riche hangynges, whiche made a goodly shewe; and all the wyndowes were replenished with ladyes and gentlewomen, to beholde the quene and her trayne as they shuld passe by. The fyrst of the quene's company that set forward were xii. Frenchemen, whiche were belongyng to the Frenche Ambassador, clothed in coates of blewe veluet, with sleues of yelowe and blewe veluet, and their horses trapped with close trappers of blewe Sarcenet poudered with white crosses; after them marched gentlemen, squiers, knightes, ii. and ii.: After them the Iudges; and after them the knightes of the bath, in Violet gounes, with hoddes purfeled with Miniuer, lyke doctors; after them, abbottes; then Barons; after them, bishoppes; then Erles and Marquesses; then the lorde Chauncelor of England; after him, the archebishop of Yorke and the ambassador of Venice; after him, the archebishop of Cauntorbury and the ambassador of Fra*u*nce: after, roade .ii. squiers of honor, w*ith* robes of estate rolled, and worne baudrike-wise about their neckes, with cappes of estate, represe*n*tyng the dukes of Normandy and Acquitaine; after them roade the Maior of London, w*ith* his Mace and Garter, in his coate of armes, whiche Maior bare his Mace to Westminster halle; after them roade the lorde Wylliam Haward w*ith* the Marshal's rod, deputie to his brother *the* duke of Norffolke, Marshall of England, which was ambassador then in Fraunce: and on his right hand roade Charles Duke of Suffolke (for that day high Constable of England), bearyng the verder of siluer appertainyng to *the* office of Constableship. And all the lordes for the moste parte were clothed in Crimosyn veluet, and all the Quene's seruauntes & officers of armes, in Scarlet. Next befor the quene road her chau*n*celor bareheded; the sergeau*n*tes & officers of armes roade on both the sides of the lordes. Then came the quene, in a litter of white cloth of golde, not couered nor bayled, whiche was led by ii. palferies, clad in white damaske doune to the ground, head & all, led by her fotemen. She had-on a circot of white clothe of Tyssue, & a mantle of the same furred with Ermyne; her heere ha*n*ged doune, but on her head she had a coyffe, with a circlet about it, ful of riche stones. Ouer her was borne a Canapie of clothe of golde, with

iiii gilte staues and iiii siluer belles. For bearyng of whiche Canapye were appointed xvi. knightes, iiii. to beare it one space on foote, & other iiii another space, accordyng to their owne appointment. Next after the quene, roade the lorde Borough, her cha*m*berlain; next after him Wyllia*m* Coffyn, Master of the Horses, leadyng a spare horse with a syde saddle trapped doune w*ith* cloth of tyssue: after him roade vii. ladyes in crimosyn veluet, turned vp w*ith* clothe of gold & of tyssue, & their horses trapped with cloth of gold; after them ii. chariotes couered w*ith* red cloth of gold. In the fyrst Chariot was ii. ladyes, whiche were *th*e old duches of Norfolke & the old marchiones of Dorset. In the seco*n*d chariot wer iiii ladies, all in Crimosyn veluet. After theim roade vii. ladyes, in the same suite, their horses trappers, and all; after theim came the third Chariot, all white, with .vi. Ladyes in Crimosyn veluet; next after them come the fowerth Chariot, all redde, with viii. ladies, also in crimosyn Veluet; after who*m* folowed xxx. gentlewomen, all in veluet and silke, in the liuery of their ladies on whom they gaue their attendaunce. After them folowed the Garde, in coates of Goldsmythes worke,—in whiche order they roade forth till they came to Fanchurche, where was made a pageaunt, all with children apparelled like marchauntes, whiche welcommed her to the Citie with two proper preposicions, both in Frenche & Englishe; and fro*m* thence she roade to Gracious church corner, where was a costly and a merueilous connyng pageaunt, made by the marchauntes of the Styllyarde, —for there was the mount Pernasus, with the fountayne of Helycon, which was of white Marble, and iiii. streames w*ith*out pype did rise an ell hye, & mette together in a litle cuppe aboue the fountain, which fountain ranne aboundantly Racked Rennishe wyne til night. On the mountaine satte Appollo, and at his feete satte Calliope, and on euery syde of the mountain satte iiii. Muses, plaiyng on seueral swete instrumentes; and at their feete Epigrammes & Poyses were written in golden letters, in the whiche euery Muse, accordyng to her propertie, praised the Quene[1]. So from thence she passed to Leaden Hall[2], where was a goodly pageaunt, with a type[3] and a heauenly roffe, and vnder the type was a rote[4] of golde set on a litle mountaine enuironed with red roses & white; out of the type came doune a Fawcon, all white, and sate vpo*n* the rote[5], and incontinent came doune an Angell with great melody, and set a close croune of golde on the Fawcon's head[5]; and in the same pageau*n*t satte saint Anne, with all her issue beneth her, and vnder Mari Cleoph satte her iiii children; of the whiche children, one made a goodly Oracion[6] to the quene, of the fruitfulnes of saint Anne, and of her generacion, trustyng that like friute should come of her. Then she passed to the conduicte in Cornehill, where wer thre graces set in a throne, afore who*m* was the spryng of grace continually ronnyng wyne. Afore the fou*n*tain satte a Poete, declaring the properties of euery grace[7]; & that done, euery lady by her selfe,

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[1] See Leland's and Udall's Latin verses, p. 381–8, below.
[2] Cornehill, beside Leaden-Hall, say the verses, p. 388, below.
[3] a ball or globe.—*Halliwell.*
[4] ? a wheel, or a cymbal; or a root or stump of a tree, part of Anne Boleyn's badge.
[5] See Udall's and Leland's Latin verses on this, p. 391–2, below.
[6] ? The Latin verses, by Udall, on p. 391. [7] See p. 393.

accordyng to her propertie, gaue to the quene a seueral gift of grace[1]. That done, she passed by *the* great co*n*duite in Chepe[2], whiche was newly painted with armes of deuises; out of the whiche conduit, by a goodly fountain set at the one end, ra*n*ne continually wyne, both white and claret, all that after noone: and so she rode to the Standard[3], which was richely painted with ymages of kynges and quenes, and hanged with ba*n*ners of armes, and in the toppe was meruailous swete armony, both of song & instrument. Then she went forward to the crosse, whiche was newly gilt, til she came where the Aldermen stode; & then Master Baker, the Recorder, came to her with lowe reuerence, makyng a proper and briefe proposicion, and gaue to her in the name of the Citie a thousand markes in golde, in a Purse of golde, whiche she thankefully accepted with many goodly wordes; and so roade to the lytle conduyte, where was a riche pageaunt full of melodye and song, in whiche pageaunt was Pallas, Iuno, and Venus[4], and before them stode Mercury, whiche, in the name of the iii goddesses, gaue to her a balle of gold[5] deuyded in thre, signifiyng thre giftes *the* which thre Goddesses gaue to her,—that is to saye, wysedome, ryches, and felicitie. As she entred into Paule's gate, there was a pretie pageaunt, in whiche satte thre ladyes rychely clothed, and in a circle on their head was written, *Regina Anna! prospere procede, et regna!* The Lady in the middes had a Tablet, in the whiche was written, *Veni amica! coronaberis*[6]*;* And vnder the tablet satte an angell with a close croune: and the ladye sittyng on the right hande had a Tablet of syluer, in whiche was written, *Domine, directe gressus meos!* and the third ladye had a Tablet of golde, with letters Asure written, *confido in domine;* and vnder their feete was written, *Anna Regina nominum Regis de sanguine natum, cum paries populis aurea secla tuis.* And these ladyes cast doune Wafers, on the whiche the two verses were written. From thence she passed to the East ende of Paule's Churche-yarde, against the schole, where stode on a Scaffolde two hundreth children well apparelled, whiche sayd to her diuers goodly verses of Poetes, translated into Englishe, to the honor of the kyng and her, whiche she highly commended. And when she came to Ludgate, the gate was newly garnished with golde and byse. And on the ledes of sainct Martyn's Churche stode a goodly quere of singyng men and children, whiche sang newe balades made in praise of her. After that she was passed Ludgate, she proceeded towarde Flete strete, where the Conduict was newely painted, and all the armes and angels refreshed, and the chyme melodiously sownyng. Vpon the Conduite was made a toure[7] with iiii. Turrettes, and in euery Turret stode one of the cardi-

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[1] See Udall's English verses, p. 393–4 below.
[2] See Leland's Latin verses, p. 394. [3] See Leland's Latin verses, p. 395.
[4] See Udall's English verses, p. 395–6.
[5] Here Udall's verses end; and Leland has only one more for the Conduit in Fleet St. and three for the events at Westminster, so that some other poets must have supplied the verses for the St. Paul's School folk, the new ballads for the choir at St. Martin's Church, the speeches for the Virtues on the Conduit in Fleet Street, and the songs for the singing men and children at Temple Bar.
[6] See the hymn to the Virgin *Veni, coronaberis*, in my ed. of 'Hymns to the Virgin and Christ' etc., p. 1. [7] *Orig.* toune.

nall vertues, with their tokens and properties, whiche had seueral speches, promisyng the Quene neuer to leaue her, but to be aydyng and comfortyng her. And in the myddes of the tower closely was suche seueral solempne instrumentes, that it semed to be an heauenly noyse, and was muche regarded and praised: and, beside this, the sayd Conduyte ranne wyne, Claret and Red, all the afternoone. So she, with all her companye and the Maior, roade forth to Temple barre, whiche was newly painted and repayred, where stode, also, diuers singyng men and children, til she came to Westminster halle, whiche was richely hanged with clothe of Arras and newe glased. And in the myddes of the halle she was taken out of her littre, and so led vp to the high dece vnder the clothe of estate, on whose lefte hand was a cupborde of x. stages, merueilous riche and beutifull to behold; and within a litle season was brought to the quene, with a solempne seruice, in great standyng spyce plates, a voyde of Spice and subtilties, with Ipocras and other wynes, whiche she sent doune to her ladyes; and when the ladyes had dronke, she gaue hartie thankes to the lordes & ladyes, and to the Maior and other that had geuen their attendance on her, and so withdrew her selfe, with a fewe ladyes, to the Whitehalle, and so to her chamber, and there shifted her[1], and after went into her barge secretely to the kyng to his Manor of Westminster, where she rested that night.

Sonday, beyng whitsonday, the first day of Iune, and the day of her coronacion.

On sonday the Maior cladde in crimosyn veluet and with his coller and all the Aldermen and shiriffes in Scarlet and the counsail of the citie tooke their barge at the Crane by seuen of of the clocke and came to Westminster where they wer welcomed & brought into *the* halle by Master Treasorer and other of the kynges house, and so gaue their attendaunce till the quene should come forth. Betwene viii. and ix. she came into the halle and stoode vnder the clothe of estate, and then came in the kynges chapel & the Monkes of Westminster all in riche copes & many bishoppes and Abbottes in Copes and miters whiche went into the middes of the halle, and there stode a season. Then was there a raye clothe spred from the quenes standyng in the halle through the palace & saintuary, which was railed on bothe sydes to the high Aulter of Westminster. After that the raye clothe was cast, the officers of armes appoynted the order accustomed. Fyrst went gentlemen, then esquiers, then knightes, then the aldermen of the citie in their clokes of Scarlet, after them the Iudges in their mantels of Scarlet and coyffes. Then folowed the knightes of the bathe beyng no lordes, euery man hauyng a white lace on his left sleue, Then folowed Barons & vicountes in their parliament robes of Scarlet. After them came Erles, Marquesses and Dukes in their robes of estate of crimosyn veluet furred with Ermyne poudered accordyng to their degrees. After them came the lorde Chauncelor in a robe of Scarlet open before bordered with Lettice: after him came the kynges chapel and *the* Monkes solempnely singyng with procession, then came abbottes and bishoppes mitered, then sergeauntes & officers of armes, then after them went the Maior of London with his mace & garter in his cote of armes, Then

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[1] changed her clothes.

went the Marques Dorcet in a robe of estate whiche bare the scepter of gold, and the erle of Arrondel whiche bare the rod of Yuery with the Doue both together: Then went alone the erle of Oxforde high Chamberlain of England which bare *the* croune, after him went the duke of Suffolke in his robe of estate also for that day beyng high steward of England, hauing a long white rod in his hande, and the lorde Wyllyam Hawarde with the rodde of the Marshalship, & euery knight of the Garter had on his coller of the order. Then proceded forth the quene in a circot and robe of purple Veluet furred with Ermyne in her here coyffe and circlet as she had the saterday, and ouer her was borne the Canape by iiii. of the. v. Portes all crimosyn with pointes of blewe & red hangyng on their sleues, & the bishoppes of London & Wynchster bare vp the lappes of *the* quenes robe. The quenes traine whiche was very long was borne by *the* old dutches of Norffolke: after her folowed ladies beyng lordes wyues whiche had circottes of scarlet with narow sleues, the brest all Lettice *with* barres of borders accordyng to their degrees. And ouer that they had mantels of Scarlet furred, and euery mantle had lettice about *the* necke like a neckercher likewise poudered, so that by *the* pouderynges there degre was knowen. Then folowed ladies beyng knightes wyues in gounes of Scarlet *with* narow sleues without traines only edged with lettice, and likewise had all the quenes gentlewomen. When she was thus brought to the high place made in the middes of the churche betwene the quere and the high alter she was set in a riche chayre. And after that she had rested a while she discended doune to the high Alter and there prostrate her self while the archebishop of Cauntorbury sayd certaine collettes: then she rose & the bishop anoynted her on the head and on the brest, and then she was led vp againe, where after diuers Orisons sayd, the archebishop set the croune of saint Edward on her head, and then deliuered her the scepter of gold in her right hand, and the rod of Iuery with the doue in the left hand, and then all the quere sang *Te deum, &c.* Which done the bishop toke of the croune of saint Edward beyng heuy and sette on the croune made for her, and so went to Masse. And when the offertory was begon she discended doune and offred beyng crouned, and so asc*e*nded vp again and sate in her chayre till *Agnus*, And then she went doune and kneled before the alter where she receiued of the archbishop the holy sacrament and then went vp to her place againe. After that Masse was done she went to saint Edwardes shryne and there offered, after whiche offeryng done she withdrewe her into a litle place made for the nones on the one side of the quere. Now in *the* meane season euery duches had put on their bonettes a coronal of gold wrought with flowers, & euery Marquesses put on a demy Coronal of golde, euery counties a plaine circlet of gold w*ith*out flowers, & euery kyng of armes put on a croune of Coper & gilte all whiche were worne till night. When the quene had a litle reposed her the company returned in the same order that they set forth, and the Quene went crouned and so did the Ladies aforesayd. Her right hand was sustayned by the erle of Wylshire her father, and her left hand by the lorde Talbot deputie for the erle of Shrewesbury & lorde Forynfal his father. And when she was out of the saintuary and appered within the palace the trumpettes played meruailous freshely, and so she was brought to Westminster halle, and so to her withdrawyng chamber, duryng whiche tyme *the* lordes, Iudges, Maior and

Aldermen put of their robes, Mantels and Clokes, and toke their hoddes from their neckes and cast them about their shoulders, and the lordes satte onely in their circottes and the Iudges and Aldermen in their gounes. And all the lordes that serued that day serued in their circottes and their hoddes aboute their shoulders. Also diuers officers of the kinges house beyng no lordes had circottes and hoddes of Scarlet edged with Myniuer, as the Treasorer, Controller and Master of the Iuel house, but their circottes were not gilte.

As Leland's verses end with the Coronation, I must stop quoting Hall here, though I feel sadly tempted to go on with his account of the dinner, if only for the oddities that 1. on the right side of the Queen's 'chayre stode the countesse of Oxforde, wydowe, and on the left side stood the countesse of Worcester, all the dyner season, which diuers tymes in the dyner tyme did hold a fyne cloth before the quenes face, *when she lyst to spet, or do otherwyse at her pleasure;* 2. at the quenes feete, *vnder the table*, satte ii. gentlewomen all dyner tyme.' However, I must stop, and refer the reader to the old chronicler for an account of the 'subtilties and shippes made of waxe, meruailous gorgious to beholde,' brought in by the Knights of the Bath, the dishes, ceremonies, etc.

For the benefit of those members whose Latin, like mine, is somewhat rusty, here follows Mr. Hales's abstract of the Latin songs. A notice of the English ones is added too.

ABSTRACT OF LELAND'S AND UDALL'S VERSES.

LELAND.—*On the procession—the 'pomp'—of boats, which conducted the Queen to the Tower, on Thursday, May* 29, 1533 (p. 379).

'Thames, sedge-crowned, he says, and the Water-nymphs attending him, were all visible and gladsome; swans sang divinely; the winds made no murmurs. As he strolled along the bank delighting in these sights and sounds, he heard an uproar, and the blare of trumpets; he saw many a bark. He recognized the 'pomp' of the Queen proceeding to the Tower. First there came citizens in their several companies: the Falcon, and the two roses fluttered from the banner-staff at the prows. Then came a band of young merchants in a garlanded craft (*celox*), with a Moorish diver who ever and anon flung himself from the mast-top into the water. Then came the Mayor (*Urbanus Prætor*) with his pipes (*tibicen*), and the purple-clad Aldermen; then a gun-boat, thundering; then guards brandishing their weapons, and well-born youths. Now advanced the Queen in the midst of her ladies, a fairer vision than Cleopatra in her barge, or Venus in her sea-shell. A crowd of commoner folk closed the train.'

On the Queen's mounting her chariot: (p. 380)

'Now that the Sun is in mid-heaven, in this "soft season" sing of the chariot with its snow-white horses. These very horses, and the

Commons, and the Counsellors of the City, all invite you, Queen, to witness the fair show that awaits you. Now is the time for you to mount the star-decked chariot.'

LELAND.—*On the Pageant of Apollo and the Muses:* (p. 369, p. 381)

'O Anna, fairer than Phœbus's fair sister, you of whose suite are Graces and Charms! lo! Phœbus' self is here laurel-chapleted against the "pomp" of your coronation. Lo! the Muses are here, rose-garlanded. Here, amidst sweet flower-fragrances, amidst the play of Castaly's fountain, while Phœbus strikes his lyre and sweetly fuses bass and treble, the Muses nine, Jove's high progeny, shall lift your praises to the golden stars.'

UDALL.—*On that same Pageant:* (p. 381)

'Anna comes. Come ye too, O poets, and O god of poets; ye too, O Muses!'

Apollo speaks: (p. 382)

'Make this a red-letter day, Parnassus; for on it you shall see fair new shows. The Queen comes, Queen Anna, and brings with her better than all bygone times. All things joy. Did I not strike my lyre-strings, they would sound of themselves; both my hands cannot strike them enough. Do you, ye Muses, sing in turn.'

Clio sings: (p. 382)

'Beflower the way, citizens; offer your thank-offerings; burn your incense. Wreath your brows with laurel, and with roses. Sport ye in this day's honour. Go to meet your lady mistress, poor man and rich man. Anna comes, bright image of chastity, she whom Henry has chosen to his partner. Worthy husband, worthy wife! May heaven bless these nuptials, and make her a fruitful mother of men-children!'

Calliope sings: (p. 383)

'Comes Anna, nobly descended yet herself far nobler than her ancestry, and now by her marriage in her highest pride. Our now long widower'd king has chosen her for his spouse. Wherefore tomorrow shall the diadem circle her head, the sceptre fill her hand. Greet her with cheers, ye citizens, as gem-bedecked she rides through your streets. Pray that Henry may live as long as Nestor, Anna as the Sibyl, and that there be born pledges worthy of their parents.'

Melpomene sings: (p. 383)

'O every one that sees these shows, that sees Anna in her passing beauty riding through the city, do you bring incense; and pray first that the crown may sit well on her forehead; then that in a short while she may bless her country and her Prince with a son; finally that, seeing her aged lord surrounded by brave grandchildren, she may with him pass to the starry realms of bliss!'

Thalia sings: (p. 384)

'Either the augury of the white Falcon deceives us—and the Falcon is void of guile—or the coronet that will pale your brow, noble Anne, will be but worthy of your virtues. Wherefore Heaven's blessings on

your crowning! A happy life, and as long as happy! A happy wedlock, and heirs to follow you! So men wish. Ratify; O Heaven.'

Terpsichore sings: (p. 384)

'This day must be sung, this day of noble Anna's progress through the city. Thinner was the crowd when men of old kept holiday in Ceres's honour for their harvest; thinner when Cybele, sought for in a time of need, entered Romulus's city. Queen Anne can draw to her trees and rocks and goddesses and stars with her presence. On to your crown, fair Queen! Live long, and griefless, King Henry's excellent wife!'

Erato sings: (p. 385)

'The gods make ye as a pair of turtles, O Henry and Henry's wife! As the elm and the clinging vine, as the tall tree and the ivy that clasps it from root to top and grows old along with it. That so may it be with Henry and Anne and their offspring, pray we fervently.'

Euterpe sings: (p. 385)

'Love her, good Prince, as Gracchus loved his Cornelia (but not Gracchus's fate be yours!). Love him, Anne, O purer soul than e'en the ancient Sabine wives, as Portia loved her Brutus (but not yours be it to perish by fire!). Live not when she is gone, Henry—even as Plautius would not—but yet live to be well stricken in years. Die for him, Queen—even so died Alcestis—but Heaven forfend the need! So live and love long that your ends may be blessed!'

Urania sings: (p. 386)

'Citizens, make merry, and dance, and pray! 'Tis Heaven gives her to thee, happy Britain. Anon she will bear a brave son to rule by his parents' side as they grow old; nay, already does her child's life beat. Therefore at the behest of Heaven go, Queen, where your lot calls you; take your sceptre, take to you your crown! Hie you to your palace and your Prince's arms, while the streets ring again with songs!'

Polyhymnia sings: (p. 387)

'All ranks and orders, Anne, joy in the honour done you; all Britain deems this a Feast-day; all conditions, all ages, greet you. See! Apollo has descended to salute you; yes, and Juno, and Venus, and Pallas, and we Muses, and the Graces three, and many another deity. At Phœbus' bidding we, O Anna, come to give you joy. Who is here to see the noble steeds, or the fine shows, or the lords and ladies? 'Tis you the world comes to see, and can never see enough. Do you return its glances; so may you wear your crown with joy; so may you bless the land with an heir; so may you oft-times renew this visit!'

The Muses all sing together: (p. 388)

'Oft may you show your fair face! Oft be taken to the bosom of your people! Happy Britain, if in this its day it knows the good things its Queen brings with her! In her reign Heaven promises better things than of old. There shall be an eternal spring; Saturn's age shall come back; the free city shall be yet freer. Presently she shall bear a little son who long years hence shall reign in his father's stead; so Apollo pledges.'

At the pageant of St. Anne in Cornhill, beside Leaden Hall, which represented the progeny of St. Anne, (Christ, James, John and others) the Queen was addressed in English by a child, who wished that she might be blessed with offspring to confirm the true faith even as the grand-children of Anne in their day founded and established it. Then a cloud opened, and a white falcon descended, a second child pointing out how it alighted on a rose (p. 389). Next out of the same cloud came an angel who crowned the falcon, a third child bidding 'Honour and Grace be to our Queen Anne.' Lastly an English song by Udall in honour of the falcon was sung. (See p. 390 below.)

UDALL.—*On the pageant of St. Anne in Cornhill:* (p. 369, p. 388)

'Fruitful Saint Anne bare three Maries; the offspring of her body, by a strange conception, bare the first founders of our holy Faith. Of that daughter was born Christ our Redeemer, foster-father of a vast family. Not without thought therefore, Queen Anne, do the citizens form this pageant in your honour. By her example, may you give us a race to maintain the Faith and the Throne.'

Then of the falcon alighting on the roses: (p. 391)

'See, noble Anne, your bird is at hand, for fairness passing lilies, marble, ivory, a sweet sight in our eyes. 'Tis a brave bird; 'tis of good omen; and 'tis lofty-flying; and how it alights on the roses twain! A bird of prey hovers o'er roses!'

Then of the Angel that crowns the Falcon: (p. 392)

'Scarce had the Falcon found rest for the sole of its foot in the rose-bed, when an Angel descending crowned the empire-worthy bird—a sure presage of Heaven's smiling on your marriage, O Anna. Therefore fear not to take your crown.'

LELAND.—*On this same pageant:* (p. 392)

'Your name, Anne, suggested to the citizens this pageant; the falcon was added as being the token of your family. He, down winging, rests him amongst the red and the snow-white roses. While there he gazes with fond eyes, an angel from heaven decks his head with a gorgeous crown. Be gentle then, Anne, to your citizens, who by any and every way do honour you. So may your progeny flourish even as that of Saint Anne. So may you live as many happy days as your bird has feathers!'

UDALL.—*On the pageant of the Three Graces at the Conduit in Cornhill:* (p. 369, 393)

There a Pageant of the three Graces; and a child, in a poet's costume, spoke first in Latin, then in English, to this effect (Udall wrote both sets of verses):

'See, Queen, your sister Graces. As they are yours, they ever accompany you, with you go, come, stay. Since you are here, here by his fountain are they.'

Then follow the English speeches, the Graces speaking first in unison, then severally. LELAND'S song on this pageant, p. 394, is as follows:

LELAND.—*On that same pageant:*

'Mighty Princess, the fair maids whom you see surrounding this pleasant fountain, with hands joined and locks dishevelled, are the daughters of Lenæus and Venus, by the Greeks yclept Charites. They visit earth but to adorn you with the most excellent virtues, wherewith the Gods above have adorned them. Do you but commend them, they will abide with you for ever.'

LELAND.—*At the great Conduit in Cheapside were spoken Latin verses by* LELAND *to this purport:* (p. 370, p. 394)

'The golden age has returned, under your auspices, Queen Anne. Though I were silent, rivers running with wine are proof enough; so is the brightness of all creation; so are the instruments of music, and the virgin choirs that sing to their accompaniment. May you often visit our city in this wise! And may prosperous gales waft you to the haven of a happy child-bearing!'

LELAND.—*At the Standard in Cheapside were spoken Latin verses by* LELAND: (p. 370, p. 395)

'The face of the city is changed; all things have revived. The pillar which was but of late all squalid, now on your advent, noble Anne, glitters and shines; nay more, it pictures your spouse King Henry, and close by his side, you. To prince and to princess, both man and boy wish a long and a happy life.'

At the Little Conduit in Cheapside, the Judgment of Paris was presented, the characters speaking English verses by Udall, p. 395-6. His Latin verses say:

UDALL.—*On the pageant of the Judgment of Paris:* (p. 370, p. 397)

'Proud Goddesses wearying Jove with prayers for the apple which was offered as the prize of the greatest beauty, Mercury is bid give it Paris, the shepherd of Ida, that he may assign it according to his judgment. Then Jove's wife claimed it, offering Paris high and mighty kingdoms; then Pallas, with offers of cunning in various arts; then Venus, with promises of a fair leman. Straightway laughed Paris, and pointing to Queen Anne, "See, goddesses," quoth he, "the supremely fair one, one who is worthy for her virtues to receive e'en three hundred golden apples. Such a mean gift must not be offered her. Hers is a sceptre, hers a crown. For you, Juno and Pallas, whoso bade you come here to claim this guerdon, he laid a snare for you, and was fain you should be put to shame. Take you the apple, Cyprian; and you, goddesses, get you back to heaven!"'

LELAND.—*On the same:* (p. 370, p. 399)

'Many had told me that Paris saw fairest forms, and all beauty that is, when tending his flocks on Ida's side he was for giving with impartial hand the golden apple to golden Venus, to the wrath of Minerva and of Jove's sister, until fair Anna joined the company. Meditating on this story, I could not see its drift, when lo! Venus, descending from

heaven, does homage to Anna the richly-gifted, and freely gives the apple to her, the fairer, whose head the crown will soon encircle.'

LELAND.—*At the Conduit in Fleet Street:* (p. 370–1)

'You see, lady, a choice well-meant spectacle: the Conduit, wont to furnish sweet draughts of water, now grows proud, and streams with French wine. Nay, more; there are youths to sing and to harp.'

LELAND.—*At the doors of Westminster Palace:* (p. 371)

'A day, this, to be celebrated with the lyre, and crowned with festal wreaths, whereon Ann, the one pride of Britons, in all the effulgence of her beauty, shall receive her crown. Wherefore, Phœbus, strike your lyre, and bid your sisters sing; do you, Diana, call myrtle and ivy and laurel to adorn our lady mistress' palace; do you, Graces, gather pearls wherewith to commemorate these blissful times.'

LELAND.—*A Comparison fastened up on those same doors:*

'Old bards would tell of their famous heroines. Therefore even now your beauty dazzles us, Galatea; so your wisdom, Cornelia; so your chastity, Lucretia; so your wifely love, Portia. These are the most famous praises. Yet still greater are yours, illustrious Anne; for the virtues which shone singly in those ladies of old, shine all united in you.'

LELAND.—*Acclamation, on the Coronation:* (p. 372)

'Anna, thy country's chosen pride, of noble lineage on thy father's side and on thy mother's, O fairer than Thames' swans, than milk, than snow, you who in yourself have the virtues of a thousand others, receive this bright-gemm'd crown! it beseems well your temples. Be more fruitful than fruitful Niobe, that thy husband may see his face in many a child. May your happiness last as long as the life of the Sibyl!

[Royal MS. 18. A. lxiv. leaves 1–16.]

[leaf 1.] Here aftir ensuethe a copie of diuers and sundry verses, as well in latin as in Englishe, deuised and made, partely by Iħon Leland, and partely by Nicholas Vuedale, whereof sum were sette vp, and sum other were spoken and pronounced, vnto the moste high and excellente Quene, the ladie Anne, wif vnto our sou*er*ain lorde king Henry the eight, in many goodly and costely pageauntes, exhibited and shewed by the Mayre and Citizens of the famous Citie of London, at suche tyme as hir grace rode from the Towre of London, through the said Citie, to hir moste glorious Coronac*i*on at the Monasterie of Westmynster, on whitson yeue[1], in the xxv^ti^ yere of the Reigne of our said souerain lorde.

([2]Versis and dities made at the coronation of quene Anne.[2])

[1] 31 May, 1533. [2–2] On a scrap of paper pasted on to the MS.

[leaf 2.] (1) Carmen Joannis Lelandi

De nauali pompa qua illustrissima Anna regina, deducentibus ciuibus, ad arcem Londinensem aduecta est[1]. [See p. 366.]

Cæsariem Tamesis redimitus arundine canam,
  Emicuit toto corpore celsus aquis.
Illum Naiades pulcherrima turba sequutæ
  Monstrabant leuibus gaudia summa choris.
Inter quas mixti geniales carmen olores
  Planè cælesti concinuere sono.
Vndique uentorum nam murmura seua[2] silebant.
  Quæ flauit zephyri mollior aura fuit.
Hæc ego conspiciens ripa spatiabar amæna,
  Carmina miratus, læticiamque nouam,
Cum subito audiri strepitus, clangorque tubarum
  Cæpere, et cymba est plurima uisa mihi.
Reginæ agnoui pompam uenientis ad arcem,
  Belini quondam nobile regis opus[3].
Quis modo splendorem comitum, classisque superbæ
  Explicet, aut digna uoce referre queat?
Cærula sulcabant primi longo ordine ciues
  Flumina, distincti quisque cohorte sua.
Hasta stetit pictis rostris quæ signa ferebat,
  Et falco, et geminæ signa fuere rosæ.

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[1] See Cranmer's Letter to Hawkins, ambassador to the Emperor: Ellis, (First Series, ii. 36:) 'The Thursdaye nexte before the feaste of Pentecost, the Kyng and the Queene beyng at Grenewyche, all the Craftes of London thereunto well appoynted, in severall bargis deckyd after the most gorgiouse and sumptuous maner, with dyverse pagiantes thereunto belongyng, repayred and wayted all together upon the Mayre of London; and so, well furnysshed, cam all vnto Grenewiche, where they taryed and wayted for the Queenes commyng to her barge. which so done, they brought her unto the Tower,—tromppets, shambes, and other dyverse instrumentes, all the wayes playng and makyng greate melodie, which (as ys reported) was as combly donne as neuer was lyke in any tyme nyghe to our rememberaunce.'—H.

[2] sæva.

[3] Whan Belyn Carlion had set,
þe walles he reysed, & folk to fet;
To Londone þenne tok he þe way,
And þer he dwelled many a day. 3592
þer dide he a gate by-gynne,
Ouer þe water, þer schipes come ynne;
& ouer þat gate he made a tour,
þer-inne he held [ful] long soiour. 3596
. . . of þat gate þat Belyn aught, 3605
Of Belyn [þen] þe name hit laught;
Longe men caldit til now late,
After Belyn, Belynes gate; 3608
þorow schort langage, y tolde er how
Byllyngesgate men calle hit now.

The Stori of Inglonde, by Robert Mannyng of Brunne, vol. i. p. 126–7, ed. F. J. F., 1871.

Hinc mercatorum iuuenilis turba celoce[1]
Vecta coronata, non sine laude fuit.
Cuius ab excelso mali se uertice Maurus
Non semel in rapidas præcipitauit aquas.
Proximus instabat resono tibicine cinctus
Vrbanus prætor, purpureique patres;
[lf. 2. b.] Inde paro[2] uolucris circum tormenta ferebat
Concaua, uentosis quæ tonuere minis,
Adfuit euibrans numerosus tela satelles,
Et iuuenes nati splendidiore loco;
Postremo aligero regina inuecta phaselo
Inter nympharu*m* prodiit alma choros,
Niliaca talis nunqua*m* Cleopatra carina
Visa fuit, concha nec dea uecta leui,
Qualis in hoc celebri spectaclo floruit Anna,
Rara quidem ueræ nobilitatis auis.
Hactenus insignem numeru*m* perstrinximus, ingens
Turba sequebatur, plebis at illa fuit.

(2) De conscensu currus in urbis ingressu[3],
carme*n* eiusde*m* Lelandi.

Iam Titan medio totus micat aureus orbe,
Exhilarans uultu radianti hominesq*ue*, ferasque,
Et lætæ uolucres cantu sua gaudia promunt,
Dulcia multicana uariantes carmina uoce.
Nunc frondent uirides syluæ, nunc parturit o*m*nis
Arbor, et alma nouos co*m*mendat gratia flores,
Quos animat zephyrus geniali numine mollis.
Incipe, quid cessas? niueos cognoscere currus,
Incipe; mandentes spumantia frena caballi[4]

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[1] *celox*, a swift-sailing boat, is connected with *celer* etc. Plautus, Livy etc. use the word.—H.

[2] *paro*, a light boat. '*Parones* navium genus ad cujus similitudinem *myoparo* vocatur.'—Fest.—H.

[3] The King and Queen staid at the Tower from Thursday to Saturday morning. The next time the Queen was there, less than three years afterwards, she was there as a prisoner. She was conducted to it on the 2nd of May, 1536, by some members of the Council. 'I went before the Queen into her lodging,' writes Sir William Kingston, then Constable of the Tower; 'and then she said to me: "Mr. Kingston, shall I go into a dungeon?" "No, Madam; you shall go into your lodging that you lay in at your Coronation." "It is good for me," she said; and kneeled down weeping a great pace, & in the same sorrow fell to a great laughing, & she hath done so many times since.'—See Knight's *Pop. Hist. Eng.*—H.

[4] Cranmer speaks of her 'sitting in her hair upon a horse litter, richly apparelled, & four knights of the five ports bearing a canopy over her head.'—H.

Te, regina, uocant, te plebs, urbisque senatus
Purpureus uocat ad celebris spectacula pompæ.
[leaf 3.] Tempore non alio poteras felicius, Anna,
Inclyta sydereum princeps conscendere currum.
Sed tu, Calliope, iam desine plura profari;
Occupat excelsos currus excelsior Anna.

Eiusdem Lelandi carmen in pœgma[1] Apollinis et Musarum[2].

Pulchrior pulchra Clarii sorore
Anna, quam iunctæ Charites sequuntur,
Mille quam blandæ Veneres sequuntur
Agmine longo,
Ecce Parnasso residens bicorni
Venit huc Phœbus, nitidam coronæ
Ad tuæ pompam uiridi reuinctus
Tempora lauro!
Ecce uenerunt lepidæ Camænæ,
Turba Pestanis[3] redimita sertis,
Turba quæ gaudet canere, et chorêas
Ducere festas.
Hic ubi tellus uarios odores
Fundit, ac fons Castalius per omnes
Margines puram eiaculatur[4] undam
Murmure grato,
Dum lyram clarus digitis recuruam
Phœbus aptis solicitabit, atque
Dulciter neruus grauis adsonabit
Mixtus acuto;
[lf. 3. b.] Hæ nouem Musæ, Jouis alta proles,
Teque, uirtutesque tuas ad astra
Aurea hinc sublime ferent canoris
Vocibus, Anna.

Nicolai Vdalli carmen in pœgma[5] Apollinis et Musarum.

Anna venit curru niueo vectanda per vrbem,
Fœmina qua toto clarius orbe nihil.
Huc igitur, vates, cum toto Helycone[6] venite,
Nec iam blanda tibi cesset, Apollo, fides.
Vos quoque, Pierides, Domina veniente, monemus,
Vndique lætitiæ vt carmina plæna[7] sonent.

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pegma. [2] This was at 'Gracious Church corner:' see above, p. 369.
[3] Pæstanis. [4] jaculatur. [5] pegma. [6] Helicone. [7] plena.

Eiusdem Vdalli.

Apollo loquitur.

Hanc, Parnasse, diem, quæ iam clarissima fulsit,
Candidiore nota signes, roseisque corollis
Condecores, felix nimium, nimium que beatus.
Hijs[1] insueta locis capies iam gaudia primus,
Nec tibi visa prius cernes spectacula felix.
Hâc Regina venit, celebri celeberrima pompa,
Anna, ferens secum potiora prioribus annis
Tempora; quisque locus, manifestis gaudia signis
In dominæ aduentu monstrans, sua munera profert.
Castalij fontes solito maioribus vndis
Erumpunt, alacri testantes gaudia saltu.
Et mihi quas studium est impellere pollice chordas,
Vocales fuerant nullo impellente futuræ.
[lf. 4.] Nunc alacris citharæ est manus vtraque versibus impar,
Vsqueadeo nobis crescunt in carmina vires.
Ergo Pieriæ, genialis turba, sorores,
Nobilis Anna venit, linguis cantúque fauentes,
Ordine quæque suo, claris date carmina plectris.
Sentio iam numen Dominæ venientis in vrbem,
Incipe tu Cleiò, dein cætera turba sequuntor.

Cleiò loquitur:

Vdallus. Spargite flore viam, ciues, date munera templis,
Omnis odoratis ignibus ara micet.
Iámque triumphali frontes circundate lauro,
Cingite puniceis tempora læta rosis.
Sint ludi celebres in temporis huius honorem;
Obuius I Dominæ diues inóps que tuæ.
Totius Anna venit clarissima fœmina mundi,
Anna pudicitiæ splendida imago venit.
In curru niueo Regina simillima Diuæ,
Anna, salus vestræ posteritatis, adest.
Hanc vasti Henricus Rex illustrissimus orbis,
Imperij sociam legit habere sibi.
Talis nempe fuit tam sancta coniuge dignus;
Talis erat tali digna marita viro.
Tam cupidis igitur votis precibúsque petita
Connubia hæc, superi, qui statuere, probent.

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[1] His.

I, Regina potens, sceptris bene nata ferendis,
Optatum cingat iam diadema caput.
[lf. 4. b.] Mox sobolem parias, mater fæcunda, virilem;
Ciuibus hoc dederis gaudia plena modo.

Calliope loquitur:

Vdallus. Claris ex proauis Anna genus trahens,
Longe sed proauis nobilior suis,
Et iam connubio maxima regio,
Cum pompa celebri venit[1].

Hanc Rex, heu nimio, fata per inuida[2],
In lecto viduus tempore iam cubans,
Solam nobilium de grege virginum
Delegit sibi coniugem.

Cras ergo superis Anna fauentibus,
Spes et præsidium inite britanniæ,
Incedet caput aureo diademate
Vincta, et sceptra manu ferens.

Vos, ciues, Dominam mentibus et pijs,
Et plausu excipientes alacri, suæ
Vrbis quâ vehitur gemmea[3] per vias,
Voces lætitiæ date.

Henrico Pylij[4] sæcula Nestoris,
Annæ fatidicæ tempora virginis,
Et quæ pignora sint digna parentibus,
Votis quisque precamini.

Melpomene loquitur:

Vdallus. Nouis ades quicunque iam spectaculis,
Vrbémque cernis ingredi
Annam, decore prægrauantem virginum
Choros, Deas et inuidas,

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[1] Comp. Cranmer: 'After her [the Queen] came four rich charettes, one of them empty, & three other *furnished with divers ancient old ladies;* and after them came a great train of other ladies & gentlewomen; which said progress from the beginning to the ending, extended half a mile in length by estimation, or thereabout.'—H.

[2] Queen Catherine was living at Ampthill. See the account of the interview of the Commissioners with her in the July following this May, *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 400, partly quoted in Knight's *Pop. Hist. Eng.*—H.

[3] 'Her hair hanged down, but on her head she had a coif with a circlet about it, full of rich stones.'—*Hall*, p. 368, above.—H.

[4] See Homer, *Il.* i. 250–2.—H.

[lf. 5.] Sacris odores ignibus pios ferens,
Primum rogato numina,
Vt illius corona verticem ambiat
Fronti sedens aptissima.
Dein, vt breui tàm patriam, quàm Principem,
Fœcunda prole mascula
Beet, senémque coniugem nepotibus
Cerneus auum clarissimis,
Petat superna ter beata sydera,
Cum ter beato Principe.

Thaleia loquitur:

Vdallus. Vel nos augurium Falconis decipit albi,
Dolo vacantis alitis,
Vel diadema caput cinget tibi, nobilis Anna,
Dignum tuis virtutibus,
Quod tibi sit, Regina potens, faustúmq*ue*, bonúmq*ue*,
Tuæ'que plebi commodum;
Et tibi dent superi longi felicia sæcli
Tuóque Regi tempora.
Maxima sicut erunt, sic et longissima vobis
Precantur omnes gaudia,
Felicésque toros, et qui post sæcula vestra
Regnum capessant liberos.
Hæc hominum spes est, hæc sunt concordia vota;
Vos comprobate, cælites.

[lf. 5. b.] Terpsichore loquitur:

Vdallus. Hæc dies festo est celebranda cantu,
Nempe priscis splendidior triumphis,
Qua tuam curru veheris per vrbem,
Nobilis Anna.

Grata quos flauæ Cereri vetustas
Assolebat concelebrare ludos,
Rarior longe populus, minórque
Aspiciebat.

Nec Deûm mater[1] Phrygijs ab aris
Aspera sorte auxilio petita,
Romuli tanta præeunte pompa
Venit in vrbem.

---

[1] See Livy, xxix. 11 and 29.—H.

Anna tu huc quercus[1] trahis, atque saxa,
Numinis virtute tui, deos que,
Et deas omnes, paritérque olympo
Sydera summo.
I, decens Regina, tuam ad coronam,
Et diu omnis viue doloris expers,
Regis Henrici, superum fauore,
Optima coniux.

Eratò:

Vdallus. Ergo turturum parem
Concordiæ diui serant amorem
Vtriusque mentibus,
Et Regis optimi, et suæ maritæ;
Nec secus cohæreant,
Amore mutuo inuicem retenti,
[leaf 6.] Capreis sequacibus[2]
Falerna vitis quàm ligat se ad vlmos;
Siue quàm tenax helix,
Radicibus cingens procera ab imis
Arborum cacumina,
Fideliter manens senescit vnà.
Hoc vt absque murmure
Henrico et Annæ possit euenire,
Prole cum pari suis
Natalibus, cœlum preces fatigant.

Euterpe:

Vdallus. [3]Nam nihilo leuius feruens tibi pectus vrat ignis
Erga maritam, perbenigne Princeps,
Quàm quo dilecta est Cornelia chara sponsa Graccho,
Sed absque Gracchi duriore fato.
Ignis nec leuior contra tibi pectus vrat, Anna,
Fide vetustis purior Sabinis[4],
Quàm sua quo Brutum[5] olim Portia prosecuta fertur,
Sed absque flammis[6], igniúm ue caussa.

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[1] See Horace, *Od.* I. xii. 12.—H.
[2] Comp. Virg. *Georg.* ii. 374.
[3] For the metre see Hor. *Od.* I. iv.—H.
[4] The Sabines were a proverb amongst the Romans for their simple, even austere manners; see Virg. *Georg.* ii. 532, Juv. x. 299, Hor. *Od.* III. vi. 38, *Epod.* ii. 41, *Ep.* II. i. 25, etc. Ovid calls the 'Sabinæ' 'rigid,' *Amor.* III. iv. 15 etc.—H.
[5] See Val. Max. iv. 6. Comp. Shaksp. *Jul. Cæs.* ii. 1.—H.
[6] See Plutarch's Life of Brutus *s. f.* On the authority of Nicolaos the philosopher, and Valerius Maximus, he relates how she swallowed live coals.—H.

Imposita vt bustis vxore superstes esse quondam
Nephas[1] putauit Plautius fidelis,
Sic nolis, Henrice, tuam superesse post maritam,
Tamen recuruam sospes ad senectam.
Vt que Phereciaden[2] Pagasæa redemit vxor, annos
Suos fruendos conferens marito,
[lf. 6. b.] Sic mage, rex, tibi sit Regina tua salute charus;
Has deprecamur sed necessitates.
Imò diu pariter sic viuere vterque charus altri
Possitis, vt sint exitus beati.

Vrania:

Vdallus. Ciues, hanc meritis diem
Ludis, atque choræis celebrabitis,
Annæ et nomine sacris
Cum multa dabitis thura focis prece.
Hanc, o fausta Britannia,
Ortam syderibus propicijs[3] tibi,
Hanc cælestia numina
Mittunt, eximios edere principes.
Hæc mox iam meditabitur
Fœcundo sobolem gignere masculam
Partu, quæ imperium regat,
Vnà cum senibus rite parentibus.
Imò si retinent fidem,
Nec sunt astra nimis falsáque vanáque,
Iamdudum Annæ vterus tumens[4]
Mox dulcem pariet mox tibi Principem.
Diuis ergo iubentibus,
I quo te tua iam fata vocauerint;
I, Regina potens, cape
Sceptrum, sume coronam tibi debitam.

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[1] nefas.

[2] Pheretiades; Admetus; see Eurip. *Alcestis*. Udal here borrows freely from Ovid, *Ars Am.* iii. 19:

Fata Pheretiadæ conjux Pegasæa redemit,
Progne sui est uxor favere lata viri.—H.

[3] Claudicat metrum, *o* male productâ.

[4] Cranmer writes to Hawkins on the 17th of June (this progress through the city took place on the last day of May): 'But now, Sir, you may not imagine that this coronation was before her marriage, for she was married much about St. Paul's day last, as the condition thereof doth well appear, by reason she is now somewhat big with child.'—H.

[leaf 7.] Ad regale palatium
Festina; Dominam regia te diu
Expectat, cupit, et vocat;
Henricus quoque te cernere iam expetit.
Ciues, astra precamini,
Vt semper meritis crescat honoribus,
Et quâ nobilis Anna eat,
Lætis carminibus compita personent.

Polyhymnia:

Vdallus. [1]Quilibet Anna tuo sexus gratatur honori,
Conditio, genus, ordo, locús que.
Atque diem sacris ha*n*c tota Britannia fastis
Annumerát que, notat que lapillis.
Diues, inops, virgo, mulier, pueríque senésque
Occurrunt Dominæ venienti;
Æthereásque domos en magnus Apollo reliquit,
Vt te hic nobilis Anna salutet.
Juno, Venus, Pallas, nos Musæ, et Gratia triplex,
Turba Deûmque frequens aliorum,
Debita cantantes Phœbeo carmina iussu
Huc tibi gratatu*m*, Anna, venimus.
Nobilium nemo venit huc spectator equoru*m*,
Est horum numerus tamen ingens;
Nec populum huc mittit spectandi gratia ludos,
Aut proceres nymphásque videndi;
[lf. 7. b.] Te solam spectant læti, sua gaudia, ciues,
Tu sola hijs plænissima pompa.
Te solam spectant in te sua lumina figunt,
Non sacianda[2] tui conspectu.
Qui te prosequitur populus deuotus honore,
Tu pietate tuere vicissim;
Anna, ita[3] multa queas per sæcula viuere felix,
Henrico gratissima Regi;
Anna, ita læta queas fuluam gestare coronam,
Et patriam mox prole beare;
Anna, ita te ciues felicia sceptra gerentem
Hâc videant transire frequenter.

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[1] For the metre see Hor. *Epod.* xi.—H.
[2] satienda. [3] *Ita.* So *sic* in Hor. *Od.* I. iii. 1.—H.

Concentus Musarum:

Vdallus. Sæpe velis igitur vultus monstrare decoros,
Sæpe velis præsens numen adesse tuis,
Sæpe velis mediam spectanda venire per vrbem,
Anna, auido populi suscipienda sinu.
O quibus ista dies orta est signanda lapillis!
Quàm fausta illuxit, terra Brita*n*na, tibi!
O te felicem, tua si iam commoda nosses,
Quæ cum Regina lux ferat ista simul!
Hac Domina, ciues, præsentia numina spondent
Tempora præteritis commodiora dare;
[lf. 8.] Hac Domina haud vnq*uam* vanus promittit Apollo.
Perpetuo vobis tempora læta fore.
Æterni iam veris honor, iam secla redibunt
Qualia Saturni[1] regna tenentis erant;
Quæque sub Henrico fuit vrbs liberrima semper,
Anna erit adiuncta coniuge liberior.
Mox ea concipiet regni solatia vestri
Filiolum, tanto qui patre dignus erit,
Sumere et imperij qui sceptra ac iura paterni,
Sed post Henrici tempora sera, queat.
Hac spe, cuius adest certissimus author Apollo,
Grateris Dominæ plebs rediuiua tuæ.
Tu, Regina, petas gemmis diadema refulgens;
Nil capiti melius conuenit, Anna, tuo.

At the pageaunte representing the progenie of Saint Anne, exhibited at Cornehill[2], besides leadenhall, wer pronounced vnto the quenes grace these wordes folowing, by a child:—

Vdallus. Moste excellente quene, and bounteous ladie!
Here now, to see your gracious goodnes
With suche honour entreing this Citie,
What ioye we take, what hartie gladnes,
Noo penne may write, nor any tongue expresse!
ffor of you, depende the sure felicitee,
And hope, bothe of vs and our posteritee.

[lf. 8. bk.] ffor like as from this deuout Saint Anne
Issued this holy generacion,

---

[1] See Virg. *Ecl.* iv. 6 etc.

[2] Every final ll has a cross-line through its top.

ffirst Christ, to redeme the soll of man,
Then James thapostle, and theuangelist Jhon,
With these others, whiche in suche fascion,
by teaching and good lif, our faithe confirmed,
That from that tyme yetto it hathe not failed,

Right soo, dere ladie, our quene moste excellente,
highly endued with all giftes of grace,—
As by your living is well apparente,—
Wee the Citizens, by you in shorte space
hope suche issue and descente to purchace,
Whereby the same faith shalbee defended,
And this Citie from all daung*er*s preserued.

Whiche tyme that wee maye right shortely see,
to our great coumforte, ioye, and solace,
Graunte the moste high and blissed Trynytee!
Moste humbly beseching your noble grace,
our rude symplenes shewed in this place
To pardon, and, the breef tyme considering,
to esteme our good myndes, and not the thing.

This spoken, opened a cloud, *and* leatt douun a white ffalcon, in the descending of whiche was pronounced, by an other child, as foloweth:—

Vdallus. Behold and see the ffalcon white,
How she begynneth hir wing*es* to spred,
And for our coumforte to take hir flight!
But where woll she sease, as you doo red?
A rare sight, and yett to bee ioyed,
On the Rose, chief floure that euer was,
This bird to light, that all birdes dothe passe!

[leaf 9.] Then out of the same cloud descended an Aungell, *and* crouned the same ffalcon with a croun Imperiall, at whiche dooing was p*ro*nounced, by an other child, as foloweth:—

Vdallus. Honour and grace bee to our queene Anne,
ffor whose cause an Aungell Celestiall
Descendeth, the ffalcon as white as swanne
to croun with a Diademe Imperiall!
In hir honour reioyce wee all,
ffor it cummeth from God, and not of man.
Honour and grace bee to our Queene Anne!

Then, at the departing of the Queenes said Grace was songen this balad folowing:—

Vdallus. This white ffalcon
Rare and gaison[1],
This bird shyneth so bright;
Of all that ar,
Noo bird compare
Maye with this ffalcon whight.

The vertues all,
Noo man mortall
of this bird can write;
Noo man erthely,
Ynough truely
Can prease this ffalcon whight.

Who woll expresse
Gret gentilnes
Too bee in any wight,
he woll not mys
but call hym this,
The gentil ffallcon whight.

[lf. 9. bk.] This gentill burd,
As white as curd,
Shyneth bothe daye and night;
Nor farre ne nere
Is any pere
Vnto this ffalcon white.

Of bodie small,
of power Regall,
She is, and sharpe of sight,
of courage haulte;
Noo man*er* faulte
Is in this ffalcon whight.

In chastitee
Excedeth shee,
Moste like a virgin bright,
And worthie is
To liue in blisse
Alwayes, this ffalcon whight.

---

[1] A. Sax. *gæsen*, rare, scarce.

But now to take,
And vse hir make
  Is tyme, as trauthe is plight,
That she maye bring
ffrutt according
  ffor suche a ffalcon whight.

And where by wrong
She hathe fleen long,
  Vncertain where to light;
Hir self repose
Vpon the Rose,
  Now maye this ffalcon whight.

Wheron to rest,
And build hir nest,
  God graunte hir, moste of might!
That England maye
Reioyce alwaye,
  In this same ffalcon whight.

[leaf 10.] In pœgma progeniem Diuæ Annæ referens.

Vdallus. Fertilitas Annæ Mariam sanctissima trinam,
  Augendi generis pignora certa, dedit.
Corporis Annæi mire fæcunda propago,
  Sacræ olim fidei semina prima tulit.
Hinc Christus nostræ est authórq*ue*, datórq*ue* salutis;
  Plurimus hac Christi natus alumnus ope.
Hic igitur ciues Annææ pægmata stirpis
  Non temere ponunt, nobilis Anna, tibi.
Illius exemplo, te spes est Anna daturam,
  Qui fidei, ac sceptri iura tuenda regant.
Sic rutilam felix capias, et læta coronam,
  Cúmque tuo viuas læta marita viro.

De Falcone e nube delabente in rosas.

Vdallus. En tuus ales adest Falco, prænobilis Anna,
  Candore exuperans lilia, marmor, ebur.
Dulcia Falco tuus præbet spectacula nobis,
  Ciuibus et præstat gaudia plena tuis.
Hac aue, si qua fides, non est animosior vlla,
  Nulla inter cunctas vel generosa magis.

Quinetiam, veterum si credimus omina vatum,
Hæc inter faustas prima refertur aues.
Et petit astra frequens, cœlo notissimus hospes,
Alite nanque[1] Jouis celsior iste volat.
[lf. 10. b.] Nunc venit in terras summo delapsus olympo,
Ponat vt in geminis corpora grata rosis.
Rara quidem visu res est, meritóque stupenda,
Qui natus prædæ est, vt colat ille rosas.
Attamen hic Falco, prædáque auibús q*ue* relictis,
Præcipuos flores maximus ales amat.

De Angelo Falconem coronante.

Vdallus. Víx dum Falco suum per amæna rosaria corpus
Sparserat, optato constiterát que loco,
Quum, Angelus ætherea descendens nube, coronam
Imperio dignæ præmia ferret aui.
Vnde palàm cu*n*ctis præsagia certa reliquit
Numina connubijs, Anna, fauere tuis.
Ergo bonis auibus rutilam pete læta coronam,
Nec superûm dubites optima iussa sequi.

Carmen Lelandi de eodem pegmate.

Lelandus. Annæ progeniem ciues posuere beatam
Pegmata, ad exemplum nominis, Anna, tui.
Additus et Falco, proauorum insigne tuorum,
Candidior cycno, marmore, lacte, niue.
[leaf 11.] Is, celeri penna lapsus per mane, quiescit
Albentes inter puniceásque rosas.
Quas oculo fixo dum contemplatur amatq*ue*,
Nescio quo blando murmure rostra moue*n*s,
Angelus ignifero demissus ab axe, corona
Illius exornat splendidiore caput.
Esto tuis igitur facilis modo ciuibus, Anna,
Qui te, qui nulla non ratione colunt.
Sic tibi progenies Annææ floreat instar
Stirpis, quæ dextro numine sceptra gerat.
Sic tibi contingat tot faustas uiuere luces,
Lacteolus plumas quot tuus ales habet.

---

[1] namque.

At the conducte in Cornehill was exhibited a Pageaunte of the three Graces, in whiche a child, apparelled like a poett, pronounced vnto the Queenes grace these verses, first in latin, and eftsons in Englishe:

Vdallus. En Regina tuæ Charites, tua turba, sorores,
Quis facies omni plena lepore nitet.
Hæ quoniam sunt, Anna, tuæ; comitantur vbique,
Tecum abeunt, veniunt, té que manente, manent.
Scilicet hìc habitant, tu quando ades, hìc quoque sedem
In placido viui margine fontis habent.
Hic te Reginam concordes, Anna, salutant,
Ne pars officij deforet vlla sui.

[leaf 11. back.]

Vdallus.
Queene Anne, behold your seruauntes, the three Graces,
Gevinge vnto your grace faithfull assistence,
With their moste goodly ameable faces:
Thei attend with their contynuaall presence
Where your grace goeth, absent in your absence;
While your grace is here, thei also here dwell,
About the plesaunte brinkes of this liue well.

Now here to bee, thei thought it their duetie,
And presentely to salue you, gracious Queene,
Entring this daye into this noble Citie,
In suche triumphaunte wise as hathe not been seene;
Whiche thing, to your honour and ioye maye it beene!
These three sisturs thought it their rebuke and shame,
This daye to bee slacke in honouring their Dame.

Then ymmediatly folowed the speches of the three graces in this wise:—

.Aglaia. .hartie gladnes.

Vdallus.
Queene Anne, whom to see, this Citie dooeth reioyce,
Wee three Graces, ladies of all plesaunce,
Clasped hand in hand, as of oon mynd and voice,
With our three giftes in all good assuraunce,
Shall neuer faill your grace t'endue and enhaunce;
ffor I, 'hartie Gladnes' by my name called,
Shall your harte replenishe with ioye vnfained.

.Thaleia. stable honour.

Vdallus. And I, stable honour, gracious Queene Anne,
Ioying in your ioye, with this noble Citie,
In honour and dignitee all that I can,
Shall you avaunce, as your grace is moste worthie.
You to assiste, I am bound by my duetie,
ffor your vertues being incomparable,
You cannot but liue aye moste honourable.

[leaf 12.] .Euphrosyne. Contynuall successe.

Vdallus. And for the gret vertues, whiche I perceiue
To bee in your grace soo high and excellente,
By me contynuall successe ye receiue,
long fruicion, with dayly encreasemente
of ioye, and honour, without dymynishemente.
Neuer to decaye, but alwayes to arise:
All men, women, and children, praye the same wise.

Carmen Lelandi de pegmate Gratiarum.

Lelandus. Princeps maxima, candidæ puellæ,
Quas circumdare dulce murmurantis
Lymphæ fonticulum uides amænum,
Coniunctis manibus, comísque fusis
Per tam lactea colla, filiæ sunt
Lenæi et Veneris, uocantur autem
A Græcis, Charites, petuntque terras
Caussa non alia, piæ sorores,
Quam uirtutibus optimis ut ornent
Te, quîs dii superi decenter illas
Ornarunt; meritis serena tantis,
Anna, applaudito, Gratiæ et decoræ
Tecum perpetuos dies manebunt.

[leaf 12. back.] At the great conducte in chepe-syde.

Lelandus. Aurea nunc tandem sunt sæcula reddita nobis
Illa, sed auspiciis, Anna serena tuis.
Flumina nam passim multo labentia uino,
Illud testantur, me reticente, satis.
Illud idem loquitur facies nitidissima rerum,
Clarior et solito, te ueniente, dies.

Organa sic etiam testantur læta quibuscum
Virgineus resono concinit ore chorus.
Sæpius incedas mediam regina per urbem,
Fortunámque tuam uela secunda ferant,
Vt modo qui grauida princeps tibi gestit in aluo,
Prodeat, Henrici pignora chara tui.

At the stander yn chepe:

Lelandus. Totius est urbis facies mutata, colorque.
Omnia iam ueterem deposuere situm;
Squalida quæ nuper stetit et sine honore columna,
Splendet in aduentu, nobilis Anna, tuo.
Nec tantum splendet, sed coniugis ora, manusque
Henrici roseo picta colore refert;
Cuius tu lateri stas coniunctissima pulchro,
Qualis Apellea[1] Cypria ducta manu.
Viue diu felix cum tanto principe princeps,
Conclamant gemino uirque, puerque sono.

[leaf 13.] At the litle counducte in Chepe-sid, was exhibited the Iugemente of Paris, in maner and fourme folowing:—

Mercurie.

Vdallus. Iuppiter this aple vnto the hathe sent,
Commaunding, in this cause to geue true Iugement.

Paris.

Iuppiter a straunge office hath geven me,
To Iuge whiche is fairest of these ladies three.

Iuno.

All riches and kingdomes bee at my behest;
Geue me the aple, and thou shalt haue the best.

Pallas.

Adiuge it to me; and, for a kingdome,
I shall geue the incomparable wisedome.

Venus.

Preferre me; and I shall rewarde the, Paris,
With the fairest ladie that on the erthe is.

---

[1] See Prop. IV. viii. 11: In Veneris tabula summam sibi ponit Apelles.

Paris.

I should breke Iuppiter's high commaundement,
If I should for mede, or reward, geue Iugement.

Therefore, ladie Venus, before bothe these twain,
your beautie moche exceding, by my sentence,
Shall win and haue this aple. yet, to bee plain
Here is the fouerthe ladie now in our presence,
Moste worthie to haue it of due congruence,
As pereles in riches, wit, and beautee,
Whiche are but sundrie qualitees in you three.

But for hir worthynes, this aple of gold
Is to symple a reward a thousand fold.

[lf. 13. bk.] The conclusion of this pageaunte pronounced by a child.

Noo, noo, an other rewarde there is
Ordeined for the worthynes of hir grace,
And not to bee disposed by you, Paris,
Nor to bee geven here in this place.
Queene Anne, moste excellent that eu*er* was,
ffor you is redy a Croun Imperiall,
To your ioye, honour, and glorie ymmortall.

God, that of his goodnes all thing dooethe vs send,
Hathe sent vs your grace, our hartes to make glad.
Wherefore, with as moche humblenes we entend
Your noble grace to serue, as eu*er* queene had.
ffor nothing there is that maye now make vs sad,
Having your noble grace, our refuge and rest,
Provided by hym, that knoweth what is best.

All ioye, welthe, and honour, with long space of lif,
Bee to your grace, with succession royall,
And he, that hathe power of all prerogatif,
The moste blissed Trynytee, god eternall,
Saue our king Henry in his estate royall!
Thus praye all the Citizens, wif, child, and man,
God saue King Henry, and his Spouse Queene Anne!

At the departing of the Queenes said grace was soonguen this balad folowing:—

Vdallus. Queene Anne so gent,
of high descent,
Anne excellent
In noblenes!
Of ladies all,
you principall
Should win this ball
of worthynes.

Passing beautie
And chastitee,
With high degree,
And gret riches,
Soo coopled be
In vnytee,
That chief ar yee
In worthynes.

When Iuppiter,
His Messager
Sent doun hither,
He knewe, certes,
that you, victrice,
of all ladies
Should haue the price
of worthynes.

[leaf 14.]

And wise Paris,
Made iuge in this,
Anon, Iwys,
Moste high Princesse,
Well vndirstood
Your vertues good,
Your noble blood
And worthynes.

Your dignitee
When he gan see,
The ladies three,
Queene Anne pereles,

He bead geue place
Vnto y*our* grace—
As mete it was—
  In worthynes.

The golden batt
of price but smatt,
haue venus shatt,
  the fair goddesse,
Because it was
to lowe and bare
ffor your good grace
  And worthynes.

Vdallus. Mali præmiolu*m* aurei, decori
Su*m*mo propositum, Deæ superbæ
Magnu*m* sollicite Iouem petendò
Votis immodicis Deu*m* fatigant.
Ergo Marmarici[1] nepos Atlantis,
Dictæi imperio patris, deabus
Per nubes volitans comes, venusto
Malu*m* dat Paridi, greges paternos
Pascenti Phrygiæ nemus per Idæ;
Et iam Dardanius, leuem sopore*m*
Pastor discutiens, manu tenebat,
Quod mox præcipui deæ leporis
Acri iudicio daret fruendu*m*.
Coniux interea Iouis supremi,
Omnino impatiens moræ petebat
Victricis sibi præmiu*m* decoris,
Promittens Paridi superba regna.
Pallas munera pollicetur, artes,
Si formæ precium sibi daretur.
Lectos pollicita*n*s venus cupitos
Mali præmiolu*m* aurei reposcit.
[lf. 14, bk.] Risit continuo Paris suaue[2], et
Circum dulciculos ferens ocellos,

---

[1] African; so SIDONIUS, *Carm.* xi. 103, of the elephant. LUCAN uses it more strictly, *Phars.* iii. 292:

non corniger Hammon
Mittere *Marmaricas* cessavit in arma catervas.'

[2] *suave* is here trisyllabic.

Atque Annam digito nitente monstrans,
En vobis, ait, vndecunque summam,
Et dignam, aurea vel trecenta mala
Virtutum merito bono suarum
Quæ iam debeat hinc referre victrix.
Annæ haud hoc leue munus offerendum est;
Illam sceptra manent, manet corona,
Virtutum precium decens suarum.
Vos quicunque decentis huc petitum
Formæ præmia iusserat venire,
Vobis insidias, Deæ, parabat,
Et perfundier haud leui rubore,
Quum vos mitteret huc tonans, volebat.
Tu pomum cape, Cypri, vos que, Diuæ,
Iam nunc ad superos polos redite.

Carmen Lelandi de iudicio Paridis.

Multi Dardanium mihi fuisse
Dixerant Paridem elegantiorem[1]
Formarum, simul et decoris omnis
Spectatorem, ageret greges per altam
Cum pastor niueos superbus Idam,
Et malum daret aureum ter æqua
Aureæ Veneri manu, Minerua
Indignantibus ac Iouis sorore,
Donec pulchra super ueniret Anna.
Hæc mecum reputans frequenter, ullo
Prorsus non potui modo uidere,
Quo mysteria tenderent stupenda,
Cum tu, diua Venus, polo relapsa
Cursu ad æquoreos cito Britannos,
Magnis dotibus undecunque claræ
Annæ cedis, et aureum lubenter
Das pomum sua dona pulchriori,
Cuius tam lepidum caput decore
Mox cinget rutilans corona gemmis.

[leaf 15.] At the conduct yn flete strete[2]:

Lelandus. Rara uides, sed pulchra tamen spectacula, grati
Quæ ciues animis exhibuere bonis.

---

[1] ? elegantiorum ?

[2] See p. 377, above.

Dulcia castellum quod respiracula nuper
Præbuit, illimi gratior hospes aquæ
Nunc, ueteri planè contempta sorte, superbit,
Fundit et in multos Gallica uina cados.
Insuper acciuit pueros, qui carmina psallant,
Et tremula pulsent consona nabla[1] manu.
Sic nitidum cultum, uarios sic sumpsit honores
Castellum, caussa, pulchrior Anna, tua.

In ualuis regiæ Westmonasterien*s*is.

Lelandus. [2]Hæc dies læto resonanda plectro,
Atque ter festa decoranda fronde,
Hæc dies rectè niueis notanda est
Fausta lapillis,

Anna qua, gentis decus o Britannæ
Vnicum, sacram capiet coronam,
Tota iam fulgens, uelut inter ignes
Luna minores.

Vt tuæ cantent igitur sorores,
Phœbe, fac sumas citharam canora*m*,
Atque percurras querulo suaues
Pollice chordas.

Pulchrior custos nemoru*m*, Diana,
Stringe tu myrtos, hedera*mque*, laurum*que*,
Alta prælustris dominæ ut nitescat
Regia nostræ.

[lf. 15. bk.] Prima sit uestra hæc, Charites benignæ,
Cura Erythræos legere uniones[3],
Candidis felicia quo notetis
Tempora gemmis.

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[1] The Classical form is *nablia* or *naulia*, as in Ovid's *Art. Amat.* iii. 327:

Disce tamen duplici genialia *naulia* palma
Verrere.

[2] Comp. Hor. *Od.* III. viii. 9 etc.

[3] See *Hamlet*, V. ii. 283–5, and 292. Pliny, Martial, and others, use the word; *e. g.* Mart. viii. 81. 4: Gellia swears not by the usual deities,

sed per *uniones*.
Hos amplectitur, hos deosculatur,
Hos fratres vocat, hos sorores,
Hos natis amat acrius duobus.

Comparatio ibidem fixa.

Lelandus. Heroinarum præclaras dicere laudes
Vatibus antiquis maxima cura fuit.
Hinc celebris toties cantatæ gloria formæ
Lactea præfulget nunc, Galathea, tuæ;
Prænitet hinc etiam Cornelia docta, disertæ
Digna uel æternis nomen habere libris;
Casta pudicitiæ specimen Lucretia magnum
Præbuit, et meriti carmine fama uiret;
Porcia collucet rigidi famosa Catonis,
Coniugij cultrix rarior illa fuit;
Maxima nimirum sunt hæc præconia, multo
Maiora, illustris, sunt tamen, Anna, tibi.
Nam quæ tam clarè fulserunt singula in illis,
Omnia nunc in te conspicienda nitent.

Acclamatio, de coronatione:[1]

Lelandus. Anna, decus rarum patriæ, clarissima princeps,
Stemmate quæ longo ducis utrinque genus.
Candidior cycnis Tamesinis Anna, colostro[2]
Candidior, prima candidiorque niue,
Anna, nites summis quæ tot uirtutibus, una
Vt par iam multis millibus esse queas,
Accipias gemmis radiantem læta coronam,
Temporibus pulchre conuenit illa tuis.
Et sis fæcunda Niobe fæcundior, infans
Plurimus ut referat coniugis ora tui.
Sis quoque tam longum felix, regina, Sibyllæ
Cumææ possis ut numerare dies.

---

[1] The Coronation took place on Sunday, June 1st. The King and Queen passed the preceding night in York Place; see Cranmer to Hawkins.

[2] *Colostrum* (there is also the form *colostra* f.) 'the first milk in the breast of animals after delivery.' See *Mart.* xiii. 38:

Surripuit pastor quæ nondum stantibus hædis,
De primo matrum lacte *colostra* damus.

Plautus (Pæn. I. ii. 157) uses the word as a term of endearment: 'Meum mel, meum cor, mea *colostra*.'

Ital. *colóstra* the first milke that commeth in the teates after a birth in women or beasts, called *beestings*. Florio, 1611.

Tetine . . an instrument of glasse, wherewith new-deliuered women get out their *beest*, or first grosse milke out of their breasts.—*Cotgrave*, 1611.

Anne Boleyn's Fortune.

The most telling indictment against Anne Boleyn is, I suppose, Mr. Froude's narrative of the proceedings against her. With the greatest artistic skill he treats her as a pitying judge, or rather, an adverse advocate touched by her sad fate; and his statement against her gains double weight from his attitude and the seeming hesitation of his prosecution. But the impression made on me by it, is, I confess, that under his apparently unwilling words lies the purpose, half unconscious perhaps to himself, that *Henry must be cleared.* It is true that I cannot claim to come forward as an unprejudiced judge; for years ago, when reading, in 1851, a very able article by Mr. Froude on Mary Stuart in the first number of *The Westminster*, which contained, so far as I could judge, a true and clear analysis of her character, I came on the final clause—

"It has been no wish of ours to wave again the black banner with its sad blazonries over the grave of Mary, *but Elizabeth's fame must not be darkened because Mary sinned and suffered.*"—Westminster Review, Jan. 1851, page 142.

and felt extremely uncomfortable after it.

While reading Anne Boleyn's trial in Mr. Froude's *History*, this long-forgotten clause came uncalled to my mind, and I could not help feeling that its match should have been written at the end of the account of that trial. The actual words used, are a feeble substitute for it: "It has been no pleasure to me to rake among the evil memories of the past, to prove a human being sinful whom the world has ruled to have been innocent. Let the blame rest with those who have forced upon our history the alternative of a re-assertion of the truth, or the shame of noble names which have not deserved it at our hands." On the other hand, I say:

Let men remember the character of the King, his power over his nobles and court, the way in which his will was their law. Let them remember the lustfulness of his later life, that he had tired of that old "sweethearts arms, whose pritty duckys I trust shortly to kysse,"[1] and wanted now to kiss another's. Let them remember the damning fact that he married that other, Jane Seymour, the day after Anne's beheading. Let them think what

[1] Henry VIII. to Anne Boleyn, Letter XVI.—*Harleian Miscellany*, i. 198, ed. 1808.

Court servants and gossips are,—we have had lately a sample of their lies,—what they must have been in Henry's time, what they—surely the witnesses of Anne's stated crimes—would have been likely to say and swear[1] when they knew Henry's wish to be rid of Anne for the sake of Jane[2]. And then let them say what chance the cast-off wife would have against her accusers. She was to die, to be cleared out of Henry's way to her maid's bed. Witnesses for anything, for incest as well as adultery, committed at Greenwich as well as at Westminster and Hampton, were of course at hand, more than enough to convince judges who saw with Henry's eyes; and Anne's head lay on Tower-Green.

Mr. Froude's "Fresh Evidence about Anne Boleyn" in *Fraser's Magazine* for June and July 1870 shows chiefly what a set of cads and beasts, in the matter of Anne's trial and execution, Henry VIII and the men about him were. Of one passage in Chapuys' letters after Anne Boleyn's death, I cannot however doubt the truth. He is describing Jane Seymour to Granvelle, for the Emperor, and telling him how used-up Henry VIII is. But,—supply 'if the new bride does not conceive'—"*if they want a divorce, never fear, they will find witnesses in plenty.*"

The fact of that indictment found by the grand jury of Middlesex—on which Mr. Froude lays so much stress—having been found in duplicate (almost) by another grand jury at Deptford, is to me a proof that both were framed and found to order. Surely the last paragraph of the indictment—"9. Furthermore, that the king, having within a short time before [the 11th of May; when he married Jane Seymour on the 20th] become acquainted with the before-mentioned crimes, vices, and treasons, *had been so grieved that certain harms and dangers had happened to his royal body*"—is enough to open anybody's eyes. It is a regular joke. (Compare it with Chappuys' estimate of the cause of Henry's marked merriment after Anne's arrest: "Men interpret it as meaning that he is delighted at being quit of his lean old wicked baggage, with hope of a fresh start.") And I have not the slightest doubt that the evidence on which the Grand Juries found this count, was just as trustworthy, just as cock-and-bulley, as the evidence on which they found the incest and the other counts. As to Mr. Froude's statements that the evidence "must have been close, elaborate, and minute,"—if intended to mean that it would have stood the cross-examination of the Serjeant Ballantyne of the day,—and that Cromwell, Norfolk, Suffolk and Fitzwilliam must have framed the indictment,—which any clerk of one of the King's minions would have drawn up to be laid

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[1] Lady Rochford accusing her own husband of incest with his sister included.

[2] *Sed Principum voluntatibus arduum est refragari.*—Pace to Wolsey, 14 April 1818, III Ellis, i. 186.

before the Council,—I say that these statements are (to me,) founded only on pure fancy. Readers will recollect too that the whole evidence was by deposition; that neither Anne nor any one on her behalf had power to cross-question the witnesses. (*Froude*, ii. 491.) Against the oaths of her accusers, Anne could only set her own; and the question for the peers who tried her was, in fact, 'Do you find for the powerful King or his powerless wife? Here are (say) six oaths for him, and one for her.'

Anne Boleyn may have been guilty of greater faults than flirtation, and telling men what she thought of her husband when she had found out what he was; Smeton the musician's confession of his adultery with her, may be true or not; but I (for one) refuse to accept as evidence of her guilt, the testimony of her jealous spiteful sister-in-law, or of Henry's creatures and servants—who, from the necessities of the case must have been the witnesses of her alleged crimes in the royal palaces, as she can hardly have copulated with her brother in full court,—or the verdict of his grand juries—who vouched for his grief, and the harms to his royal body,—and his nobles, "among whom the Duke of Suffolke, the Kings brother in lawe was cheife, and wholy applyinge him selfe to the Kings humour."

Again, as to the alternative that Mr. Froude sets before us if we do not admit the truth of Anne Boleyn's guilt,—"the shame of noble names that have not deserved it at our hands,"—I say at once, that I believe in those days it was no shame to noble men to do the strong King's will, though innocent people suffered for it. The fate of Sir Thomas More proves this. Norfolk knew what his words meant, when he said, "By the mass, Master More! it is perilous striving with princes! The anger of a prince brings death!" We know how Ministers and Parliament lent themselves to work Henry's will against More; how Cromwell, Norfolk, Suffolk, did Henry's dirty work against that noble man[1].

If they did these things in the dry tree, what would they do in the green? Who can wonder that three of Anne Boleyn's four indicters were Cromwell, Norfolk, and Suffolk too[2]?

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[1] How skilfully Mr. Froude shields Henry from the infamy of More's death, my readers will hardly need to be reminded. "History will rather dwell upon the incidents of the execution than attempt a sentence upon those who willed that it should be. To me it appears most piteous and most inevitable. The hour of retribution had come at length, when at the hands of the Roman church was to be required all the righteous blood which it had shed, from the blood of Raymond of Toulouse to the blood of the last victim who had blackened into ashes at Smithfield. The voices crying underneath the altar had been heard upon the throne of the Most High, and woe to the generation of which the dark account should be demanded." How better, to English Protestants, could the matter be put? It is a pretty piece of work; but it won't wash.

[2] Note again how well Mr. Froude treats this point for Henry's side.

Beast as I believe Henry in some respects to have been, noble in others, he was strong in all, and held the country in his hand; he sank them with him to the depths of his bestiality, he lifted them with him to the height of his nobleness.

On the question of Anne Boleyn's guilt or innocence I have not knowledge enough to pronounce; but, so far as I can see, her guilt has yet to be proven. We shall doubtless know more about it when Professor Brewer has finished the year 1536. Anne may have been worse than Isabella of Spain or Catherine of Russia; —four paramours at one time, besides her own brother for a fifth, and she under promise to marry them all, seemingly, is piling matters up enough, surely;—meantime we may hold in suspense our judgment against Elizabeth's mother.

The present Ballad is described in the Harleian Catalogue, ii. 585, col. 1, as Art. "60. A Ditty setting-forth the Inconstancy of Fortune, from a Fable of a Falcon who flew from the other Birds, to the top of a Mountain adorned with a fine Rose-tree, where a loving Lion chose her a Nest . . . By the Falcon is meant Queen Anne Boleyne, it being her Device; by the Mountain, England; and by the Lion, K. Henry VIII. to be sure." No doubt about it, Mr. Wanley; the Ditty tells Anne's sad story, believes in her guilt, tenderly judges her, and truly pities her. 'Like a bird comely and bright, sweetly sung-to by all that could fly with wing, she speeds to the mountain, England; there sees the briar that bore the Tudor Rose—alas, she forgets that briars have thorns,—and there finds she Fortune. The Lion of England welcomes the fair bird, and chooses her a nest, whence—forgetful of claws and fangs—she calls on other birds to see her state, and not to grudge; for such was her fortune. A meek Mavis warns her not to trust it. And soon a storm and a great fall come. She that was above, is now adown. The Queen, soon brought low! Oh, what is Fortune! They take her to a Tower of stone. There she laments her offence, which has hurt others as well as herself. She throws herself on God's mercy, and asks for no

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How the More matter is not thought of; how the glory of the names of Latimer, Flodden, and Wellington, is cast over Anne's accusers, unnecessarily made the inventers of her indictment, though they may have only passed it on, upon plausible *primâ facie* evidence:—"The Council, at least, could not have been deceived. The evidence, whatever it was, must have been examined by them; and though we stretch our belief in the complacency of statesmen to the furthest limit of credulity, can we believe that Cromwell would have invented that dark indictment,—Cromwell who was, and who remained till his death, the dearest friend of Latimer? Or the Duke of Norfolk, the veteran who had won his spurs at Flodden? Or the Duke of Suffolk and Sir William Fitzwilliam, the Wellington and the Nelson of the sixteenth century? Scarcely among the picked scoundrels of Newgate could men be found for such work; and shall we believe it of men like these? It is to me impossible." The metaphor makes the difference. Mules are 'half-asses' or 'daughters of steeds swift as the storm,' according to the writer's point of view.

misjudgment from men. She makes her ready to die. Let us pray that she may be God's, and that He may be hers.'

I add, from a MS. which contains accounts of trials from Richard II. to 1635 A.D., what seems a copy of a contemporary account of Anne's trial by the Peers, but cannot be trustworthy, as the production of witnesses, and Anne's examination of them must be inventions. No doubt the account has been printed elsewhere.

[HARL. MS. 2194, leaf 16.]

"Thomas, Duke of Norfolke, Lord High Steward of England, att the Tryall of Queene Anne Bulloigne, who, on the 15th Day of May in the 28th yeare of the Raigne of Kinge Henry the Eight, was arraigned in the Tower of London, on a Scaffold for that purpose made in the Kings Hall; the Duke of Norfolke sittinge vnder the cloath of state, the Lord Chauncellour on his right hand, and the Duke of Suffolke on his lefte, the Earle of Surrey, sonne of the Duke of Norfolke, sittinge directly before his Father, a degree lower, as Earle Marshall of England; to whome were adioyned 26 other Peeres, and among them the Queenes Father, by whome shee was to be tryed. The Kings Commission beinge read, the accusers gaue in theire evidence, and the wittnesses were produced. The Queene sittinge in her Chaire made for her, (whether in regard of any infirmity, or out of honour permitted to the wife of the Soveraigne,) haueinge an excellent quick witt, and being a ready speaker, did so answeare to all obiections, that, had the Peeres given in theire verdict accordinge to the expectacion of the assembly, shee had beene acquitted. But they (among whome the Duke of Suffolke, the Kings brother-in-lawe, was Cheife, and wholy applyinge himselfe to the Kings humour,) pronounced her guilty; Wherevpon the Duke of Norfolke, bound to proceed accordinge to the vertict of the Peeres, condemned her to Death, either by beinge burned in the Tower Greene, or beheaded, as his Maiestie in his pleasure should thinke fitt.

The Sentence beinge denounced, the Court arose, and she was conveyed back againe to her Chamber, the Lady Bolen her Aunt, and the Lady Kinsman, wife to the Constable of the Tower, only attendinge her.

[*Leaf 16 back.] *And on the 19th of May the Queene was brought to the place of Execucion in the Greene within the Tower, some of the Nobility and Company of the Cittie beinge admitted, rather to bee wittnesses then spectatours of her death; to whome the Queene (hauinge ascended the Scaffold) spake on this mannour.

'Freinds and good *christ*ian people, I am here in your presence to suffer death, whereto I acknowledge my selfe adiudged

by the Lawe; how iustly I will not say; I intend not an accusacion of any one. I beseech the Almighty to preserue his Maiestie longe to Raigne over you; a more gentle or mild Prince never swayed Septer, his bounty and clemency towards mee I am sure hath beene speciall: if any one intend an inquisitiue survey of my accions, I intreate him to iudge favourably of mee, and not rashly to admitt any censorious conceit. And soe I bid the world farewell, Beseeching you to Commend mee in your prayers to God.'

This speech shee vttered with a smylinge countenaunce; then kneelinge downe, with a fervent spirit said, "To Jesus Christ I commend my soule; Lord Jesu, receaue my soule;" and repeatinge these words very often, suddenly the Stroake of the sword sealed the debt *that* shee owed vnto death.

Nowe the Court of England was like a Stage, wereon are represented the Vicissitudes of ever various fortune, ffor within one and the same moneth yt saw Queene Anne fflorishinge, accused, Condemned, Executed, and an other assumed into her place, both of Bedd and Honour. The ffirst of May (yt seemeth) shee was informed against, The Second Imprisoned, The ffifteenth Condemned, The Seaventeenth deprived of her brother and freinds who suffered in her cause, and the Nyneteenth Executed.

On the Twentyeth the Kinge married Jane Seimour, who on the Nyne and Twentieth was publiquely shewed Queene."

Sharp work, truly; but needs must, when the Devil drives.

Line 73 is explained by the following extract from the 3rd Series of Original Letters edited by Sir Hy. Ellis, vol. ii, p. 274–5.

Henry the Eighth's Letter of Summons to Lady Cobham, to ride, with her women, at the Solemnity of Queen Anne Boleyn's Procession to the Tower and Coronation.

[MS. Harl. 283, leaf 96.]

Henry R.[1] By the King.

Right dere and welbeloved, we grete you well.

And forasmoche as we be determyned upon the fest of Pentecost next commyng to kepe, and do to be celebrate, at Westminster, with all due circumstances of honour, the Coronacion of our derest wif the lady Anne our Quene, as to her astate and dignite dothe appertain, and have appointed you, amonges other, at the same tyme to give your attendance on horsebak, in suche place as to your degree apperteineth, We therfore desire and pray you, to put yourself in suche a redines, as ye may be personally at our maner of Grenewich the Fryday next before the said fest, then and ther to geve your attendance upon our said

[1] The King's signature is put by stamp. (H. Ellis.) The MS initial *u* is printed *v*.

Quene, from thens to *our Towre of London* the same day, and on the next day to ryde from the same our Towre, thorugh our cite of London unto our maner of Westmynstre; and the next day, Witsonday, to go unto our Monastery ther, to the said Coronacion; providing for yourself and your women, some faire white or white gray palfreies or geldinges, suche as ye shall thinke most fytt to serve for that purpose. And as concernyng the apparell of your oune palfrey, ye shalbe furnished therof by the Master of the horsses with our said derest wif the Quene, at any your repaire or sending hider for the same in every behalf, saving for your bitt and your bosses; trusting that for the lyveraies and ordering of your said women, aswell in their apparell, as in their horsses, ye woll in suche wise provide for them as unto your honour and that solempnite apperteineth; and your oune Robes and lyveraies shalbe delivered, at any tyme when ye shal comme or send for the same, by the keper of our great warderobe; not failling hearof as ye entende to do us pleasure. Yeuen, under signet, at our manour of Grenewich, the twenty-eighth day of Aprill. [1533]

To our right dere and welbiloved the lady Cobham. [*on back*]

From the MS from which the Message of the Warwickshire Diggers or Delvers has been given above (p. 37), which contains papers at least as late as 1647, and which is described in the Catalogue as "A Book in fol. wherein are contained the Transcripts of many Letters & Papers, said to have been found in the Study of Mr Dell, Secretary to Arch-bp. Laud," I give the following copy of one of Anne Boleyn's letters on the birth of her baby Elizabeth, 7 Sept. 1533, no doubt printed elsewhere.

[HARL. MS. 787 leaf 1.]

Q: Anne Bollen's L*ette*r to Squire Josselin upon *th*e birth of Q: Elizab*e*th . Superscribed . To our trusty & wellbeloued Thomas Josseline Esq*uire*.

By the Queen.

Trusty & wellbeloued, wee greet you well. And whereas it hath pleased *th*e goodness of Almighty God, of his infinite mercy and grace, to send unto vs at this tyme good speed in *th*e deli-u*er*ance and bringing forth of a Princess, to *th*e great joye and inward comfort of my Lord, Vs, and of all his good and louinge Subjects of this his Realme, For *th*e which his inestimable bene-uolence soe shewed unto us, we haue noe little cause to giue high thankes, laude, & praysing unto our said Maker, like as we doe most lowly, humbly, & with all *th*e inward desire of our heart. And inasmuch as wee undoubtedly trust *that* this our good speed is to your great pleasure, Comfort, & consolac*i*on, Wee ther-

fore, by these our *Letter*s, aduertise you thereof, desiring & hartily praying you to giue *with* us unto Almighty God, high thankes, glory, laude, & praising; & to pray for *the* good health, prosperity, & continuall *pre*seruac*i*on of *the* *said* Princess accordingly. Yeouen under our Signett, at my Lo*r*ds Manne*r* of Greenw*i*ch, *the* 7th day of September, in *the* 25th yeare of my said Lo*r*ds Raigne . An*no* Do*mi*ni 1533.

Lastly, from the Narrative of Alexander Ales to Elizabeth, which Prof. Brewer has kindly pointed out to me in Mr. Stevenson's Calendar of Foreign State Papers, 1558–59, I take the pretty picture of the Mother in Greenwich Courtyard, holding up her babe in her arms, entreating the Husband who was in the palace plotting her death. Just the natural act of an artful, incestuous, adulteress, of course.

16. Never shall I forget the sorrow which I felt when I saw the most serene Queen, your most religious mother, carrying you, still a little baby, in her arms, and entreating the most serene King, your Father, in Greenwich Palace, from the open window of which he was looking into the court-yard, when she brought you to him.

17. I did not perfectly understand what had been going on, but the faces and gestures of the speakers plainly showed that the King was angry, although he could conceal his anger wonderfully well. Yet from the protracted conference of the Council, (for whom the crowd was waiting until it was quite dark, repeating that they would return to London,) it was most obvious to everyone that some deep and difficult question was being discussed.

Those of our Members who are interested in the question of Mary and Elizabeth, should consult Ales's account of the proceedings against Mary, her trial and death, although they will probably not trust Ales's judgment much.

At last comes the Anne-Boleyn Ballad itself.

[HARL. MS. 2252, leaf 155.]

They seyd nothyng̃ else, savyng̃ desyryng̃ the pepyll to pray for the*m* 5 pa*ter* noste*r*s, 5 Aves, & iij^{e} Cred*is*, & Cry Apon̄ Ih*esus*,[1] as hother before, god saue the kyng̃ . Amen / fynis.

I.

In A ffresshe Mornyng̃ Among̃ the flowrys,
My servyce saying̃ at Certayne owrys,
Swetly the Byrd*es* were syngyng̃ Amonge The shewrys,[2]
for þ*a*t Ioye of good fortune. 4

[1] MS. Ih'c.

[2] 'The shewrys' is written as part of the 4th line.

II.

to walke A-lone I dyd me Aplye;
Among the hylles þat were so hye
I sawe A syghte,—A! for myne Iee,—
þat Came by good fortune.

III.

I mervaylyd whate hyt sholde be:
at laste I espyed A company
þat dyd Abyde all on A tree
to seke for fortune.

IV.

There Cam A fawcon fayre of flyghte,
And set hyr downe presente in syghte,
so lyke A Byrde Comlye & Bryghte,
whyche thowghte hyt good fortune.

V.

All þat were Abyll to flee with wynge,
they were Ryghte Ioyfull of hyr Comyng,
that swetly they began to syng
for Ioye of good fortune.

VI.

A-non from there she[1] sett hyr Iee,
she perceyvyd A mounteyne þat was so hye,
she toke hyr flyghte theder to flye,
to fynde hyt fortune.

VII.

Alone on the Toppe þer growde A brere,
þat bare well, I wotte, þe Rose so clere,
whyche fadyd no tyme of the yere;
there fownde she fortune.

VIII.

In the myddes of the Busshe down dyd she lyghte,
Amonge the Rosys of golde so bryghte,
saying þus: "plesantly I am plyghte
in the prime of my fortune!"

[1] This word is scratcht over, and scarcely legible.

IX.

þer Cam A lyon̄ full lovinglye,
þat all the Smalle byrdes þer myght se,
syngynḡ "fayre fawCon, well-Com to me!
here ys your fortune!"

X.

þe knot of love in hym was faste, [leaf 155, column 2.]
& so farre entryd in to hys bryste,
þat þer he chase þis byrde A neste;[1]
svche was hyr fortune.

XI.

she spake þes wordes presumatlye,
& sayd: "ye Byrdes, behold & se!
do nat gruge, for þis[2] wyll hyt be;
suche ys my fortune."

XII.

A Mavys meke mevyd in mynde,
& sayd: "whoo wyll seke, shall fynde.
be ware A myste make yow not blynd!
truste not on̄ fortune!"

XIII.

At þe laste cam A storme, & serten thrall
sharper then ony thorne, & A grete fall:
hyt was þen to late to Crye or Call
to helpe, good fortune.

XIV.

"I was A-bove; nowe am̄ I vnder!
all byrdes may mervayle, & gretly wonder,
so sone from love dessendyd[3] in sonder,
o! whate ys fortune?

XV.

"nowe on̄, nowe none; now well, now wo;
now here, now gon̄; now to, now froo;
thus I Alone may reporte soo,
as flaterynḡ fortune.

[1] Aneste, MS. [2] this = thus. [3] So in MS. ? desseuer yd.—E. Brock.

XVI.

" so derely Bowghte, so fr*e*ndly sowghte,
And so sone made A quene!
so sone lowe browghte, ha*þ*^{e} not be*n* sene:
o! whate ys Fortune?

XVII.

" As slep*er* as yse, *con*sumyd as snowe,
lyke vnto dyse *þat* me*n* dothe throwe,
tyll hyt be hys chaunce *þat* he aryse, he shall not knowe[1]
whate shalbe hys fortune."

XVIII.

They dyd hyr p*re*sente to A tow*ur* of stone,
wher as she shold lame*n*t hyr selfe A-lon̄,
& be co*n*sell; for helpe *þer* was none:
suche was hyr fortune!

XIX.

She shayd *þat* "I am̄ co*m* in at *þis* lytell portall,
so lyke A quene, to R*es*sseve A Crowne y*m*p*er*iall;
but nowe am̄ I co*m* to R*es*sseue A crown̄ in-Mortall:"
suche ys fortune!

XX.

" for myne offence I am̄ full woo!
& yf I had hurte my selfe, & nomoo,
I had don̄ welle & I had don̄ soo;
hyt was not my fortune.

XXI.

" All *þat* folow*ith* my lyne,
& to my fav*ur* they did enclyne,
they may well ban̄ the tyme
þat ev*er* they founde suche fortune!

XXII.

" I had A lover stedfaste & trewe:
A-lase *þat* ev*er* I chaungyd for new!
I cowde not Reme*m*byr! full sore I rew
to haue *þis* fortune!

[1] Written as 2 lines.

XXIII.

"And thow I haue my tyme mys-spent,
yet geve me no mys-Iugement!
yf god be pleasyd, be yow *contente*;
deme not my fortune! 92

XXIV.

"I truste to hym̃ *þat* by hys[1] fad*er* sytte[2],
I haue A place in hevyn̄ made fytte.
I aske for grace; stryke me not yett!
behold my fortune!" 96

XXV.

She hylde vp hyr hond*es* on̄ hye,
& made hyr preste & Redy to dye;
for dethe Aprochyd to hyr so nye,
to ende hyr fortune. 100

XXVI.

hyr Sowle she comendid in to the hand*es* of Ih*es*u;
& where she had offendyd, sore dyd she Rewe,
And so entendyd all suche thyng*es* to eschewe,
as was hyr fortune. 104

XXVII.

Consyd*er* yow aⱡ, thow she wylfully dyd offend,
Co*n*syd*er* yow Also how she made hyr ende:
hyt ys not we *þat* Can̄ hyr Amende,
By Iuggyng̃ hyr fortune. 10

XXVIII.

let vs pray to god, of hys m*er*cy & blysse
hyr to for-gyve where she hathe don̄ Amys,
þat he may be hers, & she may be hys,
& send vs good fortune / Am*en*. 112

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[1] hyt, MS. [2] MS. syt*tes*.

William Gray's New-Year's Gifts to the Duke of Somerset, late Lord Protector, in 1550 and 1551 A.D.

The author of these pieces is no doubt the "one Gray" mentioned by the author of *The Arte of English Poesie* as "in good estimation . . with the Duke of Sommerset, Protectour, for making certaine mery Ballades," as noticed on p. 310, above. He is also no doubt the William Gray who wrote the celebrated ballad against Cromwell—printed at London in 1540, and reprinted by Percy in his *Reliques*, ii. 64, ed. 1794—"A newe ballade made of Thomas Cromwel, called *Trolle on away*"—which gave rise to the series of Ballads for and against Cromwel in the Society of Antiquaries' Collection. Of this Gray we find in Bale's *Summarium*, or *Scriptores Britanniæ*, A.D. 1548, fo. 255 back (last page), "Guilhelmus Gray, in carminib*us* Anglicis plura eleganter scripsit contra regnum filij perditi *et* aduersus Thoma[m] Smyth." And in Bale's *Catalogus*, or his *Scriptorum illustrium*, etc., A.D. 1557, at p. 705, vol. i., we find, "Pro Grayo contra Smithum." Also, further on:—"Gvilhelmvs Graye, prædicti ducis famulus, amœnum atq*ue* facetum ingenium habens, magno uerborum *et* sententiarum ornatu ac pondere, composuit aduersus Thomam Smyth, atq*ue* alios Papistici regni propugnatores, in patrio sermone

Diuersi generis rhythmos, *Lib.* 1.

Aliaq*ue* non pauca. Obijt anno Domini 1551."—*Ibid.* vol. 2, p. 109. The epitaph of a Gray—I suppose this William Gray—is on page 431 below.

The present "giftes" are interesting because they bear out Puttenham's statement of Gray's being on good terms with the Protector Somerset. They claim a place in this volume because the second confirms the complaint of *Vox Populi* (p. 108–51) as to

> The pore state of this comen-welthe,
> Who is pore in-dede, yé, and so extreme,
> As I thenke was nevar any Chryston Reme;
> (St. iv. l. 38–40, below.)

because it also confirms the complaint of *Vox Populi* (p. 136,

l. 462; p. 114–15) as to how poor suitors are 'styll frome daye [to daye] differed':

> thé be deffared ffrom morro to morro . . .
> make Rome ffor the Ryche, kepe backe the pore.
> (St. v. l. 45, 50, below.)

In one point the second piece differs from *Vox Populi* (§ 8, p. 138–9), and that is, its complaint, in stanzas iii. and iv. (below), that the Papists 'be ranke' and 'nevar more lofty then they be nowe.' But both poems are doubtless right, for though the monks had been got rid of, as *Vox Populi* says, many of the Popish clergy must have been trying to make the reformed service 'like the old Popish Mass' (l. 30), as William Gray complains; and the Act of 1552, enforcing the use of the amended Book of Common Prayer throughout the kingdom, shows that Gray was justified in what he said. The rest of this 2nd poem is taken up with moral advice to Somerset to remember his friends and true men (st. vi), to avoid flatterers (st. viii), to listen to wise and plain-speaking men (st. ix), to bring up his family in the fear of God (st. x: compare Hugh Rhodes in the *Babees Book*, p. 63–5), and to love his wife, fear God, and obey the King.

On the 'greate othes,' l. 98, which Somerset is to forbid his family to use, we may compare, not only Robert of Brunne's complaints as to the prevalence of swearing in England in 1303,

> ȝyf þou were euer so fole hardy
> To swere grete oþys grysly,
> As we folys do alle day,
> Dysmembre Iesu alle þat we may.
> Gentyl men for grete gentry
> Wene þat grete oþys beyn curteysy;
> Noþeles, blode, fete and yȝen
> Þey scorne Iesu, and vpbreyde his pyne. . .
> Þys gentyl men, þys gettours,
> Þey ben but Goddys turmentours;
> Þey turmente hym alle þat þey may,
> Wyþ fals oþys nyȝt and day . . .
> [And] euery gadlyng nat wurþ a pere
> Takyþ ensample at ȝow to swere.
> *Handlyng Synne*, p. 23, p. 26.

but also Andrew Boorde's exhortation to the head of a household in 1542 A.D.,

> And also the heade of a howse must ouer-se that they the which be vnder his tuyssyon serue God the holy dayes . . . refraynynge them from vyce and synne, compellynge them to obserue the commaundementes of God, *specyally to punysshe swearers, for in all the worlde there is not suche odyble swearyng as is vsed in Englande, specyally amonge youth & chyldren;* which is a detestable thyng to here it, and no man doth go aboute to punysshe it. *Dyetary*, p. 243, (ed. F. J. F. for E. E. Text Soc. 1870).

Again, in his *Extrauagantes*, or the Second Part of his *Breuyary*, fol. vi, Boorde calls Swearing 'a damnable synne; & they the which doth vse it, be possessed of the Deuill'; and he repeats his assertion that

> In all the worlde there is no regyon nor countrie that doth vse more swearynge then is vsed in Englande; for a chylde that scarse can speake, a boy, a gyrle, a wenche, now a dayes wyl swere as great othes as an olde knaue and an olde drabbe. It was vsed, that when swearynge dyd come vp fyrst, that he that dyd swere shulde haue a phylyp[1]:—"gyue that knaue or drabbe a phylyp with a club that they do stagger at it":—and then they and chyldren wolde beware, after that, of swerynge, whiche is a damnable synne." *Ib.* Forewords, p. 82–3.

The well-esteemed ballad-writer lectures his Ducal friend somewhat like a father would his son, or a tutor his pupil; is 'fflatt and playne' (l. 87); and Somerset showed good sense in caring for him. But one piece of advice is rather too cool. Gray had evidently had gifts of money from Somerset, and expected more. For these he probably returned the Duke 'gifts' in verse; and in both of the present ones urges him to be liberal, while in the second he says, l. 65–8, that if Somerset wants money to give away, "Why shoulde you not sell parte of your lande?"

Of the second *New-Year's Gift*, two texts are printed on opposite pages. That from the Sloane MS 1206 was set-up before I saw a reference to the other in the Index to the Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Cambridge University Library; and as the Cambridge copy proved to be the better,—besides containing the first *Gifte*—there was nothing for it but to print the two texts opposite one another. This course brings out strongly the provincialisms of the Cambridge copy, and supplies the line 92 which it wanted. On the other hand, the inferior Sloane text supplies to the Cambridge one, four lines, 29–30, 33–34, which I see no reason to doubt belonged to the original poem.

The dates of the *Giftes* are fixed by their headings in the Cambridge manuscript. The Protector was committed to the Tower on the 14th of October, 1549, and released from it on the 6th of February, 1550. On the 16th he was pardoned; and "after that," says Burnet, "he carried himself so humbly that his behaviour, with the King's great kindness to him, did so far prevail, that on the 10th of April after, he was restored into favour, and sworn of the Privy Council." (*Macfarlane*, vii. 184.)

But through his rival Warwick's[2] means, Somerset was arrested on Friday the 16th of October, 1551, and beheaded on Tower Hill on Friday the 22nd of January, 1552. Had Gray lived to send Somerset a third New Year's Gifte to the Tower in 1552, it could not have been a hopeful one.

---

[1] fillip, flip, whack.

[2] Then Duke of Northumberland.

Gray's New-Year's Gift to Somerset, A.D. 1550.

[Cambr. Univ. Libr. MS. Dd. 9. 31. No. 5, p. 24.]

Theise sayeinges followeinge were geuen to the Duke of Somersett for his Newe yeares gifte at his firste beinge Prysoner in the Towre of London. [Jan. 1, 1549–50.]

By his servaunte Grey.

If ever noble manne were bounde to thanke god,
Youre grace is moste bounde, for this *your* greate scourge & Rod,
ffor by this *your* scourge is muche more comprised
Then with either head or heart can be well devised:
By this pu*n*nyshement, whiche semed as a curse,
Better knowe ye god, and not your self the wourse.
Be liberall hencefurthe booeth of pursse and tongue;
Be gentle, do Justice to olde and to younge;
Beware of all flatterers, wherof you had store;
Revenge not, Rewarde them, but truste them no more!
Creadite fewe complayntes, seme they never so stro*n*nge;
Heare bothe parties speake, so shall you do no wronge;
Be simple (as Christe saythe,) as is the poore Dove;
Be wise as the Serpent, and knowe whome ye love.
Theise wourdes well wayed, and *your* self so directed,
Shall cause you lyve sure, thoughe you be suspected.
Take this in good parte, whiche I for a poore shifte
Do geve vnto your grace for youre Newe yeares gifte,

ffinis Quod Grey.

[Sloane MS. 1206, leaf 38.]

Helthe, Onor, And Vertw, Longe tyme *and* spase,
w*illia*m gray wyshethe vnto yow*er* good grase!

I.

The workes of god be grat, and also stronge;
The workes of the wrlde do toss, toorne *and* change;
the grat workes of god Increasethe day by day,
the workes of the worlde be nevar at a stay;
ffor trw proff ther-of, yow*er* grase is yeven[1] he,
the Last yere in bandage, and now is ffre!
here god wrought, here *the* worlde wrought, bwtt god uas aⁿ;
the worlde wrastled, bott god deffended the ffavle[2].
A wonder of wonders so wrowght, as I wene,
the Lyke was nevar hard of, nor yett nevar sene!

II.

The Laste newey[e]res gefte that I to yow gave,
parchance ye fforgott, though steⁿ yow yt have;
ffor Lyke as olde ffrwtt in tyme weⁿ be Rotton,
yeven so maye olde geftes[3] in tyme be ffor-gotton.
In hope of good merthe, yet that tyme aⁿ sade,
I gave vnto yower grase syche geftes as I had;
And syche as I have[4], I geve vn-to yow agyne;
Lett this and Lett that in yow*er* hartte Remene.

III.

ffyrst, fforder god*es* worde as moche as yow maye;
take hede, se that yt goo nott backe nor decaye;
ffor that, as yow know, is the holly thenge
that Iustly vphouldethe ow*er* most noble kynge.
yet at this p*re*sence—ye shaⁿ vnderstand—
the papest be Ranke, *and* on the treble hand:
Som comfford thé have; I cannott teⁿ howe,
bwtt [were] nevar more Lofty then thay be nowe;
As moche as thé dare, the kyng*es* good prosedynges
thé clerly deffase w*ith* there popese ffedyng*es*;

[1] even: see lines 14, 35. [2] ? farle: fall. [3] gess, *orig*. [4] MS. I have I have.

[Cambr. Univ. Libr. MS. Dd. 9. 31. No. 5, p. 25.]

When the Duke of Somersett was at his libertie vpon Newe yeares Daye next followeinge, the aforesayde Grey, his servaunte, gave theise sayeinges vnto the sayde Duke his M. [Jan. 1, 1550–1.]

I.

The wourkes of God Be greate, and also straunge;
the workes of the worlde do tosse, tourne, & chaunge;
The workes of god encreaseth daye by daye,
the workes of the worlde be never at a staye;
Wherof, for true profe, your grace is even he,
the laste yeare in bondage, and nowe is free.
here god wrought, here worlde wrought, but god is all;
the worlde wrestled, but god defended the fall.
A wondre of wonders, wrought, as I wene;
the like never hearde of, nor yet never sene!

II.

The laste Newe yeares gyfte that I to youe gave,
*Per*chaunce ye forgett it, thoughe still you it haue;
for like as olde fruyte in tyme wilbe rotten,
So maye olde giftes in Tyme be forgotten.
in hope of good myrthe, yeat at that tyme all sadde,
I gave vnto your grace suche giftes as I hadde;
And suche as I haue, I geve youe agayne;
let this, and let that, in your harte remayne.

III.

Firste; farther godes wourde as muche as you maye,
take you hede, se that it gooe not backe nor decaye,
for that you knowe well is the onlye thinge
that Justelye vpholdeth *our* moste noble kynge.
nowe at this p*re*sent, ye shall vndrestande,
the papistes be rancke on the treble hande;
so*m*me comforthe they haue, I cannot tell howe;
but never more lustyer[1] then they are nowe;
As fare as they dare agaynste the kyng*es* p*ro*cedyng*es*,
they clerelye deface vs with theire popishe fedynges.

[1] loftier (?).

[Sloane MS. 1206.]

owȩr godly sȩrves, thé have browght to pass,
to make yt moche lyke the olde popese masse.
The Iusteses, that sholde se this suckeses,[1] [leaf 38, back.]
stand by and her yt, and kepe the kyngȩs pese;
yet the prests blynde vs, and make da[r]ke night,
the Iusteses care nott, so thé do nott se yt.
yeven as ye Love god and the Kyngȩs hyghnes,
In this puynt ffynde menes ther maye be Redress.

IV.

Whyttes yow be in plase, and have now yowȩr helthe,
Thenke on the pore state of this comen-welthe,
Who is pore in-dede, ye, and so extreme,
As I thenke was nevar any Chryston Reme,
And pore weⁿ be, yf menes be nott ffounde;
Consyder! I speke nott with-owtt a good grounde.

V.

Remembar pore swttars whoo swstene grat Ronge;
speke, and despache them, thé tarry to Longe,
thé be deffared ffrom morro to morro,
ther seⁿy pore hartȩs Lyke to breke ffor sorro;
yett com thé dayly to know my Lordȩs pleswer,
ther answer is, "my Lady is nott at leswer;"
thé walke vp and doune at the chambar dore;
make Rome ffor the Ryche, kepe backe the pore.

VI.

Remembar yowȩr ffrendȩs and sȩrvantȩs of trwst,
Remembar aⁿ this home[2] yow have ffounde Iuste,
Remembȩr, ffor-gatt nott what I do saye,
show them aⁿ Iust cawses ffor yowȩr grase to prey,
Love them that hatte yow, bwt hatte no man;
hender no parson, bwtt helpe whome yᵉ can.
yf yow be mynded to do good in dede,
to them that yow do yt, do yt with spede;
yt grevethe the hart of him that desarvethe,
to se the gress grow whyle the hors starvethe.

MS. *suckeses* = *succease* (as well as *surcease*) put an end or stop to. See Nares.

[2] those whom (see l. 77).

[Cambridge Univ. MS. Dd. 9. 31.]

. . . . . .
. . . . . .
the Justices that shoulde see theise thing*es* surcesse,
sta*u*ndeth by, & heareth, & kepeth the kyng*es* peace.
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
Lawe[1], as you loue god & the kyng*es* highnes,
& fynde meanes in this theire maye be a redresse

IV.

Nowe that you haue tyme & place, and also yo*ur* healthe,
thinke on the poore state of this co*m*men wealthe,
Whiche is verye poore, and also exstreme,
As I thincke was never like in anye Christen Realme,
And poorer wil be, if meanes be not founde:
Consydre, I speake it not with-out a good grounde.

V.

Remembre poore shewters who dothe susteyne wro*n*nge;
speake, & dispatche them, they tarrye to longe,
they be deferred fro*m*me morrowe to morrowe,
theire sell ye poore hart*es* like to breake for sorrowe;
yet commeth they daielye to knowe the lord*es* pleasure;
theire answere is made, "the lord*es* be not at leasure:"
they walke vppe and downe at the Chambre dore,
make rome for the Riche, and kepe backe the poore.

VI.

Remembre your frendes and servaunt*es* of truste,
remembre all those whome youe haue founde Juste;
remembre, forgett not what I do saye,
geve them all Juste cause for yo*ur* grace to praye.
Love them that love youe, but yeat hate no manne,
Hyndre no person, but healpe what you canne;
if you be mynded to do good in dede,
to them that you do yt, do yt with spede,
for it greveth the harte of hym that deserveth,
to see the gresse growe while the horse sterveth.

[1] ? Lo! behold. look. See the 'veven' of the Sloane text. But see also l. 102.

[Sloane MS. 1206.]

be ffranke *and* be ffre, and play a deukes part,
ffor a noble[1] dwke sholde have a noble hart.

VII.

A Dwke to be hard, is as mette a thenge
As ffor a hogghs nose to wayre a golde Rynge.
yf Lacke were the Lett of yower lybraſt hande,
why sholde yow nott seſt part of yower Lande?
the doynge wher-of cowlde nott sett yow backe;
ye have [e]nought[2], and we ['re] Lyke to Lacke;
This is pore cownseſt, as yt sholde apere,
bwtt to a kynges vnkeſt what can be dere?

VIII.

The Lerynge fflattrars that ffaune on yower ffase[3],
thé seke yow, thé sucke yow, speke ffare to yower ffase,
thé houlde with the hounde, *and* Ron with the hare;
so thé have the[ir] porpose, what nede thé to care?
syche bludes weſt brynge yow to the pettes brynke;
then chuse yow wether yow weſt swyme or synke.
take hede how ye taulke, to home, were, *and* whan;
the worlde is the worlde, *and* men be bwtt men;
the worlde is wylly, be war of her batt[4]!
she spekithe fferest[5], *and* thenkes most dessett.
I weſt saye no more, I pass over clene;
I trwst that yower grase dothe know what I mene.

IX.

Parswade nott yower seſtffe aſt thenges to do best,
Wyse men maye do thenges that maye be Redrest;
Reffuse nott Iudgment of them that be wyse,
Reffwse those peckethankes[6] that imagen lyes;
And yf yow ffynd on that is fflatt *and* playne,
make moche of him, ffor his hart con nott ffayne.
Ye maye weſt be wrothe wythe him ffor a seson, [leaf 39, back.]
yett must ye have syche as standes by good Reson:
yt is a rare bred[7] as bredethe on the grounde,
. . . . . .

[1] MS. nolde. [2] enough. [3] for 'grace,'
[4] bait. [5] fairest. [6] pickthanks. [7] *brid*, bird.

[Cambridge Univ. MS. Dd. 9. 31.]

be francke & be free, and playe a dukes parte;
for a noble duke shoulde have a noble harte.

VII.

for a duke to be harde, is as mete a thinge
as for a hogges nose to weare a golde Rynge.
if lacke were the let of your liberall hande,
Why shoulde you not sell parte of *your* lande?
the doinge wherof cannot sett you backe;
youe have y-noughe, and never like to lacke.
this is a poore Counsell, as it shoulde appeire;
but to a kyng*es* vncle what shoulde be to deare?

VIII.

The flerynge flatterers that fayne on youre grace,
they seke you, they sucke you, they speake fayre to *your* face;
they holde with the hounde, and ru*n*ne with the hayre;
so they haue their purpose, they nede not to care.
suche bloud*es* will brynge you to the pytt*es* bryncke;
then chuse you whether you will swyme or syncke;
take hede howe you talke, to whome, where and when;
the worlde is the worlde, and men be but men.
the worlde is wylye; beware of theire bate!
she speaketh fayrest, and thyncketh moste disceate.
I will saye no more, I passe over cleane,
I truste that your grace dothe knowe what I meane.

IX.

Perswade not y*our* self all thing*es* to do beste;
Wise men maye do thinges that maye be redreste;
refuse not Judgement of them that be wyse,
refuse those pikethanck*es* that Imagyn lyes!
if you fynde one that is flatte and playne,
make muche of hym, for his harte cannot fayne;
yet you maye well be wrathe w*i*th hym for a season,
yet muste you have suche as standes by good reason:
it is a reare Birde that bredes on the grounde,
there are but fewe of them to be founde;

[Sloane MS. 1206.]

ffynd him and kepe him; the most presyost ston
Is nott so myche worthe as is syche a one.

X.

Kepe alł yower ffamely in the ffere of god,
Lest yow ffor ther ffauttes do ffele his sharpe Rode;
Lyke as yow ffynd them mett, drenke, *and* clothes,
ffor-bed them vn-lawfułł games *and* grat othes;
And yf thé have yowsed Idełł be-haver,
Lett them ffor-sake yt as thé desyer yower ffauer;
And thowgh somme parchance esteme the ffaulte smaule,
Remembar yower grase must answer ffor alł.

XI.

Love as ye love yower trw weded wyffe;
god shałł Increse yow, *and* send yow Longe lyfe;
brynge as yow brynge vp yower cheldren alway,
ffyrst to ffere god, and *the* kynge to abaye.
Loke wełł to yower sełłfes, and bere ye vpryght,
so shałł ye Leve swer and saffe with godes myght;
To whome, with a good hart draune alłwaye nere,
god saffe yower grase, *and* send yow a good neu yer!

ffinis, quod gray.

[*For the poem on Gray following this in the MS, and in the same hand, see page* 431 *below.*]

[Cambridge MS. Dd. 9. 31.]

fynde them, & kepe them; the moste p*re*ciouse stone
is not so muche wourthe as is such a one.

X.

Kepe all your famylie in the feare of god,
leste you for theire faultes do fele his sharpe Rod.
Looke as ye fede them with meate, drincke, & clothes,
forbed them vnlaufull games & greate othes;
yf at anye tyme they have vsed ydle behavyoure,
let them forsake yt, as they desire favoure;
and some p*er*chaunce will exsteme the faultes smalle;
yet remembre, y*our* grace shall make answer for all.

XI.

Lawe as[1] you love your owen true wedded wyfe;
then god shall encrease you, & send you longe lief.
bringe[2] as ye bringe vp your Children allwaye,
firste to feare good, and the kynge to Obey;
looke well to youreself, and beare you vpright,
so shall you lyve sure & salfe with god*es* might;
to whome, w*i*th a good harte, drawe alwaise nere:
god save y*our* grace, and send you a good newe yeare!

ffinis, Quod Grey.

---

[1] ? Look as, see that.

[2] ? for 'Look.'

Lady Jane Grey's Lamentation.

Of all the women-figures in the gallery of English History, the most touching is that of Lady Jane Grey. Like that picture of the Cenci, the sweet thoughtful face of Ascham's pupil draws one to it with irresistible attraction, and haunts one ever with its sad wise eyes. Forced from converse with her Plato, to serve the ambition of others, for their fault she lost her harmless life, and was too soon taken from the world.

The present Ballad was supposed to be lost, till Mr. Bradshaw, the Librarian of the University of Cambridge, found Wight's print of it in the Marquis of Bath's library at Longleat, and kindly copied it for me. Though Lady Jane Grey was executed on Feb. 12, 1554, it was probably not till after Queen Mary's death on Nov. 17, 1558, that any Ballad on Lady Jane was produced. At any rate, the first notice we have of one is in the Stationers' Register A, leaf 89, in 1562–3 A.D.

John Tysdayle	**Recevyd** of John Tysdayle, for his lycense for pryntinge of "the lamentation of the ladye Jane made, sayinge my fathers *pro*clamation, now I must lose my hed."	iiij d.

On the back of the same leaf 89 of the Register is an entry of "and other of the lame*n*tation of lady Jane" in a license of nine "ballett*es*" to Thomas Colwell, also in 1562–3. "Bagford seems to have seen the ballad" licensed to Tysdayle, says Mr. Hazlitt in his *Handbook;* "see Herbert, 785." The date of John White, or Wight, the printer or publisher of the Marquis of Bath's broadside, is 1610–20 A.D., Mr. Hazlitt tells me.

Mr. J. P. Collier in his "Extracts from the Registers of the Stationers' Company," vol. i. (1848), p. 72, prints a 'Lady Jane's Lament' (Lad*ie* Jane's Lament, vol. ii. p. viii) from a MS of his own which he says contains "two if not three handwritings, . . the earliest beginning before the year 1600, and the latest continuing until after the Restoration." This 'Lament' is, for completeness' sake, reprinted at the end of the 'Lamentation,' though I have had no means of ascertaining either its correctness as a print of the MS. or its authenticity.

¶ The lamentacion that Ladie Jane made / Saiyng for my fathers proclamacion now must I lese my heade.

1.

This was the lamentacion,
That Ladie Jane made:
Saiyng, for my fathers Proclamacion,
Now must I lose my head.

2.

But God that sercheth euery harte,
And knoweth I am giltles,
Although that I now suffer smarte,
Yet, I am not worthie of this.

3.

For when she was at the place appoincted,
Her death mekely for to take:
Her ghostly father and she reasoned,
Her praiers then she did make.

4.

Forthe of our beddes we were fet out,
To the Tower for to go:
Yet wist we not where about,
Our fathers did make vs do so.

5.

Alas what did our fathers meane,
Both tree and fruicte thus for to spill,
Against my mynde he proclaimed me quene,
And I neuer consented theretill.

6.

The lorde Gilforde my housbande,
Whiche suffred here presente:
The thyng our fathers toke in hande,
Was neither his nor my consente.

7.

But seyng I am iudged, by a lawe to dye,
And vnder whiche I was borne:
Yet will I take it pacientlie,
Laughyng none of them to scorne,

8.

Why should I blame fortune of this,
Seyng blame it is not worthie:
Our liuyng were so farre amis,
That we deserued this miserie.

9.

For my synne I am worthie to dye,
Pride in me did so remaine:
Yet all good people praie for me,
As charitie doeth constraine.

10.

The hedsman kneled on his knee,
To forgeue hym her death:
Frende she saied, God forgeue thee,
With all my harte and faithe.

11.

She kyssed hym, and gaue hym a rewarde,
And saied to hym incontinente:
I praie thee yet remember afterwarde,
That thou hast headed an innocente.

12.

She gaue the Lieutenaunt her booke,
Whiche was couered all with golde,
Praied hym therein to looke,
For his sake that Judas solde.

13.

She toke her kercher faire and swete,
To couer her face withall:
A Psalme of Dauid she did recite,
And on the Lorde she did call.

14.

Although this breakefast be shorte to me,
  Yet in the Lorde I trust:
To suppe in the heauenlie glorie,
  With Abraham that is iuste.

15.

The prease of people was full greate,
  When thei heard her saie so:
But when she did these wordes entreate,
  Awaie then thei did go.

16.

Upon the Blocke she laied her heade,
  Her death mekely to take:
In manus tuas, then she saied,
  And this her ende she did make.

¶ Finis.

¶ Imprinted at London,
for Jhon Wight.

[Copied from the broadside in the library at Longleat.
HENRY BRADSDAW.]

[*From Mr. Collier's print, Stat. Reg.* i. 72.]

Lady Jane's Lament.

"Now must I lose my head:
  a guiltles death I die.
Ay, why sholde my deare bloud be shed?
  Nowe tell me, England, why?

What have I donne amis?
full suerly nothing, I:
My lyfe by malice wronged is;
and I therefore shall dye.

I never sought a crowne;
with onely bookes content;
I askt noe glorie nor renowne
but such as they had lent.

I strove to put awaye
suche troubles from my brest:
My husbandes father did gainsay
what I still held for best.

I kept my constant fayth,
and vainely Fecknam strove;
For popery I hate as death,
and Christ my savior love.

Then pittie me, all you
that see my haples fate:
Remember that I dye as true
as I have livde in state.

I sawe my Dudley fall
beneath the headsmans blow,
And now am brought before you all
to suffre, as you know.

I never did man wrong,
and least of all, the queene;
But you will finde, ere it be longe,
what ever she doth meane.

Lewd popery will againe
be stablisht in the land;
And martyrs bloud the scaffold staine,
or brent with fiery brand.

Take warning then by mee
of what will soone insue:
I dye for fayth and puritie,
and bid you all adue." 40

["Of course such a production could not have been published, until Elizabeth and protestantism were completely established."]

A WARNING TO QUEEN MARY, Oct. 10, 1553.

This Ballad having caught my eye yesterday (4 April, 1872) in the Museum, I add it as a pendant to the Lament of Lady Jane Grey, for whom Bloody Mary was such a bad substitute. Lady Jane's ten day's partial rule being over, Mary was considered to have come to the throne on the day of her half-brother's death, July 6, 1553. She soon showed her Papistical tendencies, as Hume says. The old Romanist bishops Gardiner, Bonner, Tonstal, &c., were restored to their sees; on Aug. 12 Gardiner was made Lord Chancellor; on Aug. 18, when Edward VI.'s funeral was solemnized at Westminster, Mary had a solemn service performed in her own chapel, with all the ceremonies of the Church of Rome (*Hume, v.* 167); then she silenced Protestant preachers, by an order that none should preach without her special license, which favourers of Romanism alone could get; Coverdale, Ridley, Hooper, Latimer were thrown into prison; 'zealous bishops and priests were encouraged in their forwardness to revive the Mass, though contrary to the laws' then in force; Cranmer was cast into prison for his protest against the Mass; on Oct. 5 a new parliament was summoned, and in opening it, the Court showed a very signal contempt of the laws, by celebrating, before the two houses, a Mass of the Holy Ghost, in the Latin tongue, attended with all the ancient rites and ceremonies, though abolished by Act of Parliament.' (*Hume.*) A bad beginning of a bad course. On Oct. 10 a Protestant well-wisher to Mary wrote her this Ballad, warning her against 'that myserable maskyng masse (l. 73). and false idolatry.'

[Harl. MS. 424, leaf 58.]

(1553 the 10 of Octobar, Anno *Regni Reginæ Mariæ* [?] quenne).

O louesomme Rosse most Redelente,
of Vadynge flowres most ffresch,
in yngland plesant ys the sent,
ffor now art thow pereles. 4

This Rose w*hich* beyreth such a smell [1]
dothe Repressent owr quene;
o lystyn, that I maye yow tell
her Coullers ffreshe and grene. 8

---

[1] Every ll has a stroke across it as if for *e*.

The loue of god w*hich* in her hart
shall bewtyfie here grace,
the ffeare of god in thother parte
shall stablyshe her in place.

Thus love and feare her collers are,
wherby ys she be-knowne,
she maye co*m*pare both ny & farre,
vnable to be ou*er*-throwne.

The loue of god, yt wyll her cause—
vnfayned yf yt be—
to have Resspect vnto his laues,
and hate Idollatrye.

yf that she haue the feare of god,
and be ther-to Ryght bent,
she wyll do accordyng to his worde,
and not her owne in-tente.

O noble quen*n*e, take hede, take hede!
beware yowr owne intent!
loucke or ye lepe; then shall ye spede,
for haste makethe many shent.

Reme*m*ber saule / that noble kyng,
what shame did hym befalle,
because vnto the lord*es* byddyng
he wolde do nothyng [1] at all.

The lorde co*m*mandeth ye shall loue hym,
and other godd*es* defye:
A-las! tack hede! doo not begyne
to place Idolatrye.

what greatter dyssobedience [*leaf* 58, *back*.]
agaynst god may be wrought
then this, to move mens co*n*ssience
to worshipe thyng*es* of nought?

what gretter folly can yow invente
Then such men to obeye?
or can ye sarue yowr owne intente
to for-see yowr owne decaye?

And where as ye yo*w*r Realme shold
mayntayne in A nvnyte,
yow Rent the peoples hart*es* in too
throwe false Idollatry.

ys this the waye to get yow ffame?
ys this to gett yow loue?
ys this to purch[e]sse yow a name,
to ffyghte wyth god aboue

[1] Naught' is written over this.

Is this yowr care, to sett uppe masse,
yowr subjectes soullys to destroye?
ys this yowr stodye to [brynge to] pase,
godes peple to A-noye?

Is this Teranye to sarve yowr wyll,
good men in boundes to keppe,
and to exalt suche as dayly be,
and for your grace vnmette.

well yet take hede of hady-wyste,
let goddes worde barre the bell,
yf yow wyll Rayne, larne to be wysse,
as davythe dothe you tell.

what great presumpsion doth apere,
Thus in a weeke or twayne
to worke mere shame then in vij yere
can be Redressyd A-gayne.

All is donne with-out a lawe,
for wyll it workethe in place,
and thus all men maye see & knowe
the wyckednes of yowr case.

That myserable maskyng masse,
which all good men doth hatte,
Is now by yow brought in agayn,
the Rotte of all debate.

powre mynisters þat loveth godes worde, [*leaf* 59.]
they felt this bytter Roode,
who are Robed from hous & goodes,
as thought there were no god.

And yet yow wolde seme mersyfull[1]
in the mydes of yowr terrany,
and hollie where, as yow mayntayne,
most vylle Idollatrye.

ffor feare þat yow shold heyre the troth
Trew prechers maye not speke,
but on false profettes ye take Ruthe,
and kyndlye them Intrete.

hym haue ye made lorde chanscelor
who dyd yowr blode stayne,
That he maye sucke the Ryghtuus blods,
as he was wont, agayne.

---

[1] On her accession, Mary granted a general pardon, and remitted a subsidy voted to Edw. VI. by the last Parliament. (*Hume.*)

Thosse whom owr lat kyng most dyd loue,
you doo them most dysdayne;
those thinges doth manyfestly apere,
yowr coullers to be but vayne.

godes worde ye can not a-byde,
but as yowr proffettes yow telle
in those yow maye be well comparyd
to wycked Iessabell,

who had fowr hundred prophettes falce
and fyfty in a Rowe,
thorwe whose ffalse prechyng
pore Ely was chassyd to & fro.

godes profettes ye do Euell intreate
wyche ys a heuy casse,
this [1] dyd the Iues put cryste to deathe,
and lett go barrabas.

hathe god this [1] hye exalted yow,
and sett yow in a Trowne,
that yow should pryssoun & deface
his floucke that makethe mone?

The lorde who dooth his floucke defende [*lf.* 59, *back.*]
as the Appyll of an Eye,
of these wyll quycly make a nende,
and banyshe cruelty.

Therefore my concell ys yow take,
and thyncke ther-of no skorne,
ye shall fynde yt the best concell
ye had synce yow ware borne.

put awaye blynde Affecyon;
let godes worde be vmpeyre
to trye owt trwe Relygyon
ffrom this yll ffaveryd gere.

ffinys I am without [a] name,
and the faverour of crystes gospell;
I shall desyre yow not to blame,
although the truthe I do tell.

[1] This = thus.

AN EPITAPH ON GRAY[1]

(With a Denunciation of Popery).

[Sloane MS. 1206, leaf 40.]

(1)

Loo, here Lyes gray vnder the grounde,
  Amonge the gredy wormes
that in his Lyffe-tyme nevar ffounde
  bwtt stryfe and stordy stormes.

(2)

And namely[2] through a wecked wyfe,
  as to the worlde aperes;
she was the shortynge of his Lyfe
  by many dayes and yeres.

(3)

he myght have Leved Longe, god watt,
  his yeres were very yonge;
of wecked wyfes this is the lott,
  to kell[3] with spyttfull tonges,

(4)

Hose memory shall stell Remene
  In wryttinge stell with me,
that men maye know ho she hathe slayne
  And saye this same is she.

(5)

Yet now at the Last hathe gotten Rest
  Amonge the ffathers olde,
with clottes of yerthe apon his brest,
  nott ffelynge hott nor colde,

(6)

Nor fferynge ones the porgynge plase
  Devysed by the pope,
Bwtt in the marsy & the grase
  of chryst that is my hoppe.

---

[1] Most probably him of p. 414, 424, as this poem follows his *New Year's Gift* in the MS. It is possible that the "Epitaph" is Gray's own work.

[2] specially. [3] evry ll has a line through it, as if for *e*.

(7)

As ffor the pardons and his mass
Wyche wher his cheffe chase,
Lett chryston men nott on them pass,
thé be butt the popes draff

(8)

The holly oyle, hose[1] consettes, [*leaf* 40 *back*.]
his mede shall be butt smale:
beleve nott his sacrementes,
nor his sacrymentaule.

(9)

As ffor the Rest of popesnes—
to longe now to Ressytt—
Lett chryston men with qwytnes
this[2] pass them over qwytt,

(10)

And trwst,—in that yow shall ffynd good,
yf sole[3] helthe ye well wen,—
yeven[4] chrystes merettes, & his blud
that was shed ower solles to kepe ffrom sen.

(11)

ffor that is that *that* allwayes moste,
yf we well chryst attene,
pwtt all yower conffydence & trwst
All thenges elles ar bwtt vene.

(12)

This is the ende of grat & smaule,
to torne as I am now:
ffrom yerthe we cam, to yerthe we shall,
no man knothe whan nor howe.

(13)

Yett was I once as now ar ye,
yeven losty ffrom my berthe;
shyche as I ame, syche shall ye be;
all ye shall torne to yerthe.

(14)

Therffore leve hee acordingely, [*leaf* 41.]
As holly wrytt dothe tell,
And then shall god aswredly
kepe yow ffrom dethe & hell.

---

[1] whoso. [2] thus. [3] soul. [4] see 'yeven' in the *New Year's Gift*.

(15)

To leve as on sholde allway dye,
Yt wer a blesed trade;
to change ower dethe ffor Lyfe so hey;
no batter change is mayd.

(16)

ffor All the worldly thenges ar vene,
in them ther is no trwst;
ye se all stattes awhyle Remenethe,
and then thé torne to dwst.

(17)

Yf Lwst & Lykynge myght be bowght
ffor syllu*er* or ffor golde,
still to Indever[1] yt wolde be sowght:
what kyng*es* wolde then be olde?

(18)

Bwtt all shall pass & ffoulou[2] me,—
this is most s*er*tin trwthe,—
bothe hyghe & Lowe, & Ieche degre,
the age and Ieke the youthe.

(19)

Yf yow be ffound mett or vn-mett
Agynst the dredffull ower,
As ye be ffound, so shall the swettar
be s*er*ved w*ith* the sower.

(20)

All this is sayd to mend ow*er* harthis,
that shall [it] her or sey,
And then Acordinge to yow*er* part*is*
to ffoulow dethe w*ith* me.

ffines.

[1] ? MS. (?) Indever = endure. [2] ? MS. ffoulon, follow: see l. 80.

Wynkyn de Worde's Treatyse of this Galaunt.

[? 1520 A.D.]

INTRODUCTION.

Mr. E. W. Ashbee has, by the present of one of his admirable *Occasional Facsimile Reprints*,[1] brought to my notice this very interesting denunciation of the Gallant of the first half of Henry VIII's reign; and I insert it here because, while it matches so well our first ballad *Now-a-Dayes* in some of its general complaints, it also introduces the special grievance of the Frenchified dandies, whose successors have so often—and so often with good reason—raised the bile of the 'sad' (or steady) sober-minded Briton. One can fancy the disgust of the quiet serious Englishman of early Tudor times at such insolences to his divinity-hedged King as the chronicler Hall relates below.

The poem opens with a lament over the passing of England's prosperity and felicity; Pride, Fraud, and Deceit, abound; 'our sadness is chaunged for the newe guyse[2] (l. 19), 'a newe fangle guyse' (l. 39); we have copied the pride and uncleanness of that France which we used to despise (l. 43–4), Lechery has become mistress (l. 47); and our English gentleness we have changed for French gallantry (l. 48). The name 'Galaunt' figureth the Seven Deadly Sins (l. 59); and in seven stanzas full of alliteration (st. 10–16) these sins of the Gallant are denounced. Then comes the Gallants' dress;[3] their warrocked hoode (l. 115),

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[1] XIV. "A Treatyse of this Galaunt with the maryage of the Bosse of Byllyngsgate." From the very rare Original printed by Wynkyn de Worde. 4*s*. London 1871. At least two separate editions of the 'Galaunt' alone, on one quarto sheet, A i-iv., had preceded the third, which was accompanied by the 'Maryage of the Bosse.'

[2] See p. 91 above; also p. cxxii of *Captain Cox*.

[3] See p. 317, l. 12 and note, above.

parrocked pouche (l. 116), womanlike dress (l. 124), many points (l. 134), daggers (l. 136), 'large taters downe to the ars behynde' (l. 137), purfled garments (l. 141), 'small gyrdynge in the waste' (l. 143), 'rolled hodes[1] stuffed with flockes' (l. 183), doublettes open at the brestes, stuffed with pectoll of theyr loues smockes' (l. 184–5), slasht gowns and coats (l. 186), tippets writhen like a chain (l. 191) in which they go haltered like a horse in a stable; and lastly, all these new bulwarks that they wear at their knees (l. 197).

In the course of these stanzas, women are scolded for cuckolding their husbands (l. 96), dressing like men (l. 124), for giving themselves to wantonness (l. 148), and trying to entice men[2] (l. 155–6); and they are called 'our shameles women with theyr hyghe crestes' (l. 164). Prelates, lords, and merchants, are also rebuked (l. 166); and the many barefooted people (l. 120) and hungry (l. 129), are lamented. Lastly, the clergy are entreated to pray for the nation (l. 208–224).

At what time the name 'gallant' in its bad sense came into England from France, I am unable to say[3]; but Hall seems to use it in his Chronicle for the young French blood, fine in clothes and loose in morals, whose gay look and easy manners led away the 'sad' Englishmen of Henry VIII's time. Under 1518, Hall writes:—

"And so the French king sent into England the lorde Boneuet (hygh Admyral of Fraunce), & the bishop of Parys, as chiefe Ambassadors, accom-

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[1] The 3rd edition (C.) reads 'heddes,' the first two (A., B.) 'hodes.'

[2] "Nowe herken what I haue found you, cautellous women. They that the pappes be sene all naked, their heyre combed and trussed in dyuers places merveylously, be vnreasonable fooles, for they dresse theim like voluptuous harlottes, that make their heyre to appere at theyr browes, yalowe as fine golde, made in lytel tresses for to drawe yonge folke to thyr loue. Some, for to haue their goodes, presenteth to theim their beddes for to take their carnall desires; and after that they haue taken all their disportes, they pill them as an onion. The other, for to haue their plesures mondayne, cheseth theim that she loueth best, and maketh sygnyfyaunce to theim, sayeng that she is anamoured on theim. Thou art a verye idyot so to abandone thy self vnto the vyle synne of lecherye. . . ."—*Skelton's Boke of Three Fooles*, Works, ed. Dyce i. 204.

[3] On "Galawte, *Lessivus*," in the Promptorium (ab. 1440 A.D.), Mr. Way says "This word occurs in the Harl. MS. (221) alone, and possibly the correct reading may be GALAWNTE. 'Gallaunt, a man fresshe in appareyle:' Palsgrave (1530 A.D.) Ang. Sax. *gal* libidinosus. For *lessivus* should probably be read *lascivus*, *i.e.* '*petulans*, *luxurians*, *vel superbe se agens*, ioly or wanton:' Ortus." Richardson's first quotation is from Lord Berners's *Froissart* (? 1520 A.D.), in the good sense: "Thus these four rode night and day, like yong lusty galantes." *Cronycle*, vol. ii. c. 105. Gawin Douglas renders Virgil's *juvenes* by *galandis*,—possibly, says Jamieson, the Scotch *callan* or *callant*. 'Gállant, *nitidus*, *superbus*, Levins, 1570, col. 25, l. 36, ed. Wheatley, E. E. Text. Soc.

panyed with many noble men, & *young freshe galantes of the courte of Fraunce*,[1] to the numbre of .lxxx. & more; & with them came a great numbre of rascal & pedlers, & Iuellers, and brought ouer hattes and *cappes*, and diuerse merchaundise vncustomed, all vnder the coloure of the trussery of the Ambassadours.—*Hall's Chronicle*, p. 593, ed. 1809.

Again, under 1519 A.D. Hall speakes of the manners of the English apers of French vices and ways, of their insolent familiarity with their king, their nickname of "the Kynges minions,' and how they were expelled from court:—

"Duryng this tyme remained in the Frenche courte Nicholas Carew, Fraunces Brian, and diuerse other of the young gentlemen of England, and they, with the Frenche kyng, roade daily disguysed through Paris, throwyng Egges, stones, and other foolishe trifles at the people, whiche light demeanoure of a kyng was muche discommended and gested at. And when these young gentlemen came again into England, they were all Frenche, in eatyng, drynkyng and apparell, yea, and in Frenche vices and bragges, so that all the estates of Englande were by them laughed at: the ladies and gentlewomen wer dispraised, so that nothing by them was praised, but if it were after the Frenche turne, whiche after turned them to displeasure as you shall here. . . . p. 597.

"In whiche moneth the kynges counsaill secretly communed together of the kynges gentlenes & liberalitee to all persones: by the whiche they perceiued that certain young men in his priuie chamber, not regardyng his estate nor degree, were so familier and homely with hym, and plaied suche light touches with hym, that they forgat themselfes: Whiche thynges, although the kyng of his gentle nature suffred, and not rebuked nor reproued it, yet the kynges counsail thought it not mete to be suffred for the kynges honor, & therfore thei al together came to the king, beseching him al these enormities and lightnes to redresse. To whom the kyng answered, that he had chosen them of his counsaill, both for the maintenaunce of his honor, & for the defence of all thyng that might blemishe the same: wherfore if they sawe any about hym misuse theimselfes, he committed it to their reformacion. Then the kynges counsaill caused the lorde chamberlein to cal before them Carew (and another who yet liueth, and therfore shall not at this tyme be named) with diuerse other also of the priuy chamber, whiche had been in the Frenche courte, and banished them the court for diuerse consideracions, laiyng nothing particulerly to their charges. And they that had offices wer commaunded to go to their offices: which discharge out of the courte greued sore the hartes of these young menne whiche were called 'the kynges minions.' Then was there foure sad and auncient knightes, put into the kynges priuie chamber, whose names wer sir Richard Wingfeld, sir Richard Iernyngham, sir Richard Weston and sir William Kyngston: and diuerse officers wer changed in all places.

"Then sir Ihon Pechy was made deputie of Calis, and sir Richarde Wingfeld therof discharged, & Nicholas Carew made capitain of Ricebanke and commaunded to go thether, whiche was sore to hym displeasant. These young minions which was thus seuered from the kyng, had been in Fraunce, and so highly praised the Frenche kyng and his court, that in a maner they thought litle of the kyng and his court, in comparison of the other, they wer so high in loue with the Frenche courte, wherefore their fall was litle moned emong wise men." p. 598, ed. 1809.

The 'lothsome vnclennes' (l. 44) or lechery of the French was a complaint of the English against them from at least 1303 A.D.

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[1] The Frenche kyng on his partie marched towards the encountre with all the ruffelers and *gallantes* of the Frenche courte.—*Hall*, p. 609.

as we have seen by the proverb on p. 89 above, quoted by Robert of Brunne; and French novelists, as well as the actresses and chignons that accompanied the French armies in the late war, have caused the complaint to continue to this day. But that there was, and is, plenty of the vice home-grown, is not to be doubted.

The light and easy manners of the French are called 'gladnes' in l. 46, and are thought by our writer a bad exchange for the welthe, or well-being, of the people that, as Froissart says, 'took their pleasure sadly, after the manner of their nation.' In the deadly sins laid to the charge of the Gallants in stanzas 10–16, are included lying, strutting, chattering, gluttony, avarice, arrogance, lewdness, lechery, sloth, hatred, waste, adultery, negligence, trickery, tavern-haunting, drunkenness; for all which there'll be no remedy till the Gallants are tosst into hell. In l. 93 is the first allusion to any particulars of their dress, their 'wanton werynge of clothes to-torne'; and this is repeated in l. 186, 'Theyr gownes and theyr cotes / shredde all in lystes.' These slasht garments were, as we all know from the pictures of Holbein &c, a characteristic of the dress both of men and women in Henry VIII's reign. At the 'disguysyng' that the King prepared for the four French hostages at Greenwich on March 7, 1519:—

"There was a goodly commedy of Plautus plaied; and that done, there entred into the chamber eight ladies in blacke veluet bordred about with gold, with hoopes from the wast douneward, and sleues ruffed and plited at the elbowe, and plain in the middes, *full of cuttes*, plucked out, *at euery cutte*, with fine Camericke, and tired like to the Egipcians very richely. And when these ladies had passed aboute the place, in came eight noble personages, in long gounes of taffeta set with flowers of gold bullion, and vnder that apparell cotes of blacke veluet embroudered with golde-*all to-cut*, and plucked out with cuftes of white sarcenet, and euery man had buskins of blacke veluet full of agglettes of gold."—*Hall's Chronicle*, p. 597, ed. 1809.

"The next bits of dress of the 'ruskyn galaunt,' denounced, are his 'warrocked hoode' and his parrocked pouche' (l. 115–116). The 'parrocked' (empaled, bound round) pouch or purse hung like a bag from the girdle, as the dagger did. The 'warrocked' hood must have been so called from its being 'tied-in behind;' '*warrick* to twitch a cord by crossing it with another (Northumberland); *warroken* to girt.' Halliwell's Glossary. Line 122, 'So many styroppes / and so fewe good chyuallers,' repeats the complaint of line 234 of *Now-a-Dayes*, p. 99, and of Lord Surrey, p. 91, above. As to line 124, 'Men arrayed as women / and woman as man,' Fairholt says (p. 182 *Costumes in England*,) that in Henry VII.'s time, "the general complaint was, that a feminine taste reigned among the lords of the creation; and certainly, when we find them putting on 'stomachers' and 'petticottes,' we may indeed begin to doubt the sex of the wearers. The 'stomachers' were coverings for the breast, of cloth, velvet, or silk, over which the doublet was laced. The 'petticottes,' according to the genuine

signification of the word, were short or little coats, distinguished as such from the longer outward garments." The complaint may also refer to the men's wearing open doublets (or long waistcoats) showing their shirts (see l. 183–4), with ruffles, and puft and slasht sleeves, something like women's.[1] The daggers of l. 136 had been noticed by Skelton, as Fairholt says,

> Boasters and braggers,
> With new-fashioned *daggers*.

The 'poyntes' of l. 134 were, says Fairholt (*Costume in England*), 'ties, decorated at the ends with pointed aiglets, used to profusion, instead of buttons, for securing the different parts of the dress in the 16th and 17th centuries.' The 'taters downe to the ars behinde' refer either to the ends of the tippet or pendent, or of the slasht jerkin or cloak, I suppose. The 'small shankes' of l. 138, I take to refer to the gallant's own spindle shanks, which lookt smaller than other men's in consequence of the contrast of his tight stockings with his new fashion of puft breeches, "all these newe bulwarkes / they were at theyr knees," of l. 197, 'tall stockings, short blistered breeches' as Shakspere makes Sir Thomas Lovell call them in *Henry VIII* (Fairholt, p. 190). By the word 'furred' following the 'purfled garmentes' of l. 141, Fairholt's meaning of 'edged, bordered' for 'purfled' is borne out, as it is also by King Ryence's desire to purfle[2] his cloak with the beards of King Arthur and his knights; otherwise we get rather the meaning 'brocaded' from Cotgrave's "*Pourfiler d'or*. To purfle, tinsell, or ouercast with gold thread &c. *Pourfileure* . . Purfling; a purfling lace or worke; baudkin-worke; tinselling." Whether the 'small gyrdynge in the waste' of l. 143, refers to the girdles like that which the Earl of Surrey wore, or means that the gallants' very broad jerkins or cloaks had no girding, but needed it, I cannot say. Possibly this, like the allusions to men dressing like women, may refer to an early example of the ordinary dress of a gentleman (Laurence Colston who died 1550) 'with the long gown, ungirdled at the waist, and its hanging sleeves, entirely concealing the underdress,' (*Fairholt* 197.)

Of 'the rolled hodes / stuffed with flockes,' l. 183, I can find no trace. The third edition of the 'Galaunt' reads 'heddes' for 'hoodes,' and I thought at first that it alluded to the plentiful locks of the earlier reign noticed in Medwall's *Nature* (see l. 38-45

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[1] The large wide sleeves, also now worn, were attached to the shoulders of the vest *of both sexes*, and were separate and distinct articles of apparel, being sometimes of another colour.—*Fairholt*, p. 190.

[2] "A blac lamb furre without *purfile* of sable." Lydgate's Minor Poems, p. 57, cited by Halliwell.

of the extract at the end of this poem, p. 455), and in Skelton's *Magnyfycence*, Works, i. 253, and Dyce's note ii. 248[1], where the dandified *Courtly Abusyon* says :—

My heyre busseth
So plesauntly,
My robe russleth
So ruttyngly . . . .
Properly drest
All poynte deuyse,
My persone prest
Beyonde all syse
Of the newe gyse
To russhe it oute
In euery route :
Beyond measure
My sleue is wyde,
Al of pleasure,
My hose strayte tyde,
My buskyn wyde,
Ryche to beholde,
Gletterynge in golde . . . .
This new fonne iet
From out of Fraunce
Fyrst I did set ;
Made purueaunce
And suche ordenaunce,
That all men it founde
Through-out Englonde.

The long hair of Henry VII's time was worn at the beginning of Henry VIII's reign, and till after 1521, when Francis I adopted the Swiss and Italian fashion of short hair, because his own had been burnt by a firebrand during one of the foolish larks that he and his court indulged in—besieging the Count de St. Pol's house with snowballs[2] (*Fairholt*, p. 192). 'The newe broched doublettes / open at the brestes, Stuffed with pectoll[3] of their loues smockes' may be seen in Holbein's portrait of the Earl of Surrey, at Hampton Court, described by Fairholt : 'The Earl . . wears a short doublet, open in front, displaying his shirt, which is white, ornamented with black embroidery, as also are the ruffles.' The first and second editions of the 'Galaunt' are no doubt right in reading 'capes' in l. 187, which must allude to the priests' dress ; and the present volume has shown that some priests, at least, in Henry VIII's reign might fairly be complained of. But if the third edition meant 'caps' by its 'cappes' l. 187 —see p. 88 above—Fairholt says, that the Earl of Surrey wears the small flat cap which eventually displaced the broad hat and its enormous circle of feathers, worn at the early part of the reign. The liripipes[4] or 'typpettes wrythen like to a chayne,' in which the gallants went haltered, as horse in the stable' (l. 191–2), were

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[1] So Barclay, alluding to the "newe fassions and disguised garmentes" of the time ;

> "To Ship, galants, come nere, I say agayne,
> With your set *bushes* curling as Men of Inde."
>
> *The Ship of Fooles*, fol. 8, ed. 1570.

[2] Compare Henry VIII and his 7 companions besieging eight ladies in the Castle at Wolsey's supper on Shrovetuesday in 1521–2 : "and the ladies defended the castle with Rose water and Comfittes, and the lordes threwe in Dates and Orenges, and other fruites made for pleasure."—*Hall*, p. 631.

[3] *Pectoral :* m. A breastplate ; petrell ; stomacher, or stomack-cloth.—Cotgrave.

[4] These were parts of an academical dress. See *Epist. Obscur. Virorum*.

the long pendents from the hood, of which examples may be seen in Fairholt's *Costume*, on p. 185, 491–2, 93, 108, 161, 185,—somehing like girls' 'clouds' of our day.

For the 'many barefote people' of l. 120, the death,[1] and the dearness[2] of all things of l. 125, I need only refer to the quotations on pages 3–22, p. 90, above. On the 'Prelatis neglig*e*nce,[3] lordis rauayn, and marchaun*t*is deceytes' of l. 166, the Introduction to *Now-a-Dayes* has perhaps said enough. If the 'We haue exyled our welthe' in l. 20 includes money as well as well-being, the complaint must have seemed justifiable to any one who compared Henry VIII's wanton squandering of his father's treasures with the careful keeping of money that went on through that father's reign. After reading page after page of Hall's record of Henry VIII's absurd extravagances and wastefulness, one does not wonder that the old Chronicler wrote thus of Henry VII:—

"Surely, this good & modest prince did not deuoure & co*n*sume *th*e substau*n*ce & ryches of his realme, for he by his high pollecy, meruelously enriched his realme & him selfe, & yet left his subiectes in high wealth and prosperitie. The profe wherof is manifestly apparau*n*t by *th*e great abou*n*daunce of golde & siluer, yerely brought into this realme, both in plate, money & bullio*n*, by merchau*n*tes passing & repassing out & i*n*to this realme with merchau*n*dise. To whom he him selfe of his awne goodnes le*n*t money largely without any gayne or proffite, to thente*n*t that merchau*n*dise, beyng of all craftes the chefe arte, & to all men bothe most profitable & necessary, might be the more ple*n*tifuller vsed, hau(n)ted & employed in his realmes & dominio*n*s. And so this kyng lyuyng all his tyme in the fauour of fortune, in high honour, ryches & glory, & for his noble actes & prudent pollecies, worthy to be registred in the booke of fame, gaue vp his ghost at *th*e last, which vndoubtedly is assended into the celestiall mancion, where he hath the sure fruicion of the Godhead, & the ioy that is prepared for such as shall sit on the right hande of our sauyour, euer worlde without ende." p. 505, ed. 1809.

The British Museum, besides having a copy of the 3rd edition of the 'Galaunt' with the 'Maryage,' has also a copy of one of the separate editions of the 'Treatyse of a galaunt;' and this is probably later than the edition of which Joseph Haslewood printed the two outside leaves in the fifth volume of the *Censura Literaria* edited by Sir Samuel Egerton Brydges, p. 37.

"This fragment of a poem, printed in black letter, was found pasted within the fly leaf, on the oak board binding of an imperfect volume of Pynson's Statutes, and purchased from the Nash-Court collection. . . J. H(aslewood.)" The outside leaves of

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[1] An *r* may be left out: but see the 'Greate Deth' of *Now a Dayes*, p. 98, l. 201. Under A.D. 1521 we find:" This yere was a great pestilence and death in London and other places of the realme. *Hall*, p. 628.

[2] A.D. 1521–2. This yere also, was not without Pestilence nor Derthe of Corne, for Whete was sold this yere in the citee of Londo*n*, for xx. s. a quarter, and in other places for .xxvi. s. viii. d. *Hall*, p. 632.

[3] See above, p. 362, the Commons' Complaint against the Spiritualty in 1529, *Hall* p. 765, in the Notes below.

the first Museum, or really second edition, contain the same number of lines as the Nash-Court fragments, and though Haslewood has inset the lines that ryme together, put *u* for *v*, and modern stops, the readings of his text are occasionally better than those of the first Museum one, so that the fragment is no doubt one of an earlier edition.

Mr. W. C. Hazlitt reprinted the *Treatise of a Galaunt* and the 'Maryage of the Bosse' in his *Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of England*, iii. 149-164, from the original of the edition reprinted below, which is the third of the 'Galaunt.'

I.

[1]yght as small flodes / encrease to waters fell
So *that* narowe furrous / maye not susteyne.
Ryght so pryde vnclosed may not counsell
this new wretchednes *that*[2] causeth vs
*com*playne
How wo hath wrapped vs in a cruell chayne
Our pryde sheweth it well bothe ferre and
nere
Englonde may wayle / that euer it came here

II.

¶ The synne that now regneth / to beholde is ruthe.
Of fraude and dysceyte / grete abhomynacyon
But nede constrayneth vs / now to saye the truthe
Of pryde and dysceyte / this newe dyssymulacyon
That blyndeth and consumeth / our Englysshe nacyon.
Lucyfers progeny amonge vs doth[3] appere
Englande may wayle / that euer it came here

III.

¶ Ryght late stode our lande in suche prosperyte
Of chyualry / manhode / and ryche marchaundyse
Thrughe all crysten royalmes / sprange our felycyte.
Of grete welthe and prowesse / in sondry wyse
Our sadnes is chaunged the / for newe guyse
We haue exyled our welthe / I note where
Englande may wayle / that euer it came here.

[1] This is the R. of the 2nd edition known, called B in the notes.
[2] B. omits 'that.' [3] dooth, A. B.

IV.

¶ Pryde hath founde waye[1] to exclude man fro blys
In dysfygurynge nature / by this newe araye
Bothe men and women / can saye what it is
For bothe nede and pouerte / goth nowe ryght[2] gaye
But alas our sorowe / encreaseth euery daye
And yf ye lyue longe ye shall bothe se and here
That Englande shall wayle / that euer it came here.

V.

¶ For pryde hathe our plente / tourned to euyll fare [A.ii.]
And fedeth vs as beestes / that draweth in the ploughe
Many a worthy man / bryngeth he to sorowe and care
Where fortune somtyme / fresshely on hym loughe
Examyne the[3] lyuynge that this worlde vseth ynoughe.
How nede with synne / groweth euery where
Englande may wayle that euer it came here

VI.

¶ For many a vengeaunce as scrypture maketh mencyon
Hath fallen to kyngdomes in sondry wyse
And fynally put the people in dystruccyon
For theyr obstynacy / a[nd][4] newe fangle guyse
Alas englande that somtyme was so wyse.
Other nacyons refuse / hast bought so dere
That thou mayst[5] wayle / that euer it came here.

VII.

¶ Sometyme we had Fraunce / in grete derysyon
For theyr hatefull pryde and lothsome vnclennes
Use me not nowe / the same in our regyon
And haue permuted our[6] welthe / for theyr[7] gladnes
Lechery of our people is become a maystres.
Our gentylnes / for galauntyse haue we lefte there.
Englonde may wayle that euer it came here.

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[1] wayne, B. [2] *Orig.* tyght; ryght, A. B. [3] thy C.: the, A. B.
[4] Hazlitt reads 'and;' all the editions have 'a.' [5] may, A. B.
[6] *Orig.* out; our, A. B. [7] B. omits 'theyr.'

VIII.

¶ If ye beholde the galauntes progenye vyperyous
That out of Fraunce be fledde / for theyr intoxycacyon
Hath nowe vengeaunce consumed / that royalme gloryous
For theyr pryde / and synfull abhomynacyon.
That all the worlde / may wayle theyr desolacyon
O Fraunce / why dyde not these galauntes abyde there.[1]
Englande may wayle that euer it came here.

IX.

¶ For in this name Galaunt / ye maye expresse.
Seuen letters for some cause in especyall[2]
That fygureth *the* vii. deedly synnes ⁊ theyr wretchednes
By whome man is made / to the deuyll thrall.
Was not pryde cause of Lucyfers fall
Pryde is in hell / and galauntes nygheth them nere.
Englonde may wayle / that euer it came here

X.

¶ O thou gay galaunt / by thyne vnthryfty name.
With gabbynge ⁊ glosynge / gettest that thou hast
Gyle was thy father / and Jalousye thy dame
In Jettynge[3] / in Janglynge / thy dayes ben past.
For all thy gloryous goynge / age gnaweth fast
Thy glased lyfe and glotony / be glewed so in fere
That Englande may wayle / that euer it came here

XI.

¶ Appetytes of auaryce / be to them so amerous
Abusyon[4] and arrogaunce / ben of one affyntye
Aduenture and angre / ben aye so debatous.
Faynynnge estate / of counterfet auctoryte
Adulacyon of aduenture / mayst thou not auaunt the
As a lyer in goodnes / in thyne araye doest appere
Englande may wayle / that euer it came here

---

[1] why we had these galauntes byden there, A. B.
[2] Here the first leaf of A. ends.
[3] gettynge, B.
[4] Ambysyon, B.

XII.

¶ For all the lande / lechery lepeth [so fast] aboute[1]
That good loue and lawe / ben almoost lorne
Of luste and lykynge / ledest thou suche a route
That slouth and lechery / haue clennes to-torne
Thou labourest to lose / that thy frendes gat toforne
For lewdenes and lechery / ben so ledde in fere.
Englonde may wayle that euer it came here.

XIII.

¶ Abhomynable aceydye / accuseth all our nacyon [A.; ii.]
Our aungelyke abstynence / is nowe refused.
Ferthermore of Antecryste / this newe dyssymulacyon
Alas that suche sorowe / amonge vs is vsed
Our auaryce and hatred / haue vs so accused
That dyuers aduersytees / seweth vs yere be yere.
Englande may wayle that euer it came here.

XIV.

¶ For our wastynge wretchednes / that wades[2] so depe.
In our wanton werynge / of clothes to-torne
To wyldenes & wrathe / the worlde taketh moost kepe.
For in wastynge & vanyte / men reken not what is lorne
For wyfe and for women[3] / for to were[4] the horne.
That vertuous vyrgynyte / is deed and layde on bere
Englande may wayle / that euer it came here

XV.

¶ The noble course of nature / nycete hath deuoured
For nede causeth it[5] to be our desolacyon
So hath these[6] newe fangles / our welth obscured
That neclygence nourysseth necessyte / to our confu-
syon.
This causeth our galauntes / by theyr nacyon
[7]Neuerthryfte and thryueles / noye euer vs so nere
Englande may wayle / that euer it came here.

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[1] For all thy loude lechery / thou lepest so fast aboute, B.
[2] *that* hath waded, B. [3] woman / , B. [4] for ware, B.
[5] nede / nedeth be so it causeth.
[6] these, B.; the, C. [7] tryfles, B.

XVI.

¶ For trygetours ⁊ tryflours / that tauernes haunte
Haue trouth and temperaunce / troden vnder foote
Talewes and talkynge / and drynkynge ataunte.
As tyrauntes and traytours[1] / toyllous in moote
Tyll they be tryed out is there no boote
And trysed to baratrum / tossed in fere.
Englande shall wayle / that euer it came here.

XVII.

¶ O galaunt vpon galaunt / ⁊ o thou galaunt gaye
And thou ruskyn galaunt / that pouerte doth menace
For all thy warrocked hoode / and thy proude araye
And thy parrocked pouche / that thou so fast doest brace,
Thou busyest the / to counterfet Lucyfers trace.
Thynke not to longe / or thou dwell with hym there
For the cursed ensample / that thou shewest here.

XVIII.

¶ So many barefote people / ⁊ so fewe good lyuers
Hath no man sene / syth the worlde began
So many styroppes / and so fewe good chyuallers
And so many braynles / that lytell good can
Men arayed as women / and woman as man
This causeth deth / ⁊[2] that all thynge is so dere
Englande maye wayle / that euer it came here

XIX.

¶ So moche rychesse and[3] araye / and so moche nede
So many bedes borne / and so lytell deuocyon
So moche fastynge for hungre / and so lytell nede
So moche paynted worshyp / and so lytell reason
I trowe no man hath sene / in this regyon[4]
Our synne asketh[5] vengeaunce / I am in grete fere.
In shorte tyme we shall wayle / that euer it came here.

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[1] tractours, B.
[2] B. has 'deth /' but omits '&.'
[3] in (*for* and), B. [4] lytell regyon, B. [5] asked, B.

XX.

¶ Howe many poyntes were they nowe a dayes
And yet a good poynte / amonge them were harde[1] to fynde
Daggers of vengeaunce / redy to make frayes.
With longe taters downe to the ars behynde
Tryppynge with small shankes / as lyght as lefe on lynde.
To make it toughe & fresshe / as it were the newe yere
Englande may wayle that euer it came here.

XXI.

¶ So many purfled garmentes / furred with non sequitur
With so many penyles purses / hath no man sawe.
Small gyrdynge in thewaste / with all theyr other mustur
That we go all backewarde / from hyghe to the[2] lawe
The florysshynge mede of our welth / we haue begon to mawe
But we beseche god / amende vs another yere
Or elles we shall wayle that euer it came here

XXII.

¶ Our women are dyspoyled / & gyue them to wantones
Our men with cloutes / at theyr brest lyke a pye
Our women haue debated / with shamefastnes
And our men with vnclennes / yf[3] I shall not lye
O englande thou mayst wepe with Ieromye
Seynge the people thus ledde by the[4] ere.
Englande maye wayle that euer it came here.

XXIII.

¶ Our women in theyr parte / laboure as they may
In theyr aray with chere and countenaunce
Our men on theyr syde make them[5] fresshe and gay
And laboure to purchace / womens pleasaunce
Thus bytwene bothe groweth moche myschaunce
Eche seketh synne as it[6] dothe appere.
Englande may wayle / that euer it came here.

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[1] B. omits 'harde.' [2] C. omits 'the.' [3] yf, B.; it, C.
[4] there, B. [5] them, B.; thom, C. [6] it, B.; not in C.

XXIV.

¶ Our galauntes lyue / in lustes as beestes.
Maynteynours of quarrelles / and vnthryftynes.
Our shameles women with theyr hyghe crestes
Extorcyon / robbery / and and our vngentylnes.
Prelatis neglig*en*ce lordis rauayn ⁊t marchau*n*tis deceytes
These asketh vengeaunce / this lesson must ye lere
Elles shall ye wayle / that euer it came here.

XXV.

¶ Beholde these dayes / the people of our nacyon.
Are charged with synne / and gouerned by folye.
Nowe[1] nede wyll compell vs / by transmygracyon
With very wo / dryue vs[2] vnto Babylonye.
O englonde / where is nowe thy glorye
That somtyme shone / thrughe the worlde so clere.
Well mayst thou wayle / that euer this sorowe came here.

XXVI.

¶ All people laboure of this newe dysguysynge.
In forgynge theyr fantasyes / to maynteyne pryde.
He is nowe wysest / that can moost of deuysynge
[3]Good makynge of a[4] man is nowe layde on syde
This newe araye is brought vp / in this lande to wyde
And yet for all that it may not last a yere
Englande may wayle that euer it came here

XXVII.

¶ Beholde the rolled hodes[5] / stuffed with flockes.
The newe broched doublettes / open at the brestes
Stuffed with pectoll / of theyr loues smockes.
Theyr gownes and theyr cotes / shredde all in lystes
So many capes[6] as now be / ⁊t so few good preestes
I can not reken halfe the route of theyr marde gere.
Englonde may wayle that euer it came here.

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[1] How, B. [2] vs. B; not in C.
[3] The last leaf of A. (and of B.) begins here. [4] A. & B. omit 'a.'
[5] hodes, A. B.; heddes, C. [6] capes, A. B.; c[illegible]pes, C.

XXVIII.

¶ These galauntes / vse also full abhomynable.[1]
Theyr typpettes be wrythen / lyke[2] to a chayne.
And they go haltered[3] in them / as horse in the stable
It is a peryllous pronostycacyon certayne
For synfull soules / shall be bounde in payne
Hande and fote in perpetuall fyre.
They shall curse the tyme / that euer it came here

XXIX.

¶ All these newe bulwarkes / they were[4] at theyr knees
They laboure sore in theyr wyttes / fantasyes to fynde
No man holdeth hym contente / with his degrees
Pryde goth before / and shame cometh behynde
Alas that Englysshe men / sholde be so blynde
So moche sorowe amonge vs and so lytell fere
We may wayle the tyme that euer it came here

XXX.

¶ Forget not lyghtly / howe many straungers.
Haue entered this kyngdome / and kepte the possessyon.
Fyue tymes / as wryteth old cronyclers[5]
And chaunged our tunges / in sondry dyuysyon.
O clergy / praye for our Englysshe nacyon
That god for his mercy / of this[6] synne make vs clere
Elles we shall[7] wayle / that euer it came here

XXXI.

¶ Effectually pray god / for his reformacyon
Of welth / manhode / and of marchaundyse.
And tresoury of peas / that Cryst in his passyon
Lefte bytwene god and man / whan he sholde dye.
The comynalte in loue / conserue perseuerauntlye
With charyte bothe hyghe and lowe to Ioyne in fere
In voydynge of synne that tourmenteth vs here

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[1] abhomynable, A. B.; abhomynacyon, C. [2] lyke, A. B.; lyfe, C.
[3] haltred, A. B. [4] weare, A.; were B.
[5] cronyclers, A. B.; cronycles, C. [6] his, B. [7] shall we, A. B.

XXXII.

[1]O Englonde / remembre thyne olde sadnes
That thou may resorte / agayne to thy gladnes
Exyle pryde / relyeve to thy goodnes
Synne hath consumed this worldes humanyte 221
Praye God thou maye reioyse thyn olde felycyte
And his blessyd moder / as this londe is her dowere
We haue no cause to wayle that euer it came here 224

¶ Thus endeth this galaunt.

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[1] This stanza is from A., the Nash-Court fragment as printed by Haslewood, less his *v* for *u*, and stops, but substituting bars for central commas. The rymes run wrong: and so B. arranges the stanza thus:—

O Englonde remembre thyn olde sadnes
Exyle pryde relyeue to thy goodness to the
That thou may resorte agayne to thy gladnes
Synne hath consumed this worldes humanyte
Praye god thou may reioyse thyn olde felycyte
And his blessed moder / as this lande is here dowere
We have no cause to wayle that euer it came here

¶ FINIS.

¶ Here endeth this treatyse made of a galaunt. Enprynted at London in the Fletestrete at the sygne of the Sonne by me Wynkyn de Worde.·.

while C. has it thus:—

¶ O englonde / remembre thyne olde sadnes
Praye god thou may reioyce / thyne olde felycyte
Exyle pride and releue to thy goodness
For synne hath consumed / this worldes humanyte
That thou may resor[t]e / agayne to thy gladnes
And his blessyd moder / as this lande is her dowere
For we haue cause to wayle that euer it came here

TWO DANDIES OF HENRY THE SEVENTH'S TIME.

As Fairholt in his *Costume in England*, p. 183 note, instances Medwall's description of a dandy in his '*Interlude of Nature*, written before 1500,' it will interest our members to be able to contrast Medwall's "*rutter* or *galand*" with Wynkyn de Worde's "*galaunt*," and I therefore give here the full description of Medwall's dandy, or rather dandies, for there are 2 of them. Unluckily one of that cursed race of ploughing binders has cut off the top of leaf 10 containing the line about the first dandy's cap, which the after allusion to the 'capper' makes certain was there; but we get the long curly hair, doublet unlaced in front, satin stomacher, short gown with wide sleeves, and dagger of the last-but-one fashion. Then comes the last fashion; a gown whose parts are held together by laces only, so as to show its wide openings through the under garments; a doublet closed in front, and open at the back, and with no sleeves: a white shirt; hose striped with velvet to the knee, and thence down adorned with two or three colours. The second dandy's striped hose or breeches, "the variegated breeches, which now began to form a separate article from the long hose," are shown in the right-hand figure from Harl. 4425 (The Romance of the Rose) on p. 184 of Fairholt's *Costume in England*. The Museum Catalogue dates its copy of Medwall's Interlude (once Garrick's), 1538: and Mr. Hazlitt dates it ab. 1510. As the Museum dates of that period cannot be trusted, I have no doubt that Mr. Hazlitt's date is the nearer to the truth. That the printed *Nature* in the Museum is not the first edition of the Interlude, its many mistakes tend to show. The book must have been written about 1500 A.D., before Wynkyn de Worde's.

[From Hy. Medwall's *Interlude of Nature*, leaf 10.]

Sensuality [says to *Man*] "Ye shall se anon:
a well drawen man ys he / and a well taught,
That wyll not gyue hys hed for nought;
And thereto goodly / as ye shall se in a day,
As well apparelyd / at eche poynt of hys aray."

Pryde cometh. "Who dwelleth here / wyll no man speke?
Is there no fole nor hody-peke?[1]
Now, by the bell, yt were almys to breke
Some of these knaues brows!
A gentylman comys in at the dorys,
That all hys dayes hath worn gylt sperys,
And none of thys knaues nor cutted horys
Byddys him welcom to house!

[1] (?) dodypeke.

Wote ye not how great a lord I am?
Of how noble progeny I cam?
My fader a knyght, my moder callyd madame,
Myne aunceters great estatys?
And now the lyuelod ys to me fall,
By both theyre dethes naturall.
I am spoken of more than they all
Hens to parys gatys.

How say ye, syrs,[1] by myne aray?
Doth yt please you? ye or nay?
In the best wyse, I dare well say
By that ye knowe me a whyle;
And one thyng I put you out of dout,
I haue wherwyth to bere yt out,
As well as any man here about,
Wythin these hundreth myle.

[Beholde the bonet uppon my hed[2]]
a staryng colour of scarlet red,
I promyse you, a fyne threde
and a soft wull;
It cost me a noble at one pyche;
The scald capper sware sythyche
That yt cost hym euen as myche;
But there Pryde had a pull.

I loue yt well to haue syde here,
Halfe a wote[3] byneth myne ere,
For euer more I stande in fere
That myne nek shold take cold;
I knyt yt vp all the nyght,
and the day tyme kemb it down ryght,
And then yt cryspeth, and shyneth as bryght
as any pyrled gold.

My doublet ys onlaced byfore,
A stomacher of saten & no more;
Rayn yt, snow yt, neuer so sore,
Methynketh I am to hote.
Than haue I suche a short gown,
Wyth wyde sleues that hang a down;
They would make some lad in thys town
a doublet and a cote.

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[1] *Orig.* syrst.
[2] A line is cut off at the top of the page, but is supplied here from Dyce's quotation from a better edition than the Museum copy, in his *Skelton's Works*, ii. 248.
[3] foot.

Som men wold thynk *that* this were pryde,
But yt ys not so, ho, ho, abyde!
I haue a dagger by my syde,
  yet therof spak not I;
I bought thys dagger at the marte,
A sharp poynt, and a tarte.
He that had yt in his hart,
  Were as good to dye.

Than haue I a sworde or twayn;
To bere theym my selfe yt were a payne,
They ar so heuy, that I am fayne
  to puruey suche a lad,
Though I say yt, a praty boy;
It ys halfe my lyues ioy,
He maketh me laugh wyth many a toy,
  The vrchyn ys so mad."

At leaf 14 (sign. d. ii.) *Pryde* has to provide Man with new array according to the last fashion. He says to *Worldly Affecion*:—

Syr! our mayster shall haue a gown,
That all the galandys in thys town
  Shall on the fassyon wonder.
It shall not be sowed but wyth a lace,
bytwyxt euery some[1] a space
  Of two handfull a sonder;

Than a doublet of the new make,
Close byfore, and open on the bak,
  No sleue vpon hys arme;
Under that, a shyrt as soft as sylk
and as whyte as any mylk,
  to kepe the carcas warm.

Than shall hys hosen be stryped
Wyth corselettys of fyne veluet slyped
  Down to the hard kne;
And fro the kne downward
Hys hosen shalbe freshely gard
  Wyth colours ii or thre:

And whan he is in such aray,
'There goth a rutter[2]!' men wyll say,
'A rutter huf a galand!' "

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[1] seam.

[2] Thus the durty doctour
The popes own proctour
Wyll bragge and boost
With ale and a toost,
And, like a *rutter*
His latyn will utter.

Doctour Doubble Ale, l. 395, Hazlitt's E. Pop. Poetry, iii. 320.

NOTES.

P. 4. On the raised rents of Henry VIII's time, and the mischiefs arising from them, see Starkey's *England*, p. 98, 175.

P. 4. *Serving-men.*—On their too great number, and the evils of them, see Starkey's *England*, p. 78, 175.

P. 5. *Parks and Enclosures of Commons.*—"Where in times past manie large and wealthie occupiers were dwelling within the compasse of some one parke, and thereby great plentie of corne and cattell seene, and to be had among them, beside a more copious procreation of humane issue, whereby the realme was alwaies better furnished with able men to serue the prince in his affaires, now there is almost nothing kept but a sort of wild and sauage beasts, cherished for pleasure and delight; and yet some owners still desirous to inlarge those grounds, as either for the breed and feeding of cattell, doo not let dailie to take in more, *not sparing the verie commons* whervpon manie townеships now and then doo liue, affirming that wee haue alreadie too great store of people in England; and that youth by marrieng too soone doo nothing profit the countrie, but fill it full of beggars, to the hurt and vtter vndooing (they saie) of the common wealth." (*Harrison*, bk. ii., ch. 19).

Harrison guesses "that the twentieth part of the realme is imploied vpon deere and conies alreadie"; and after noticing Henry VIII's lamentation "that he was constreined to hire forren aid, for want of competent store of souldiors here at home," when in old times there were soldiers in plenty, says "as he found the want, so he saw not the cause of this decaie, which grew (beside this occasion now mentioned) also by laieng house to house, and land to land, whereby manie mens occupiengs were conuerted into one, and the breed of people not a little thereby diminished. The auarice of landlords by increasing of rents and fines also did so wearie the people, that they were readie to rebell with him that would arise, supposing a short end in the warres to be better than a long and miserable life in peace. . . . It is an easie matter to prooue that England was neuer lesse furnished with people than at this present; for if the old records of euerie manour be sought, and search made to find what tenements are fallen, either downe, or into the lords hands, or brought and vnited togither by other men, it will soone appeare that in some one manour seuenteen, eighteene, or twentie houses are shrunke. I know what I saie by mine owne experience, notwithstanding that some one cotage be here and there erected of late, which is to little purpose. Of cities and townes either vtterlie decaied, or more than a quarter or halfe diminished, though some one be little increased here and there; of townes pulled downe for sheepe-walkes, and

no more but the lordships now standing in them, beside those that William Rufus pulled downe in his time, I could saie somewhat: but then I should swarue yet further from my purpose, wherevnto I now returne."—*Harrison's Descr. of England*, Bk. ii. Chap. 19, p. 105, ed. 1586-7.

P. 10-11, Hen. VIII. *Exactions of the Rich. Parsons' Pluralities. The Poor seek Death to end their careful and weary Life.*—"If both the godly and ungodly rich would set these sentences before the eyes of their mind continually, surely it should go much better with the poor people than it doth at this present. For then would not the rich men so greedily gripe to themselves the goods of this world, nor so niggardly keep them after they have gotten them, as they do now. Then would not many gentlemen, as they are called, so grow out of kind from their name by shewing little gentleness to the poor, neither by enhancing their farms, by taking fines, by receiving great incomes, nor yet by putting the poor out of their houses, and suffering the tenements to fall down, as they do now: then would not the rich worldlings join farm to farm, and heave other men out of their livings, as they do now.

☞ Then would not many of our spiritual ministers, like insatiable wolves, get so many ecclesiastical promotions into their hands, as they do now; but, having one living, and that sufficient, be content and remain upon it, teach their flock, lead a good life, and maintain hospitality among their parishioners, that the poor of their parish in time of need may have bread, broth, beef, and beer, as they say

Mal. iii. Note.

'Bring every tithe into my barn,' saith the Lord, 'that there may be meat in my house.' The parsonage or the vicarage is God's house; and tithes are paid unto them, that they should have meat in their houses to nourish and comfort the poor: but while 'all men,' as St. Paul saith, 'seek their own, and not Jesus Christ's,' while all, as the prophet testifieth, 'even from the least to the greatest give their minds to covetousness,' and have no regard to the poor and to their commodity; *the poor live miserably*, the poor mutter in corners, and grudge against the rich, the poor break the bond of peace, the poor run headlong into all kind of mischief, which thing we of late have seen unto our great sorrow, trouble and disquietness: *yea, some of the poor misers, for lack of bodily sustenance, fall to picking, robbing, stealing, and murdering of other;* some *kill, drown, hang themselves, because they do not presently see how they may be able to feed themselves, their careful wives, their lamentable children, and their altogether wretched family;* wishing rather through desperation desperately *to end this their needy, careful, and weary life, than so too much wretchedly for to live.*"—From "The Fortresse of the Faithful" in *Becon's Catechism, &c.*, edited, for the Parker Society, by the Rev. J. Ayre, pp. 590, 591, from the 1564 edition. [The spelling is unluckily modernized throughout.]

Phil. ii.

Jer. vi. viii.

P. 16, 24. *Tyndale on Rent-raising, Enclosures &c.*, A.D. 1528.—

"The Duty of Landlords.

Landlords should raise no rents, nor bring up new customs.—Ant. ed.

"Let Christian landlords be content with their rent and old customs; not raising the rent or fines, and bringing up new customs to oppress their tenants; neither letting two or three tenantries unto one man. Let them not take

in their commons, neither make parks nor pastures of whole parishes: for God gave the earth to man to inhabit; and not unto sheep and wild deer. Be as fathers unto your tenants: yea, be unto them as Christ was unto us, and shew unto them all love and kindness. Whatsoever business is among them, be not partial, favouring one more than another. The complaints, quarrels, and strife that are among them, count diseases of sick people; and, as a merciful physician, heal them with wisdom and good counsel. Be pitiful and tender-hearted unto them, and let not one of thy tenants tear out another's throat; but judge their causes indifferently, and compel them to make their ditches, hedges, gates, and ways. For even for such causes were ye made landlords; and for such causes paid men rent at the beginning. For if such an order were not, one should slay another, and all should go to waste. If thy tenant shall labour and toil all the year, to pay thee thy rent, and when he hath bestowed all his labour, his neighbours' cattle shall devour his fruits; how tedious and bitter should his life be! See therefore that ye do your duties again; and suffer no man to do them wrong, save the king only. If he do wrong, then must they abide God's judgment."—*The Doctrinal Treatises of William Tyndale*, edited for the Parker Society, by the Rev. Henry Walter, pp. 201, 202.[1]

God gave the earth to men. W. T.

Landlords should withstand the wrong of the tenants.—Ant. edit.

P. 23. *Becon* (A.D. 1541) *on the bad Estate of the Poor: on Whoredom, &c.*—"Again, what unmercifulness reigneth among men at this time! How slenderly are the poor members of Christ provided for now-a-days! How do they go about from door to door lamenting and expressing with dolorous and sorrowful words their too much wretched and miserable state; and yet no man pitieth them: what token of love is this either toward God or our neighbour? God saith: 'There shall be no needy and poor man at all among you, that the Lord thy God may bless thee.' How is this commandment observed among us, which, seeing the number of beggars increasing daily more and more, do not only not provide any means to exile and banish this absurdity out of the commonweal, but also suffer them to live comfortless, yea, and many to die for fault of succour? O lamentable case! . . . .

Of unmercifulness towards the poor.

Deut. xv. [4: old translation.

The poor people ought to be better provided for.

"Moreover, what covetousness reigneth among men at this present time! . . . . And yet, for all their great abundance, mercy shew they none to the poor people, but the more they have, the more they covet. For they are proud; they put their hope in in uncertain riches, and not in the living God, which giveth us abundantly all things to enjoy them. They do no good, they be not rich in good works, they do not distribute and give with a good will, they gather not up treasures for themselves, which

Of covetousness.

1 Tim. vi.

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[1] This extract is from the edition of "The Obedience of a Christen man," etc., "Set forth by William Tyndall, 1528, Octob. 2." Ames mentions an edition of the "Obedience" of the date of Dec. 11, 1527; and in his "Practice of Prelates," dated 1530, Tyndale says: "Let them remember, that I well toward three years agone sent forth the True Obedience of a Christian man."—W. M. Wood.

should be a good foundation against the time to come, that they may lay hand on eternal life. Therefore to all such it is not without a cause said: 'Wo be unto you rich men! which have your consolation. Wo be unto you that are full! for ye shall hunger. Wo be to you that laugh now! for ye shall weep and wail.' . . . What love, I pray you, can there be to a man's neighbour, where such covetous effects and insatiable lusts do reign? God turn away this pestilence out of the earth!

Amos. vi.
Luke vi.

Of whoredom and unclean living.

"Furthermore, what detestable, filthy, stinking, and abominable whoredom reigneth in the world now-a-days! yea, and that so freely and without punishment, that it is accounted no sin at all among many, but rather a sport, a good-fellow-like dalliance, a token of love, and a touch of lusty youth! The holy scripture commandeth that fornication, adultery, whoredom, and all uncleanness, should not once be named among us, much less perpetrated and done. Yet to deflower maidens, to corrupt wives, to defile widows, is now judged and taken but for a play and trifling matter! Yea, many are grown into such unshamefacedness, that they use to interlace their talk at the time of their repast with such filthy communication, nothing fearing to declare before other how valiant champions they have shewed themselves in Venus' court. Thus do they rejoice when they have done evil, and make a sport at unfitting things. O detestable abomination! This maketh, as the prophet saith, 'that there are so many adulterers.' This maketh that 'they fall to whoredom, and haunt harlots' houses.' This maketh them, 'like stoned and wild horses, to neigh at their neighbours' wives.' Yea, this maketh chaste matrimony to be despised, and whores to be set more by than honest wives,"—*Becon's Early Works*, edited, for the Parker Society, by the Rev. John Ayre, M.A., pp. 40, 41.[1]

Eph. v.

O abomination!

Prov. ii.

Jer. v. & ix.

Ezek. xxii.

P. 23. This tract, *Certayne Causes*, is the fourth, p. 93–102, in the *Four Supplications* 1529–1553 A.D. edited by Mr. J. M. Cowper and myself for the Extra Series of the Early English Text Society in 1871. The tract is addrest to Edward VI's Council, and cannot therefore be after 1553 A.D., nor can it be earlier than 1560, as that is the earliest year of its printer 'Heugh Syngleton,' according to Herbert.

P. 24. *Becon on true Gentlemen, and the extortionate sham-Gentlemen who pillage the Poor.*—

Of Gentlemen.

"*Christopher.* I have heard it reported, that divers gentlemen have been the occasion of all these tumults and seditions, through the great oppressions and wrongs that they have done to the poor commons, as by making common pastures several to themselves, by inclosing more ground to their own use than heretofore hath been accustomed, and by this means take[ing] away the necessary food from the poor men's cattle, without the which they cannot live; again, by getting so many farms into their hands, and letting out their own lands unto the tenants and farmers for so great price, or else take such large fines and great incomes that they can never live of it. These and such like things have I heard.

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[1] From "The Newes out of heauen," A.D. 1541; the corrected edition of 1560.

"*Philemon* . . . . But some abuse the name of preachers, by teaching papistry, antibaptistry, epicurism, &c., and are no preachers indeed, but rather praters and deceivers of the people; so likewise are there many which are called gentlemen, and are no gentlemen indeed, but pollers and pillers, rakers and catchers, bribers and extortioners, yea, and very caterpillars of the commonweal. For they abuse the name of a gentleman, which is unfeignedly a name of much worship and great honour, and worthy to be had in reverence and high estimatior. Without the true gentleman, the commonweal can no more safely be, than the body without eyes. For as the eyes are the principal comfort of an whole body, so likewise are the true gentlemen of the commonweal.

☞ . . . . For such as are true gentlemen are fathers of the country, maintainers of the poor, defenders of the widows and fatherless, succourers of the needy, comforters of the comfortless, and upholders of the commonweal; in fine, gentlemen both in name and deed.

* * * * *

"*Phil.* . . . Then is there another sort which glory in the title of gentlemen also, and they are such as this common proverb noteth:

As riseth my good,
So riseth my blood.

They think all nobility to consist in the abundance of worldly goods, in wearing of golden chains and costly apparel, in having fair houses and pleasant gardens. And to set forth this their gentlemanry, they poll, they pill, they wake, they rake, they sweat, they fret, they gripe, they nip, they face, they brase, they semble, they dissemble; yea, they move every stone, as they say, to maintain and set forth their unnoble nobility, not caring how they come by it, so they have it. All is fish that cometh to the net: it is good to be taking. *Bonus est odor lucri ex re qualibet.* These study not, as the true gentlemen do, to profit many, to do good to the country, to maintain the poor, to relieve the succourless, to nourish the weak, to cherish their needy tenants; neither seek they the commodity of the commonweal; but their own private advantage. They labour to possess much, but they distribute nothing. Their hand is stretched out to receive, but shut when they should give.

Ecclus. iv.

If they once creep into a town or village, they for the most part never cease till they have devoured and eaten up the whole town. Whatsoever is pleasant or profitable must be theirs, by hook or by crook; it lieth handsomely for them, and so near their nose, though it be a mile off. If there be either farm or sheep-ground, upon the which some honest poor man liveth, both he and his family, out he must. Had it must be, whatsoever it cost, though the poor man and all his should go a begging, it lieth so commodiously for our new-come gentleman. If they buy any tenement, and let it out again to the poor man, O how they do rack it and stretch out the rents thereof, almost from a penny to a pound! yea, and some of them, buying house and land in a town, suffer the houses to fall down, and turn the ground unto pasture, the poor man not having where to hide his head. Who will be troubled, say they, with such a sort of shake-ragged slaves in a town, which do nothing but burn up our hedges, eat up the common, fill the town full of beggars' brawls? Who? No man, I trow! namely where such fine and long-nosed gentlemen dwell. Some, buying the lordship of a town, handle the inhabitants thereof on such sort, that they lose divers

of their liberties, being in much worse case than they were afore. Thus the poor people be so wrung of these ungentle gentlemen, that the silly souls are like unto dry haddocks. Some Irishman, beholding them, might well think that they came lately out of St. Patrick's purgatory: they are so withered away, even to the hard bones, for cold and hunger. . . .

"*Theophile.* These greedy gripes and hungry horse-leeches, by usurping the name of gentlemen, do much obscure the renown, worship, and honour of true gentlemen, and cause the name of a gentleman to be much disdained among the common people; as we have both heard and seen now of late days. And though they challenge to themselves never so much the name of a gentleman, by their goods, by their ancestors, by antiquity, by the worthiness of their stock, and many good morrows; yet, if they do degenerate and grow out of kind from the natural manners of a true gentlemen, they are no gentlemen indeed, but carles and churls, yea, and in hurting their neighbours they are tyrants and murderers, as the holy scripture calleth them; and in polling and pilling them they are thieves, lions, and wolves, as the prophets term them. An ape shall be an ape, though she be clad in purple and gold. Esop's crow was still a crow, even when he had decked himself with the pleasant and goodly feathers of other birds."

Ecclus. xxxiv.
Isai. i.
Mic. ii.
Zeph. iii.

—From "The Fortress of the Faithful," in *Becon's Catechism, &c.*, ed., 1564, edited, for the Parker Society, by the Rev. J. Ayre, pp. 598, 599, 600.

P. 25, note i; p. 74, etc. *Tyndale on the Westminster Stews, the Begging Friars, &c., the Charges on the Laity* (p. 21 above).—"The very whores (God's honour unregarded), as long as they despise not him and his ordinances, they shall nest in his rents,[1] and among his prelates. And the thieves and murderers shall have dens in his sanctuaries, whatsoever they do against God, so long as they hang on him.

The pope's order compared with the order of the apostles. W. T.

"The apostles chose priests to preach Christ only, all other things laid apart, and chose none but learned and virtuous. The pope shaveth whosoever cometh, lever out priests of the stews than from study: and when they be sworn, he sendeth them unto all great men's houses to preach his godhead, to be stewards, surveyors, receivers, and counsellors of all manner mischief; to corrupt wife, daughter, and maid, and to betray their own master, as oft as it needeth to promote their falsehood withal: for thereto are they sworn together. And when they have done all mischief, there shall be no man wot whence it cometh

The pope's priests. W. T.

The pope's widows. W. T.

"The apostles chose deacons to minister the alms of the rich unto the poor; and to help the deacons, they chose widows of sixty years old, holy, and destitute of friends, to tend the sick. And the pope, instead of such widows, maketh whosoever cometh, whether she be young or old, but none save them that be rich and able to pay twenty, thirty, or forty pound for their profes-

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[1] "Tenements, which pay rent immediately to the proprietor of the soil. Certain tenements on the banks of the Thames, called *the bishop of Winchester's rents*, were then in very ill fame."—*Walter.*

sion; to whom, for as much more, he will give a dispensation on the morrow to marry again. And instead of such deacons, he maketh both deacons and subdeacons, which do nothing at all, but are vain names without office; except it be that on some holy day, instead of ministering the goods of the church unto the poor, they sing an epistle or gospel, to beg more from the poor.

The pope's deacons. W. T.

* * * * *

"As soon as the monks were fallen, then sprang these begging friars out of hell, the last kind of caterpillars, in a more vile apparel, and a more strait religion; that, if aught of relief were left among the laymen for the poor people, these horse-leeches might suck that also: which drone-bees, as soon as they had learned their craft, and had built them goodly and costly nests, and their limiters had divided all countries among them to beg in, and had prepared livings of a certainty, though with begging; then they also took dispensations of the pope, for to live as largely and as lewdly as the monks.

Begging friars. W. T.

"And yet unto the laymen, whom they have thus falsely robbed, and from which they have divided themselves, and make them a several kingdom among themselves, they leave the paying of toll, custom, and tribute (for unto all the charges of the realms they will not pay one mite[1]), and the finding of all the poor, the finding of scholars for the most part, the finding of these foresaid horse-leeches and caterpillars, the begging friars, the repairing of the highways and bridges, the building and reparations of their abbeys and cathedral churches, chapels, colleges; for which they send out their pardons daily by heaps, and gather a thousand pounds for every hundred that they bestow truly.

The charge of the lay-people.

"If the lay-people have war, or whatsoever charge it be, they will not bear a mite. If the war be theirs (as the one part almost of all war is to defend them), they will with falsehood make them bear the greatest part; besides that they must leave their wives and children, and go fight for them, and lose their lives. And likewise in all their charges they have a cast to poll the lay-people. The Scots cast down a castle of the bishop of Durham's, on the Scottish bank, called Norham castle; and he gat a pardon from Rome for the building of it again: wherewith I doubt not but he gat for every penny that he bestowed, three.[2]

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[1] "In the Corpus Juris canonici, Sexti Decret. Lib. III. Tit. xxiii. xA. præcipit personas ecclesiasticas, pro rebus suis vel ecclesiarum, nil laicis solvere debere absque licentia apostolicæ sedis, sub quocunque colore mutui, subventionis, doni, vel alio quolibet; ut etiam ipsi laici tallias non exigant, ve recipiant; singulares contra facientes excommunicat; et ab his sententiis solus papa absolvit, præterquam in mortis articulo'."—*Walter*.

[2] "Norham Castle, though on the Scottish border, is on the English side of the Tweed; and in a survey of the borders made by Sir Robert Bowes and Sir Ralph Elleker, Knts., Dec. 1542, it is reported to be in a very good state, both in reparations and fortifications. But this report was drawn up when Bp. Tonstal was in favour at court. Another report drawn up by Sir Robert Bowes, but eight years later, for the marquess of Dorset, then warden of the marches, says that 'The castle for lack of continual reparation is in much decay,' and specifies considerable decays at some length.—Hodgson's Northumberland, Part III. Vol. II. pp. 190 and 197-9."—*Walter*.

How the spiritualty bestow their treasure. W. T.

"And what do they with their store, that they have in so great plenty everywhere; so that the very begging friars, in short space, to make a cardinal or a pope of their sect, or to do what feat it were for their profit, would not stick to bring above a kings ransom?—Verily, make goodly places and parks of pleasure, and gay shrines, and painted posts, and purchase pardons, wherewith they yet still poll and pluck away that little wherewith the poor, which perish for need, and fall into great inconveniences, might be somewhat holpen and relieved; and lay up in store to have alway to pay for the defending of their faith, and for to oppress the truth."—*Tyndale's Expositions and Notes on the Holy Scriptures*, edited, for the Parker Society, by the Rev. Henry Walter, pp. 275–278.[1]

P. 28. *Raised Rents and Fines.*—Harrison (*Descr.* p. 189, col. 2, ed. 1569) says: "beside the decaie of housekeeping whereby the poore haue beene relieued, they speake also of three things that are growen to be verie grieuous vnto them, to wit, (1) the inhansing of rents, latelie mentioned; (2) the dailie oppression of copiholders, whose lords seeke to bring their poor tenants almost into plaine seruitude and miserie, dailie deuising new meanes, and seeking vp all the old, how to cut them shorter and shorter, doubling, trebling, and now and then seuen times increasing their fines, driuing them also for euerie trifle to lose and forfeit their tenures (by whome the greatest part of the realme dooth stand and is mainteined) to the end they may fleece them yet more; which is a lamentable hering. (3) The third thing they talke of, is vsurie, a trade brought in by the Jews, now perfectlie practised almost by euerie christian, and so commonlie, that he is accompted but for a foole that dooth lend his monie for nothing."

P. 38. See 'a striking picture of the state of Ireland' about 1538, in the letter of Robert Cowley, one of the Council in Ireland, in II. Ellis, ii. 93.

P. 40. The reason of there being few price-lists of meat in Henry VIII's time is shown in the two following extracts:—

'The seconde Edwarde made many good customes of household: thereof one to be remembred specially was, to breede upp beeves and motonnes in his parkes, sufficiaunt to serve his household.'—*Household Ordinances*, p. 18.

'wee are not much troubled with sendinge to and fro, for our prouisions: because euery Gentleman, if hee bee a man of any reasonable lands, and forecast, he hath about home, vpon his owne demeanes, all sorts of victuall for horse and man, and likewise fewel.... all the corne wee make our bread of, groweth on our demeane ground; the flesh wee eate, is all (or the moste parte) of our owne breeding, our garmentes also, or much thereof, made within our house. Our owne Maulte and water maketh our drinke;—*Vincent* the Country-man, in *Cyuile and Vncyuile Life*, 1586, repr. 1868, p. 48, p. 59.

Still, in the Indenture between Henry VIII and Wolsey in Rymer, tom. xiv. p. 371, cited in I *Ellis*, ii. 9, the 53 Oxen previously given

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[1] From the 1530 edition of "The Practyse of Prelates," collated with the 1548 edition of Scoloker and Seres, and also with one published by Day.

to Wolsey by the King are 'valued by estimation' at £80, or £1 10*s*. 2¼*d*. each, and the 70 Muttons are 'valued by estimation' at £12, or 3*s*. 5*d*. each.

The prices fixt for poultry on March 13 in the 23rd year of Henry the 8th (1532 A.D.) were

	s.	*d.*
Swannes, the piece . . .	6.	0
Cranes, Storke, Bustard } the piece . . .	4.	8
Capons of grass, the piece		.22
Capons, good, the peice .		.14
Capons, Kent, the peice .		.8
Hennes of gress, large and fatt, the peice		.7
House Rabbetts, the peice		.3
Peacocks and Peachicks .		·16
Grewes		
Egretts (a kind of Heron).		·14
Gulles, the peice		.16
Mewes, the piece . . .		.8
Godwitts, the peice . . .		.14
Dottrells, the peice . . .		.4
Quailes, very fat, the peice		.4
Cocks, the peice		.4
Rabats out of the Warren, the peice . , ...		.2½
Ronners, the piece . . .		.2
Wynter Conies, the peice		.2½
Herons, Shovelard, Byttorne } the piece . .		.20
Plovers, the peice . . .		.3
Snytes, the peice . . .		.2½
Larks, the dozen . . .		.6
Teales; the peice . . .		.2
Mallards, the peice . . .		.4
Wigeons, the peice . . .		.3
Kyddes, the peice . . .	2.	0
Sparrows, the dozen . .		.4
Pegions, the dozen . . .		.10
Large and fat Geese from Easter till Midsommer, the peice		.7
Geese of gress [*graisse*, fat] from Lamas till 12th day, the peice		.8
Eggs from Shrovetide, till Michaelmas, the hundred		.14
Eggs from Michaelmas till Shrovetide, the hundred		.20
Butter, sweet, the pound .		·3
Carriage by the day . .	5.	0
Necessaries yearly, without any further allowance for moreings [extras] or other, to be given by peticion		10£

Household Ordinances, p. 220–1.

On pages 222–3 of the same book are given fuller lists of prices for poultry; on pages 224–5 prices for freshwater fish (bream 16 to 18 inches long, 2*s*. 6*d*; carp the same size 4*s*.; perch 9 to 12 in. 3*d*; eels weighing 3 lb., 10*d*.; trout 14 to 17 in. 8*d*, &c.) & on pages 226–7 prices for saltwater fish :—

	s	*d*
One Seame [horse-load] of Herrings for	9.	
Item, One Seame of Hooke-fish, that is, Conger, Codd, Whyting, and Thornback, for	10.	
(*Memorandum* that if the said Seame be all Whyting, or all Thornback, or Whyting or Thornback mingled, then the price of the same shall be	6.	
Item, One Seame of Place for	10.	
Item, one Seame of Turbotts, Mullett, and Base	13.	
Item, Hallybuts, the peice	2.	
Item, One Seame of Pilchards, for	6.	
Item, Doreys, the peice		.12
Item, Purpas [Porpoise], not being above one horse load . .	13.	4

Memorandum, if the Purpos be more than one horseload, then the said Hewett [the Contractor] to be allowed by the discretion of the Clerkes-Comptrollers diligently viewing the same.

In 1468, the prices given in the Ordinances of the Household of George, Duke of Clarence, are, wheat 6*s* a quarter, ale 1½ a gallon, beeves 10*s* each, muttons 16*d*. each, boars 13*s*. 4*d*. each, veals (calves) 2*s*. 6*d*., & porks 2*s*. each.—*Household Ordinances*, p. 101–2.

P. 46. *Proclamations &c not attended to.*—See what Hall says of Henry's Proclamation in 1531, that foreign goods should not be paid for in coin to be taken out of the realm, but in English goods: "After this Proclamacion, many clothes and other commodities of this Realme were well solde; but *shortly after*, Merchauntes fell to exchaunge agayne [by coin], *and the Proclamacion was shortly forgotten*. Chronicle, p. 781, ed. 1809. I expect too that sumptuary laws were not enforced long, though Hall says that as soon as Wolsey was made Chancellor, in 1515, "he directed commissions into al Shires, for to put the statute of apparell and the statute of labourers [just amended] in execution. And he him selfe one day called a gentleman named Simon fyz Richards, and tooke from him an olde Jacket of crymosyn veluet and diuerse brooches; whiche extreme doyng caused him greatly to be hated; and by his exsample many cruell officers, for malice, euell intreated dyuerse of the kynges subiectes, in so muche that one Skynnynge, Mayre of Rochester, set a young man on the Pillory for wering of a ryuen shert." *Chron.*, p. 583, ed. 1809. Cp. *Crowley's Select Works*, p. 144.

But Starkey's declaration that 'the Statute of Apparayle must be in executyon' (*England*, p. 174) shows that it, like the Statute of Inclosure (of which he says 'yf the Statute of Inclosure were put in executyon,' p. 171) was allowed to remain unworkt. (See Latymer's saying, p. 10 above.) In 1565 however, Queen Elizabeth's then late Proclamation against Hosiers seems to have been observed in the City, though not beyond Temple Bar: see the letter of the Recorder of London, Rych. Onslowe to 'Sir William Cecill' in II Ellis ii. 306, noticed in Fairholt's *Costume*, p. 197.

P. 51. *The miserable State of the Poor.* (From the Preface to "The fortresse of the faythefull agaynst the cruell assautes of pouertie and honger, newlye made for the comforte of poore nedye Chrystians, by Thomas Becon." 1564 edition.)

"So oft as I behold the wretched and too much miserable face of this needy and beggarly world, yea, so oft as I consider the lamentable and pitiful state of the poor people, which are now grown unto such a number, that they be almost innumerable, and so assailed with the cruel darts of poverty and hunger, that they in a manner despair of necessary food and convenient apparel for the sustentation of their poor wretched carcases, and by this means, for a redresse of this their too manifold miseries, part of them whose brains are perfectly settled, whose judgments are not throughly stayed in the way of perfect reason, not patiently rearing the cross of poverty, contrary to Christ's order and their bounden duty, attempt, unto the great dolour of all good men, ungodly and unlawful enterprises, as wicked counsels, unjust assemblies, abominable seditions devilish insurrections, detestable commotions, unrighteous spoilings of other men's goods, uncharitable railings upon their superiors, &c., utterly defacing, as much as in them is,

Deut. xxviii. 1 Kings xvii. Jer. xviii. Ezek. iv. v. xiv. xxix. xxxii. xxxiii. Hos. ii.

the face of the commonweal, not considering this plague of famine and hunger to be sent into the world for sin according to the threatnings of God expressed in the holy scriptures—I can none otherwise than lament, and heartily wish better and more prosperous things to the needy and poor creatures of God universally.

For although, according to the common proverb,

Common proverbs.

Little wot the full sow, that is in the sty,
What the hungry sow aileth that goeth by,

The nature of charity.

yet so many as are of God, and led with any natural or humane affection, they remember this old saying,

It is merry in hall,
When beards wag all;

and cannot, even in the midst of their wealth, but lament the misery of the miserable, the poverty of the poor, the famine of the famished, and to the uttermost of their power study to relieve the distress of the needy, both with their goods and counsel. As a true Christian man joyeth with them that are glad, even so sorroweth he with them that are sad."—*Becon's Catechism, &c.*, edited, for the Parker Society, by the Rev. J. Ayre, pp. 583, 584.

Rom. xii.

P. 54. *Inclosure of Commons.*—Here is a 17th century echo of the old complaint. Any reader can supply plenty of 19th century ones.

There be many rich men,
both yeomen and gentry,
That, for their owne private gaine
hurt a whole Country
By closing free Commons;
yet they'le make as though
'Twere for Common good
but I know what I know.

Roxburghe Ballads, I. p. 36. verse 6.

P. 54. *Inclosure of Commons &c by the rich.*—"Again, they endure grief for conscience sake which are put from their livings wrongfully, for speaking the words of God, and rebuking oppressors and extortioners sharply and boldly; which are thrown into prison, and put from their lands, from their rooms and offices, from their bishopricks, from their benefices, or from whatsoever it be, for controlling all covetousness, disorders, and enormities; and they also which are oppressed, and kept under, and bare, and needy, of mighty and rich men, as God knoweth every township through England almost is oppressed; and some have deserved no less, and some again be wraxed with undeserved misery. *The rich and wealthy waste and eat up the commons of every town, so that no poor man can keep a cow upon them.* They use unhonest trades in their husbandry, buying and selling corn and cattle to forestal markets; and to make an appearance of scarcity in the markets, they will overbuy things and give more for them than they be worth, to raise the price. In selling their wares, they deceive men, and cannot be content with moderate gains; and oppress their poor brethren through covetousness. All good and virtuous men that are oppressed by such, endure grief, and suffer wrong for conscience sake and for the name of Christ, if they take it patiently, quietly, and

thankfully. The world judgeth such to be miserable and outcasts, to be peasants and dregs."—*Hutchinson's Works*, edited, for the Parker Society, by John Bruce, Esq. pp. 301–302.[1]

P. 61. *Abuse of Women.*—Compare the pretty French *a b c* in honour of women in the Percy Society's *Specimens of Lyric Poetry*, ed. T. Wright, 1842, p. 2.

Où va femme, là vet joie,
ele ne va pas soule.
. . . . . .
Que femme esclaundre, e met en fame,
ne vint unqe de bone nature:
à veyr dyre,
Qui de femme dit vileynie,
certes sa bouche empyre.

P. 73. On the evils of the 'spretualte' see the Ballad in Roy's *Satire*, p. 64–8, with the burden 'But it cannot thus endure all waye.' Its line 5 says "The worlde is worsse than evyr it was."

P. 82. *Sodomytes.*—"Ye know that immediatly after the preachynge of Noe. came the great floud that drouned *the* world. After the warnyng of Loth, came fyre, brymstone, vpon the *Sodomites* and *Gomorrians.*" Lever's Sermons, p. 55, ed. Arber, 1870.

P. 84. *Bishop Bale.*—Of this vigourous writer, much abused by Papists and High Churchmen for his plain speaking, we want a good memoir. That he was highly esteemed by many of his contemporaries is known. Barnabe Googe in 1563 addressed to him the sonnet

Good aged *Bale:* that with thy hoary heares
Doste yet persyste to turne the paynefull Booke,

to be found at p. 76, of Mr. Arber's reprint of Googe's 'Eglogs Epytaphes and Sonnettes,' 1563.

P. 94, l. 59. *Castles: "let them lie."*—See Harrison's *Description*, Bk II, Chap. 14, 'Of castels and holds.' He notes how "king Stephen licensed each of his nobles to build so many castels as them listed upon their own demesnes," and how Henry II, seeing the inconvenience that Stephen suffered from them, and that he himself might suffer, "caused more than eleuen hundred of their said castles to be raced and ouerthrowne, whereby the power of his nobilitie was not a little restreined. Since that time also, not a few of those which remained, haue decaied partlie by the commandement of Henrie the third, and partlie of themselues, or by conuersion of them into the dwelling houses of noble men, their martiall fronts being remooued; so that at this present, there are verie few or no castels at all mainteined within England, sauing onelie vpon the coasts and marches of the countrie, for the better keeping backe of the forren enimie, when souer he shall attempt to enter and annoie us."

Harrison then goes on with the passage quoted in the notes to my edition of *Andrew Boorde* for the Early English Text Society, 1870, p. 329–30, showing how Henry VIII built blockhouses and castles on

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[1] The sermon from which this extract is taken was printed by Mr. Bruce from a MS. in the British Museum; although the writing is of the time of Hutchinson, the date is uncertain.

the frontiers of England, and chiefly in the south and south-east parts, to repel invasion. Hall (*ibid.*) also chronicles Henry's castle-building in 1538–9; and Andrew Boorde in his *Introduction*, written in 1542, and printed in 1547, also says of Henry VIII, "Our noble prynce hath, and dayly dothe make noble defences, as *castels*, bulwarkes, and blokhouses, so *that*, almost, his grace hath munited & in manner walled England rounde aboute, for *the* sauegard of the realme, so that the poore subiectes may slepe and wake in saufegard, doing theyr business without parturbaunce" (p. 119 of my edn. for the E. E. Text Soc. 1870. See also p. 23.) See also Lever's Sermons, p. 94, ed. Arber, 1870. It is possible that at the date of *Now a Dayes* there was talk of rebuilding the Castles, though the intention was not carried out till a later time.

P. 113. *Beggars in* 1550.—"so now Olde Fathers, poore Wydowes, and yong Chyldren, lye beggyng in the myrie stretes. O mercyfull Lorde, what a numbre of Poore, Feble, Haulte, Blynde, Lame, sycklye,—yea, with idle vacaboundes, and dissemblyng kaityffes mixt among them,—lye and creepe, beggyng in the myrie streates of London and Westminster?" 1550.—*Lever's Sermons*, p. 77–8.

P. 117, l. 147. *A Sermon against Rebels and Discontented Folk, probably those of Kett's party*, A.D. 1549.—"But the great part of them that be the chief stirrers in these insurrections be ruffians and sturdy idle fellows, which be the causes of their own poverty, commonly resorting to tippling and to alehouses, much drinking and little working, much spending and little getting; and yet will they be clad gorgeously, fare daintiously, and lie softly, which, neither caring for God nor man, seek now nothing else, but to get something by spoil and robbing of other men. These fellows make all this hurly-burly in every place; and when the rage of the people is quieted in one place, then they run to another, never quiet themselves, nor ceasing to disquiet other, until at length they hope to come to their prey. Happy is that place where none such be; and in great danger be they where many such be. This realm had never so many; and that evidently appeareth at this present time.

Quales sunt hujus seditionis præcipui auctores.

* * * * * * * *

"And yet they pretend that they mean nothing else but a reformation of things that be amiss; and they complain much of rich men and gentlemen, saying that they take the commons from the poor, that they raise the prices of all manner of things, that they rule the poverty, and oppress them at their pleasure. Thus they excuse their own outrageous presumption by charging the gentlemen. But whilst they look so earnestly at other men's faults, they do not see their own. They speak much against Achab, that took from Naboth his vineyard; but they follow not the example of Naboth, who would rather lose his vineyard, than he would make any commotion or tumult among the people. They make exclamations against Achab, and yet follow him rather than the patience of Naboth. We never read that any just man, which is praised in the scripture, did take sword in his hand as against his prince or nobility, although he suffered never so much wrong or oppression. And yet now they accuse the gentlemen of taking of commons, which take from the gentlemen both the common and proper. They charge the rich men that

Quod sit falsa horum nebulonum querela.

they enhance the prices; but in this unseemly commotion they take from the rich man what they list without any price. They say that the gentlemen rule the poor, and oppress them at their pleasure. But they so say that be out of all rule and order, and rule the gentlemen as pleaseth them, except they will have their goods spoiled, their houses brent, and further be in danger of their lives. They say, gentlemen have rule aforetime, and they will rule now another while. A goodly realm shall that be, that shall be ruled by them that never had experience to govern, nor cannot rule themselves. A prentice must learn seven years years before he can be a good merchant; no less time were required to be a good governor."—From a manuscript "Sermon concerning the time of the Rebellion," in Corpus Christi Coll. Camb., written by a Secretary, and corrected throughout by the archbishop. The sermon is probably directed against Kett's rebellion, and is quoted in *Cranmer's Works*, edited, for the Parker Society, by the Rev. J. E. Cox, M.A. vol. 2. pp. 194–195.

Quod miserum esset regnum, si ab iis nebulonibus gubernaretur.

P. 121–3. *Vagabonds.*—Their punishment was nearly as bad in Elizabeth's time. On his first conviction, the vagabond was 'greuouslie whipped and burned through the gristle of the right eare, with an hot iron of the compasse of an inch about, as a manifestation of his wicked life, and due punishment received for the same,' unless an housholder would 'reteine him in his seruice for one whole yeare. If he be taken the second time, and proued to haue forsaken his said seruice, he shall be whipped againe, bored likewise through the other eare, and set to seruice: from whence if he depart before a yeare be expired, and happen afterward to be attached againe, he is condemned to suffer paines of death as a fellon (except [as] before excepted) without benefit of clergie or sanctuarie, as by the statute doath appeare.'—*Harrison's Description* p. 184, col. 1, ed. 1587.

P. 139, l. 538–541. *Ambition & Covetousness worse than Popery.*—For papistry is not banyshed out of Englande by pure religion, but overrunne, suppressed and kepte vnder within thys realme *by couetous ambicion. Papistrye abused many thyngs, couetousnes hath distroyed more; papistry is supersticion, couetousnes is Idolatry.* Papistrye afore tyme dyd obscure the Kinges honour and abuse the wealth of this realme, couetousnes at thys tyme doth more abuse and decaye theym bothe, makynge the kynge bare, the people poore, and the realme miserable. 1550.—*T. Lever's Sermons*, p. 95, ed. 1870.

See too Lauder's *Godlie Tractate*, p. 21–2, l. 600–3, about 1568 A.D.

> The Mes, that Idoll—praysit be God!—is past;
> But Couatyce, the quhilk is cam in last,
> Is the worst Idoll of the twa, be fer.
>
> *Minor Poems* ed. F. J. F. for E. E. Text Soc. 1869.

P. 174–6. *The Marriage of Priests: the Vices of Clerical Celibates.*—"The lyke practyse to this that was vsed in Italye, Fraunce, and Germanye, hath been vsed also in Englande by the bysshops at sundrye tymes, but namely in Kynge Edgar's dayes, thorough the suggestion of the bysshoppes, Dunston, Ethelwald, and Oswalde, thre monkes, by whose procurement to John the .xiii. of that name, bishop of Rome, the pristes, who were named secular canons, were banyshed out of

their colleges at Wynchester and Worcetter, and sundry other places of the realme, bycause they hadde wyues; and monkes were placed in theyr roumes. The chiefe cause that was layde to theyre charge wherfore to put them oute of their lyuynges was, that they were maried. But why, I pray you, were the monkes nowe of late dayes agayne displaced? If matrimonie myght be called a faulte (as God forbydde that any christen tongue shoulde abuse it selfe in so speakynge) yet had it been but one fault. Nowe for that one faulte (as they call it) what a numbre of fautes, I praye you, were there founde in the abbaies at the kynges maiesties visitation? Dyd not the confessions of theim selues, in maner without examination, wytnes those abbays to be the store-houses of al vicious lyfe and abhomination? Was not there couched togither in one dunghyll, superstition, ydolatrie, pryde, malice, ydelnesse, ignorance, abhorryng of maryage, and yet a satisfyeng of their stynkynge lustes of theyr bodyes other ways? and under the pretence of obedyence to theyr Abbotte or pryoure, dysobedyence to God, and theyr prynce, &c. These were the holly ones, whome Dunstone placed in steede of the Preestes, whyche lyued in Godlye marryage. These were the chaste and vertuous lyuers, agaynste whose lyfe it was not lawfulle to speake. But yee may see by theyr ouerthrowe, how well God was pleased with theyr woorkes. Ye may see how woorthily God hath caste downe theyr begun buylded Babylon, and hathe scattred those blyndlynges to their vtter confusion, and his moste heauenly glory. Thei entred theyr houses as though God hadde geuen theim possession, but thankes bee geuen to God, who hath sent Christ with his whyppe, challengynge theym for papystes and lyars, and declarynge to all the whole worlde that they haue made his howse a Sodomyticall denne of beastelye blynde wretches and steale swat theeues. The selfe same thynge was also practysed by Anselme, archebyshoppe of Caunterburye, in Henrye the fyrste his dayes, the second year of his Reygne, in a Counsaylle holden at London, where he forbadde the preestes of Englande to haue wyues. It was at that tyme a straunge mattier vnto theym: For, as Huntingdonensis dooethe wryte (*Libro.* 7.), they were never forbidden vntyll that day. And for a confyrmacion of Anselmes facte, there was sente into Englande, frome the Byshope of Rome one Ioannes Cremenses, a Cardynalle, who helde a Counsaylle at London, where he alledged many reasones for the restraynte and prohybytyon of Preestes marriages, and amongest other allegacions, he sayde, that it was an exceadynge great abhominacion, for a preest to aryse frome a whorès side (for so he called preestes lawfull wyues) and immediately to goe make gods body. Yet it came to passe that although he hadde the same day sayde masse (which he called the makynge of Gods body), he was taken with a whore the same nyght. From whence came this felow, I pray you? came he not frome Rome? was he not a Cardinal? was he not sent frome the capitayne generall of Antichristes kyngdome, the bysshoppe of Rome himselfe? What neede we then to doubt from whence this lawe of wyuelesse lyfe came fyrst, and who were the stablishers therof?"—*A Defence for Mariage of Priestes*, &c., by John Ponet, D.D., pp. 42–46, printed at London in 1549.

But what the Romanists said of the English Reformed Priests when married, may be seen by the next extract:—

1565. *The betraing of the beastlines of heretykes* (Lambeth xxx. 8.

13. (4),—as Lewys Euans calls his Englishing of "Certaine Tables set furth by the right Reuerend father in God, William, Bushopp of Rurimunde, in Ghelderland,"—thus speaks of the Protestant successors of the 'chast and godly fathers of the former tymes,' their wives &c (*sign* E iiij)

"these cursed and thievish beastlye bankerupte breathren. these men be they which were thought meete to be chosen into the Rome & place of the graue, wyse, and learned labourers of the church of Christ: such be the wanton wolfes, which in these later dayes, haue creapte into your howses to werie you: & these be they, which, with their whoores at home, haue both ioye and pleasure to see your soules to peryshe for euer. Oh, the howses wherein sometymes graue studentes, & wyse men dyd dwel, doe beare recorde of the usefull estate of the Realme of England. the Colleges wherein learning of long time so laudablie did flooryshe, be now defyled with leacherie, & fylled vp with the fylthie stuff of whoores and harlotes. the Personages & Vicarages wherein poore folkes were wonte to haue some foode, be now al fylled with the fowle defourmed broode of bastardes, & the holy churches, sometymes duely decked with the memorial of the blessed Martyres, & singular Sainctes, be now with the fylth of Priestes bastardes, throughout the whole chauncell defyled and berayd. I wil not speake of the spoyle made nowe by these Ministers throughout al the spiritual lyvinges in Englande. I will let passe their couetous powling, & that only, to pamper vp their hawtye and hyeghe mynded Helens, theyr bastardes, and misbegotten mynions, & doughters. I wil nothing towche their wrongeful takinges, their byeng, selling, chopping, and changing of benefices; and I wyl not at this tyme rehearse the malicious and impudent madd mindes. But peraduenture (gentle Reader) some man wil dowbte, whether I be able to stand by, and proue al thys, or not. wel, I promyse thee that the consciences of a number in England can testyfie yt. and I wolde wyshe that I might, without grynding, be licenced before M. Grindal to proue it." (*sign* Ev)

(The previous tract in the volume, B. C.'s *Fore-runner of Bels Dovvnefall* in answer to Thomas Bell's *Downefall of Poperie*, is a lively bit of controversy.)

P. 181, l. 20. *Balam Markes.*—Compare *Balaamites* in the following extracts:—

"Nothynge is so papystycall as improperacions of benefices be: they be the Popes darlynges and paramors, whiche by the dyuelyshe deuyce of wicked *Balaamytes* be set a-brode in this realme to cause the lerned men of the vnyuersities and all bishoppes that be godly menne, the Popes enemyes, to commyt spirituall fornication wyth them." 1550.—*T. Lever's Sermons*, p. 125, ed. Arber, 1870.

These be supporting purueyors
  for Papistes nowe supprest;
These ranckly feede the pamperd Swyne
  vpstalled in their nest.
These foyson bring, and brokers set
  through bend of popishe crew,
And these men foster *Balamites*,
  To whome reuenge is dew.

1569 E. Hake. *Newes out of Powles Churchyarde*, sign F. 5. ed. 1579.

. . . . and (thus) thep crake
that if the Quéene by lawe
Or conscience coulde them gyltie dampne,
she would not stande in awe
To send them to their doome: nor to
restraine their tongues so loose.
Thus bleate the Popish *Balamites*,
thus creakes the Romishe goose.—*ib.* sign. F. 6.

P. 194. *Prelates' Licentiousness.*—Or gaif the Princes of the erth ȝow ȝeirly rentis (as the Disciplis in the beginnyng sauld thair landis, and gaif the pryces thairof to the Apostolis) to the end that euery ane of ȝow mot spend spend the samyn vpon his dame Dalida and bastard browis?—*Niniane Winzet's Certane Tractatis.* 1562; reprint 1835, p. 6.

P. 194, l. 452 'all fyshe that comes to Nett.' (See p. 461, l. 26.)

"*A Prouerbe* | by the libertie & priuilege of warre, "all is fishe that commeth to the net."—*Hall's Chronicle*, p. 428.

P. 206, note 3. *Shipman's Hose.*

Like as the holy Papystes / were wont to paynt their popyshe glose
Do ye take the holy scripture to be lyke a *shypmans hose?*
Nay nay / although a *shypmans hose* / wyll serue all sortes of legges,
Yet Christes holy scrypture / wyll serue no rotten dregges.

An Answere to maister Smyth. by W. G.; Soc. Antiq.'s *Broadsides—Henry VIII & Elibabeth*, vol. i. lf. 8.

By me a poore man, whose herte if ye knewe,
Wolde be the kynges seruaunt as fayne as you.

P. 232, l. 1645, *lobbes;* p. 256, l. 2275, *Frier lob.*—Yes forsoth, he ministreth Gods sacramentes, he sayeth his seruyce, and he readeth the homilies, as you fyne flatring courtiers which speake by imaginacion, tearme it: But the rude *lobbes* of the countrey, whiche be to symple to paynte a lye, speake foule and truly, as they fynde it, and saye: He minisheth Gods sacraments, he slubbers vp his seruice, and he can not reade the humbles.—1550 *T. Lever's Sermons*, p. 65, ed. Arber, 1870.

P. 233, l. 1685. *The Holy Maid of Kent.*—See Archbp. Cranmer's letter on her in III Ellis ii. 314. Compare 'The true report of a late practise enterprised by a Papist, with a yong maiden in Wales, accompted emongst our Catholiques in those partes for a greater Prophetise than euer was the *Holie Maide* of Kent, till now on Sundaie beyng the iiij. of Marche this present year 1582, in the Cathedrall Churche at Chester, before the whole assemblie then at a Sermon: she confessed how she had been seduced by a ronegate Priest, and how by his instructions she had feined to see certaine Visions, whiche likewise follow in due forme. The pervsyng whereof, the reformed Protestante shall finde cause worthie to laugh at: the wilfull Papist, matter to be ashamed at: and all sortes of people, good example to be warned at: Truly set downe without any manner of parciallitie, by

Barnabe Riche, gentleman.' London, by Robert Walley 1582 (Lambeth xxxi. 4. 19)

P. 241, l. 2010, 2030; p. 182-3. *Ordinaries & Clerical Courts.*—"After Christemas the .xv. January [1531], the Parliament began to sytte; & amongest diuers griefes whych the Commons were greued with, they sore complayned of the crueltie of the Ordinaries, for callyng men before theym *Ex officio*, that is, by reason of ther office. For the Ordinaries woulde sende for men, & ley Accusacions to them of Heresye, and say they were accused, and ley Articles to them, but no Accuser should be brought furth; whiche to the Commons was very dredeful and greuous; for the partie so Assited must either Abiure or be burned, for Purgacion he myght make none."—*Hall's Chronicle*, p. 704, ed. 1809.

P. 263, l. 2451. Compare Chaucer's chaff of the omnipresent Limitor or Friar, who has driven away all the fairies and elves:—

> Wommen may [now] go saufly up and down;
> In every bussche, or under every tree,
> There is non other *incubus* but he, [the Friar]
> And he ne wol doon hem no dishonour!
>
> *Wife of Bath's Tale*, l. 22-5.

P. 284, l. 74.—*Sir Thomas More on Luther.*—Tyndale's "Answere unto Sir Thomas More's Dialoge" commences with a prayer; and in his "Confutacyon of Tyndall's Answere," More begins by a comment on this prayer as follows:—"Tyndale here beginneth with an holy salutation, and so doth *Luther* too, and so doth friar Huskyne [Œcolampadius] too, and so doth every fond fellow of any of their sects. . . . . If men look on the love that is used among all the masters of that holy sect, and consider their livings, and look upon *friar Luther*, the very father of their holy sect, and see him run out of religion, and fallen to flesh and carrion, and live in letchery with a nun under name of wedlock, and all the chief heads of them. . . . ."—See note 2, p. 5, 3 *Tyndale.*

"In the beginning of the sixth [chapter], says Tyndale, he [More in his 'Dialogue'] describeth *Martin* after the examples of his own nature; as in other places, he describeth God after the complexion of popes, cardinals, and worldly tyrants."—3 *Tyndale*, 186, 187. More's sixth chapter begins as follows: 'His [Luther's] inconstant wit, and very devilish intent, specially showed itself.—In the beginning the man had the mind that commonly such fools have; he reckoned all the world wild geese save himself, and all the wit and learning to stand in his own head.—*More's Works, Dial.* p. 256."—*Walter.*

P. 285, st. XIX., XXVII.—*A Protest against Popish Slanders of the Lutherans.*—"For if I should follow you, to note your slaunderouse lies, as I haue in part noted some of your lyes in learnyng: I feare I should make both my self wery to write them, & the reader angrie with you to reade them. Although you peraduenture would not bee muche ashamed to see them vttered. For it may be well verified of you, that ye contort to another. He that is once over his shoes, forceth not afterward how deepe he wade in the myer. He that once hath cast of the face of shame & honestie, taketh no great thought after that, who loketh in his taile. As for examples, of your slaun-

derous deprauinges, ye belie the Germanes & others, whom ye call the newe preachers, to saie that "thei call *praier liplabour : fastyng, hypocrisie : chastitie & abstinencie, the deuils doctrine : contempnyng the Sacrament of thalter : callyng men from chastitee, to a life contrary to the same.*" They call your patteryng praiour, which is at this daie vsed of your ministers without affection of hart, or sense of vnderstandyng, *a very houling*[1] in to thaire, with S. Paule ; a vain bablyng, with our sauior Christ. Thei cal your Sanctification of your Sabboth daies, as ye kepe them in your high feastes, suche as at Lyncolne was kept on Pentecost last, but abhominable to God, mockage, and very Bacchus feastes, & Sacrifices of Venus in filthie tales and stories, condempned by your owne counselles. Their cal *your maner of fastynges but mere hypocrisie,*[2] yea, worse then hypocrisie, in such circumstaunces as ye haue many a daie vsed them, & dare pronounce with Chrisostome inueiyng against the iewes fastyng : that *your fastinges be worse then very dronkennesse.* Thei call *your filthie fained chastitie, a baudie Sodomiticall carelesse liuing,*[3] as the practise declareth to manifest to stande in, to proue. They call al suche as haue not the gifte, & by their yerely experience Seeth the impossibilitee—not from chastitee, but from filthines of brutishe buggery and boyly bestlynesse,—to mariage, chastitee. Ye neuer red, or hard, of any suche writers, suche as ye would slaunder to the worlde, I saie of the knowen, and comonly approued writers out of Germanie ; But that dothe excite the readers, in their bookes, to Godly and oft prayour : to pure abstinence from all excesses : and to a christian mortification of all their vices and affections, to continencie and soole liuing, if God will so haue them to serue hym in that state."—Pp. 165, 166, *A Defence of Priestes mariages* (printed in 1561 ?)

P. 291–2. *Nobles, Churchlands, & the Poor.*—

Of the rigour done to the pure.

Bot of the rigour to thee pure, dune on ȝour awin landis, and of the approprying ye kirk landis with vtheris dewiteis thairof, to ȝour awin kechingis ; of the depaupering thee tennentis ȝour fewis, augmentationis & vtheris exactionis ; or of the schuiting of honeste men fra thair native roumes, be tytle off ȝour newe quhirlie fewis, tyme seruis not to schaw.—*Niniane Winzet's Certane Tractatis,* 1562, repr. 1835, p. 8.

P. 299. *Dissolution of the Abbeys &c.*—Sir Hy. Ellis says "It was to the credit of the English nobility, that no selfish motives on their part led them either to wish for, or to promote, the suppression of the Religious Houses. Sir Thomas More has a remarkable passage to this effect in his Works . . . " yet had I never founden *in all my time while I was conversant in the Court,* of all the Nobility of this land above the number of SEAVEN (of which seaven there are now three dead) that ever I peceived to be of the mind, that it were either right or reasonable . . . . to take any possessions away from the clergy."

When the Houses were once dissolved, the Nobility, with the rest of the world, thought it no sacrilege to share in the acquisition of con-

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[1] See 'Howlyng' p. 286, l. 141 above.
[2] See 'fastyng is but folyshnes,' p. 265, l. 109 above.
[3] See p. 287, l. 158 above.

ventual estates. Papists and Protestants, indiscriminately accepted grants. The suppression of these Houses, it will be remembered, was prior to the Reformation of Religion, and was effected by a King and Parliament of the popish communion."—*Original* Letters, 2nd series, ii. 133.

P. 303. *Thomas Cromwell.*—See Sir H. Ellis's sketch of him, with Papers & Letters of his, in II *Original Letters* ii. 116 &c. and also in Series I and III.

P. 311. "If John Hogon was caught, no doubt he paid for his song with his head too." Compare the following:—

Treason under Henry VIII.

"The *Exeter Gazette* gives us a curious story, unearthed from the mass of MSS. in the Guildhall which Mr. Stuart Moore has lately been engaged in calendaring. The old histories of Exeter by Isaacke and Jenkins mention the catastrophe which forms the climax of the story, but without tracing the 'secret history' which led up to it, and which affords a noticeable illustration of social life in a provincial capital during the reign of Henry VIII. On the 10th of August, 1539, one John Bonnefant, an Exeter attorney, was hanged and quartered on Southernhay for high treason. From the crabbed old record now decyphered, it seems that Bonnefant and two familiar friends, John Northbrook and Adam Wilcocks, a proctor, had been supping together one evening at a house partly belonging to Northbrook, but in which Bonnefant had certain vested rights prejudicial to Northbrook's interests. Apparently none of the three were admirers of King Henry's rule, for after some talk about the times, they 'fell into discoursing of prophecies, of which one was that the *molde warpe* should come accursed of God's mouth, and vengeance should befall him.' The other was a Welsh prophecy about great things happening on the conjunction of a dun cow and a bull. All this, the gossips came to the conclusion, had reference to the King and his destined destruction, and having so settled the matter in their own minds, merely as a matter of innocent speculation, they burned the paper which had the prophecies written on it, and broke up their symposium. But into Northbrook's mind came evil thoughts. Says he to Wilcocks, 'It is high treason against the King's person which we have talked all this night at my house, and therefore we must look to ourselves that we be not in danger for the same; for you know (says he) that Mr. Bonnefant is a lawyer and a crafty man, and knoweth what belongeth to the law, and if he should secretly go to Mr. Mayor and disclose what we have talked, and accuse us, it will cost our lives. Wherefore, let us prevent him, and play sure, and go to Mr. Mayor, and first accuse him, and so shall we save ourselves.' This was accordingly the line these amiable friends pursued, and Northbrook added some super-refined villany by pretending to warn Bonnefant of danger impending over him, and enticing him into a house, where he had arranged that the officers of the law should find him. Information was sent to Government; a Commission of inquiry into the alleged treason was instituted, addressed to the Mayor and Sir Richard Pollard; and Bonnefant was executed as before said, the principal charge specified against him being 'that he should say the King was a *molde warpe*, and that he [the King] should subvert the state of the realm,'

&c. The infamous delators were not happy in their end. 'Adam Wilcocks fell accursed, and was distracted of his wits; his tongue rolled in his head, and he died most miserably. Northbrook had Bonnefant's house, which he sought for, and lived in great infamy all the days of his life, and his issue had bad success.' The story is told very graphically, and at some length, by John Hooker, the old Guildhall chronicler. Perhaps the most noteworthy point in it is the allusion to the ancient prophecy of the *molde warpe*, of which we have mention, it will be remembered, in Shakspeare's Henry IV., part I., act. iii., sec. 1. Hotspur says, 'He angers me with telling me of the *mold warp* and the ant, of the dreamer Merlin and his prophecies.' But the passage which the Exeter gossips had in their mind was probably that in Holinshed, where, referring to the proposed division of England between Glendower and his allies, he says, 'This was done (as some have said) through a foolish credit given to a vain prophecy, as though King Henry was the *molde warpe* cursed of God's own mouth,' &c. The *molde* or *mould warpe* was the mole, so called because it warps, or makes uneven, the surface of the earth above it. Poor Bonnefant was only venturing on a double interpretation of the prophecy by projecting it onwards from Henry IV. to Henry VIII., who had just been suppressing the monasteries, and so forth."—*Pall Mall Gazette*, 17 *Dec.* 1869.

P. 313. *The Bloody Act of* 1539.—In Ellis's *Original Letters*, Ser. I. vol. ii. p. 111–13 is an amusing letter from a priest, John Foster, who had 'accompleschyd maryage.' He says that as soon as he heard of the King's order "that all prestys schalbe separat by a day .... I sentt the woman to her frendys iij. score mylys from me, and spedely and with all celeryte I have resorted hether, to desyre the Kyngs Hyghtnes, of hys favor and absolucyon for my amysce doyng." 'Even Cranmer,' says Ellis, 'had taken to wife the niece of Osiander, an eminent divine of Nuremberg; but with all quietness he sent her back at once to Germany.'

P. 318, 319. *A Prophecy.*—A Variation of this follows:—

Verses on Sunday, with a Prophecy. [Cambr. Univ. MS. I i. 6. 11.]

When so*n*day gothe by (D & C)
And *the* p*r*ime by j & ij
After schall*e* Cvmme *th*is maye men*ne* see
That semes nat to be soo
Eu*er*y syse *that* best of *the* dise
When ase beret vpp*e* syse
Then ys England paradise
When Synck & Cater ys sett asyde
Then *the* worde of syse spri*n*geth ffull*e* wyde
When dewsse putteth owght tree *th*en ys all schentt
Then must we haue a new p*ar*lement
The sysse schall vpp*e* *the* ase schall downe
The lyon *the* Redroose & *the* flouer delyse
The Cock schall vndoo and *the* syse s*h*all get (?) *the* p*r*ice

P. 321. *The Sweating Sickness.*—See Henry VIII's advice as to its treatment, in I *Ellis* i. 292; and Ellis's account of it, p. 296–7.

P. 352, l. 16. *Wolsey's College.*—See his letters about it to the King, Cromwell, &c, in II *Ellis* ii. p. 23–38.

P. 356, l. 141. *hunc & hanc: Wolsey & the Divorce between Henry & Catherine.*—"But when there was found no other way, he inspired the king that the queen was not his wife, by the bishop of Lincoln his confessor, as the saying was;[1] by whom he hath breathed many things into his grace, and by whom he hath heard his confession, and by whom, and like hypocrites, he hath long betrayed him to have married him unto the king's sister of France, as the fame went, by that means at the last to make us French."—*Tyndale's Expositions and Notes on the Holy Scriptures*, edited, for the Parker Society, by the Rev. Henry Walter, pp. 319–320.

The bishop of Lincoln. W. T.

P. 403. *Anne Boleyn.*—Those who believe (as I do not) in the believableness of Mr. Froude's witnesses, may like to see this paragraph from the *Pall Mall Gazette* of Aug. 15, 1870:

"For the last two months Mr. Froude has been adducing [in Fraser's Magazine] 'Fresh evidence about Anne Boleyn,' with a view to substantiate the belief which he has expressed in Henry's innocence. There is however, one explanation of the unfortunate Queen's own conduct which has hitherto escaped notice, and is, at any rate, worth a moment's attention. Among the Exchequer records is an inquisition held in 1539 with reference to the possessions of Margaret, widow of Sir William Boleyn and a lunatic. This lady was Anne's grandmother, and for those who believe that the mental malady was hereditary there is here a simple means of accounting for the 'miserably imprudent' actions both of the Queen and her brother."

P. 416. *The Duke of Somerset.*—See in II Ellis ii. 214–216, the Questions put to the Duke when he was a prisoner; the lists of the necessaries of dress, linen, plate &c which the Duke and Duchess prayed to have while they were in the Tower; and an account of the Duke's last speech and his execution.

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[1] "The contemporary historian, Polydore Vergil, confirms what Catherine declared before Wolsey and Campegio, that Wolsey originated the divorce, because she had censured his dissolute life; and he then adds, 'Is [scil. Wolsey] proinde quod cogitarat cum spe magna id exequi cupiens, cum Joanne Longland, Lincolniensi episcopo, de quæstione futura amicè communicat, quod is esset qui regis confessionem audiret.'—Angl. Hist. Lib. 27. p. 1730. Gand. 1557. He proceeds to say, that after this Wolsey first mentioned it to the King, but made little impression upon him, till Longland came to his aid."—*Walter.*

BAYERISCHE STAATS- BIBLIOTHEK MUENCHEN

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Bernardines; same as Cistercians of Clairvaux, so called from I. Bernard, 246/2095.
Berwick Castle, 315/21.
Bevis, Sir, 296/21.
Bible despised by Preachers as a riddle, 229/1528.
Billinsgate made by Belyn, p. 379, note 3.
Bilney put to death, p. 179.
bird: it is a rare bird that breeds on the ground, 423/91.
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bishops, not like Paul's model, p. 201, 203.
bishops, their extortion and ambition, p. 204.
bishops, their pride, p. 222.
bishops, their conduct to King John, p. 223-5.
Blackheath, 315/22.
blent, 233/1688, blinded.
blere, 224/1397, blear, make sight dim, deceive.
bloboll, 255/2263, blow-bowl, drunkard.

bloody act of 1539, p. 313, p. 477.
bloudes, 423/75, sparks, fine fellows.
blynne, 281/6, blinnè, cease (A. Sax. blinnan).
boar, 316/11, ? who.
bobolyne, 263/2453, a stupid person.
Boleyn, Anne, Henry's first love for her, p. 345; her procession from Greenwich, p. 367; through the City of London to Westminster, p. 367–71; her Coronation, p. 371–3; her spitting cloths, p. 373; big with child when crowned, p. 386; her device or badge, p. 366, l. 4 from foot.
Boleyn, Anne; ballad of her *Fortune*, p. 409–13; her letter on Elizabeth's birth, p. 408; her guilt not proven, p. 403–5; account of her trial and death, p. 406–7: she was possibly mad, says the *Pall-mall Gazette*, p. 478.
bollinge, 265/2519, swelling.
bondmen, license to, p. 14, *n*.
bondmen, state of, p. 11, p. 151, *n*.
bondmen askt to be made free in Norfolk Petition, p. 150.
Bonhommes, *Boni Homines*, a small order of Monks following the Augustine rule, 244/2064. (See Skelton's poem on some of them).
Bonnefant, John, an Exeter Attorney, executed for treason, p. 476.
Bonvysy, Anthony, p. 304.
Boorde, Andrew, quoted, on fashions, p. 317; on the sweating sickness, p. 322, p. 325; on swearing in England, p. 415, p. 416; on castles, p. 469.
bordiler, 253/2208, bordelier, whoremonger.
Bordues, 315/5, Bordeaux.
Borough, Lord, Chamberlain to Anne Boleyn, 369.
boryalle, 304/1, northern.
bosse of byllyngate, 315/13. See Wynkyn de Worde's 'Marriage of London Stone with the Bosse of Byllyngsgate,' p. 438, note.
bowls stopt in 1526, p. 351.
bowsinge, 265/2519, drinking.
brayd, at a, 221/1288, suddenly.
braynles, 449/123, men without brains.
brem bore, 320/31, fierce boar.
brettyng of benes, 320/20, carving of bones?
brevyatte, 337/5, short.
Brewer, Prof., his account of Thomas Cromwell, correcting Mr. Froude's, p. 303.
Brewer, Prof., referred to, p. 342, 344.
brewtt, 136/465, report, (bruit).
brinkes, p. 313, brinks.
brody henne, 320/15, hen that sits on her brood.
broge, 195/468, dive, paddle.
brothels in Southwark, 25, *n*.
Broune, Edmund, butcher of Diss, p. 311.
Brunne, Robert Mannyng, of—on Swearing in England in 1303, p. 415; on Billingsgate, p. 379.
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Bucke, 355/93; the Duke of Buckingham executed 17th May, 1521, p. 331.
Buckingham, Duchess of, and her bondmen, p. 11.
Buckingham on Wolsey, p. 332.
Bullatus, Dr., 229/1555, and note.
bulwarks, 452/197, stuft breeches.
burlesque poem, a, p. 314; prophecies, p. 316-320.
burning of Tyndale's New Testament, &c., p. 348-9.
busse, 286/142, ? buzz.
butcher's cur, 333/21, 334/39, Wolsey.

cacademones, 258/2328, unlucky, ill-starred.
Calliope in a pageant, p. 369; her speech to Anne Boleyn, p. 383.
Camaldulences, 245/2088, Camaldolese, founded by St. Romuald, A.D. 1012.
canapie, p. 368 at foot, canopy.
capper, 455/35, cap-seller.
caps of estate, p. 368.
Capusianes, Capuchins or Capuccini, branch of Franciscans founded under Clement VII., 249/2133.
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cards put down in 1526, p. 351.
Carmelyte, 253/2211.

cathaphi, 257/2297, ? voracious.
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cave of heresy near London, 285/98.
Celestines, a branch of the Benedictine order, 246/2096.
celycalle, 305/15, heavenly.
chapel, the kynges, p. 371, members of the Chapel Royal.
Charing Cross, 315/27.
chase, 411/39, chose.
Chartusyanes, Carthusians, 249/2131.
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chaunche, 307/91, chance.
Cheapside, the Cross of, 315/15.
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Chepe, the little Conduit in, p. 368; its gay show for Anne Boleyn, p. 368.
chepinge, 187/169, market (chepe, to buy).
chevynge, p. 155, success (Fr. chevir).
chip-chop, 256/2270, chattering, gabbling.
chivalry and manhood decayed in England, 445/16.
Christ Church, Oxford, founded by Wolsey, p. 342.
Christcrosse Row, alphabet, p. 268.
chuettes, 218/1176, pie made of chopped fry or fish.
church-building once popular, p. 93.
churches used for cattle, p. 97.
cinq, 318/22, five on the dice.
circot, p. 368, surcoat; circottes, p. 372, p. 373.
circumvention, 356/139, twisted courses.
Cistercyences, 245/2086, Cistercians, founded 1098.
claret and red wine, p. 371.
Clarines, 246/2102, ? Clarenins, branch of Minorites.
Clarissites, 247/2104, nuns of the order of Sta. Clara (Franciscan).
Clarrivallences, 245/2091, Cistercians of the Clairvaux division.
clergy, ambition of, p. 20.
clergy, conduct towards women, p. 194.
clergy stifle opinion, 196/501.
clergy, their want of hospitality, 196/515.
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clergy, trading in tan, wool, &c., p. 362.
Clio's speech to Anne Boleyn, p. 382.
clothiers, 143.
clottes of yerthe, 432/19, clods of earth.
cloutes, 209/906, patches.
clowte, clout? 229/1542, archer's mark.
Cluny, or Clugniac, 245/2084, branch of Benedictine order, founded 910.
Cobham, Lady, p. 407.
cocodryll, 205/782.
Coffyn, Wylliam, Master of the Horses, p. 369.
coinage debased under Henry VIII., p. 114; under Edward VI., p. 135.
colage, 352/16, college (Wolsey's, Christ Church).
Collectanes, 249/2132, a branch of the Franciscans.
collet, acolyte, 243/2045, fourth of minor orders among priests.
collettes, 372, collects.
colubryne, 209/911, *coluber*, serpent.
Columbines, order founded by St. Columbkill, afterwards merged in the Benedictines, 246/2098.
come, be, 354/73, is gone.
commauntie, 308/100, commonalty.
commodome, 134/391, advantage.
commons, complaints against enclosure of, p. 54, p. 457, p. 467.

commons, their loan to the crown through Wolsey, 353/39.
commontie, 309/137, commonalty.
communers, 309/133, common folk.
Complaint of Scotland, 1549, quoted, p. 52, *n*.
Complaint of the Ploughman, quoted, p. 67.
compromyssions, 211/948, agreements, fædera.
Compton, Sir Wm., p. 362.
concubines, Priests not to keep, p. 314.
conduction, 211/954, deposit.
conduit in Fleet Street, Leland's verses at, p. 399.
conflate, 231/1610, troubled by, *conflatus*.
conies, required to be paled in by Norfolk Rebels' Petition, p. 151.
connector, 141 523, conjecture.
consettes, 432/29, conceits, believes in.
constableship, p. 368.
coppentante, copatani, 218/1165, high crowned hats.
Cordiler, Cordelier, Franciscan so-called from their girdle, 252/2207.
Cornhill, the three graces in a pageant at, p. 369.
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Cornhill, the Conduit in, p. 393.
coronal of gold, p. 372.
corslets of velvet, 456/14.
courtbie, 196/489, courtepy, cassock.
covetous, 360/248, covetousness.
covetousness in England, the evils of, p. 470.
covytes, 317/6, covetousness.
Crane, where the Mayor and Aldermen of London took their barge to meet Anne Boleyn, p. 371.
Cranmer's letter on Anne Boleyn's Procession, p. 379, note 1.
creed and pater-noster forbidden in English, 187/177.
crekette, 217/1157, babbler.
Crist, 306/57, Christ's.
Cromwell, Thomas, his cursed cruelty, p. 303; his early life, p. 303; was a scrivener, attorney, and cloth-dyer, p. 304; 306/64; 307/70; his intolerable exactions, 308/115.
Cross, the, in Chepe, p. 370.
crowd, p. 311, a fiddle.
Crowley's 'Information and Peticion,' quoted, p. 24; his 'Way to Wealth,' quoted, p. 27.
crowsey, 255/2260? crowse, sprightly; ? *crouse*, pot.
cry creake, 188/231, give in, recant.
crymosyne, 194/429, cramoisie, velvet.
Cubiculer, 250/2146, keeper of archives, or Sacristans.
cucullatus, 257/2298, cowled.
cupborde of 10 stages, p. 371.
curtisane, 240/1971, courtier (*regisore principis aulicus*).
cutted, 454/12, with dresses cut short?

damiane friar, 253/2218, (?).
dandies of Henry VIII's time, p. 438–453; of Henry VII's time, p. 454–6.
dawcock, 233/1667, jackdaw, simpleton.
De Monasteriis Dirutis, p. 300.
deambulacyon: visitation of Bishop, 186/163; of Cardinals, 218/1181.
dearth in 1527-8, p. 343, p. 363.
dearth in 1550–1, 327/37.
debatous, 447/73, quarrelsome.
deer-stealing, p. 351.
'Defensor Fidei' applied to Henry VIII, 288/205.
dekay, 305/29, cause to decay.
demonstratio, tax on bee hives, 212/991.
'*Des Putains et des Lecheors*,' quoted, p. 60, *n*,
desecration of Churches, p. 97.
deuce, 318/32, two on the dice.
dice stopt in 1526, p. 356.
differ, 309/135, defer, put off.
dischare, 134/387, ? turn out, take, seize.
discharged soldiers stealing, p. 4.
"Thus was the citee of Turnay deliuered [to the French] the eight daie of February in the .x. yere of the reigne of the kyng [Hen. VIII. A. D. 1519], and many a tall yoman that lacked liuing *fel to robbyng*, which would not labor after their returne." *Hall's Chronicle*, p. 597, ed. 1809.
discipline of monastery of St. Alban's, p. 70.
Disciplines, 246/2101.
dishonesty of the English nation, p. 95.
Diss in Norfolk, p. 311.

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divines bribed by prelates, 161/99.
divorce between Henry and Catherine, p. 344.
Doctour Doubble Ale referred to, p. 273; quoted, p. 456, *n.*
doddypates, p. 255, note 81; toddypoll, 255/2264, ? pudding heads.
"*Corvi luscinijs honoratiores.* Doctor *Dodipoll* is more honoured than a good divine." Withals, ed. 1634. p. 554.
"Fy, knafys! Fy, *dottypols*, with your bookes." Townley Mysteries, p. 145, ('clipped heads' Glossary, p. 335.)
dog: as one gnaws a cat, 358/197.
Dorset, the old Marchioness of, p. 369.
Dorset, the Marques, p. 372.
dotysche daws, 131/263, ? foolish jackdaws.
doublets of Henry VIII's reign, p. 443.
Dover, 318/47.
dowghtyng, 354/65, dreading.
dress of the Clergy, p. 193.
Dunbar's (?) *General Satire* quoted, p. 88.
Dunce, Duns Scotus, 230/1582.
Dyaloge between a Gentillman and Husbandman quoted, p. 20.
dysard, 192/379, actor, fool.
dyre, 135/431, dear.
dyscryve, 161/95, describe.
dythmunia vennett? 194/441.

e for i, kell, stell, 435/12, 13, kill, still; attene, vene, 436/42, 44; 437/61, attain, vain; leve, 436/453, 437/57, live.
ecclesiastics buying and selling, p. 89.
ei for e, 308/121; for ea, 309/131.
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enclosures for pasture, evils of, p. 5, p. 30, p. 32, p. 34, p. 35.
ententyng, 308/101, intending.
endware, p. 176, hamlet.
enforce, 306/38, oblige.
England's bad change of her old 'sadnes for the new guyse,' 445/19.
Englishmen follow other lands' fashions, 317/13.
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Ensifer, *ordo militaris Livoniæ* (Du cange), 250/2151.
entails able to be broken, Stat. 4, Hen. VII., p. 157.
epysyn, 356/147, epicene, of both sexes.
Erato's speech to Anne Boleyn, p. 385.
errabell, 143/709, arable.
Esher, p. 343–4.
esses, (S), collars of, p. 366.
Euphrosyne's speech to Anne Boleyn, p. 394.
Euterpe's speech to Anne Boleyn, p. 385.
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faith dead without works, 285/118.
falcon, Anne Boleyn's badge, p. 366, 387, 390, 391.
falcon, 316/9, ? Anne Boleyn.
fale, 320/8, foal?, young.
families to be kept in good order, 425/95.
Fanchurch, 369, Fen Church in the city.
fandigo, 256/2284.
fangles, new, 99/242; 448/101.
fardell: 'no fardell delay,' 307/95, without any delay.
fawcon, 410/13, falcon, put for Anne Boleyn.
Feckenham, 430/18.
feer, 318/26, companion.
fere, in, 447/69, in company, together.
ferrall, 358/192, iron? or deadly, as in l. 230.
ferreting conies, p. 351.
feryall, 359/230, deadly. L. *feralis*.
fines on leases, p. 112, *n.*, p. 134, p. 496.
ffinys, 434/125, end.
fish; all is fish that comes to the net, p. 473.
'fishes Royal,' p. 150, *n.*
fistred, 190/306, stinking, corrupted.
Fitzherbert on Bondmen, p. 11.
Flamynes, 246/2097, *(flamen)*, probably priests.
Flanders, 316/1, 4.

flatterers to be avoided, 417/9 ; 423/70.
Fleet bridge, 315/23.
Fleet conduit ; a tower on, with musicians, to greet Anne Boleyn, p. 371.
fleet of Henry VIII., p. 117, p. 145.
Fleet St. and its conduit, p. 370.
flerynge, 423/70, grinning?
floods, great, in 1526–7, p. 363.
flooke, fleuke, 256/2279, parasitic vermin.
floysterer, 253/2229, skittish.
flwtt, 136/463, flute.
foddard, 255/2257, ? lump of lead, (A. S. *foder* burthen)
foliard, 255/2255, *folier*, to play the fool.
Folsar, John, butcher, p. 312.
fondyng, 320/20, trying.
force of, to, 186/152, 160, (204/738), care for, regard.
forder, farther, 418, 419/19, help on.
formosyte, 316/13, beauty.
fortune ; what it's like, 412/65–8.
Forynfal, Lord, p. 372, Lord Furnival, Earl of Shrewsbury.
Foster, John, a priest, sends off his wife, p. 477.
Foxe's wrong account of Thos. Cromwell's early life, p. 303.
foxly, 354/62, fox-like, crafty.
foyst, p. 365, p. 366, '*Fuste* : f. a foist ; a light gallie that hath about 16 or 18 oares on a side, and two rowers to an oare.' Cotgrave.
Francis I. ; larks of his court, p. 443.
Francis, Robert, p. 312.
frase, 239/1928, paraphrase.
frawnches, 99/241, franchise.
freke, 320/19, warrior.
French ambassador's men, their dress, p. 368.
French galants, the viperous brood of, 447/50.
French King, the, 334/79.
French manners and vices aped by Englishmen, ab. 1520 A.D., p. 440.
French ware injuring English craft, 99/237.
frest, 141/642, frist ; 143/687, first.
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'friska jolly ;' 183/73 ; 203/731, frivolity ; apparently a refrain.
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Froude quoted, on the burning of Tyndale's Testament, etc., p. 348–9.
frykars, 204/751, nimble fellows, (fryke, fresh, active).
fuligines, 246/2098 ? *fuligo*.
furleys, 140/577, wonders, strange things.
furly freake, 205/770, wonderful personage.
futton, 254/2250, *foutu*, scoundrel.

gabbynge, 447/65. Fr. *Gaber*, 'to gull, cheat, cosen, fetch over.' Cotgrave.
gaison, 390/4, scarce.
Galaunt, Wynkyn de Worde's Treatyse of this, p. 438–453.
galefull, 216/1108, lascivious.
'gallant,' the name, 439.
gallants ; their vices and dress, p. 441.
galymen, or alien merchants in London, p. 105 *n*.
games stopt in May, 1526, p. 351.
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gaming among the clergy, 196/29.
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Gardiner's Bloody Statute, p. 313.
Gardiner, Lord Chancellor, 433/89.
gard, 456/17, ornamented, striped, p. 454.
" His hode all pounsed and *garded* like a cage. *Skelton's Bowge of Courte*, l. 508, Works i. 49.
Gelynssyors place, 316/10?
gendyrs, 356/145 sexes, people.
gent, 397/3, gentle.
Gilbertines, an English order of monks and nuns, founded in 1148, 246/2090, 2100.
Gilpin, Bernard, on envy of the gentry and commonalty, p. 89.
glased lyfe, 447/69, showy life.

gleke, a game at cards, p. 155, *n.*; 223/1352. ? joke.
goddard, a fool, glutton, 255/2256.
golden apple adjudged to Anne Boleyn, p. 396.
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goliard, a buffoon in orders, 255/2254.
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Gracious church corner, p. 369.
Grandmontences, order of Augustines, founded at Grandmont about 1100, 245/2087.
grass: to see the grass grow while the horse starves, 420, 421/60.
gravelling the City streets to prevent horses slipping, p. 367-8.
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Grey, Lord George, p. 304.
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Greenwich, p. 379, *n.*
growde, 410/25, grew.
gruge, 411/43 grudge.
Guilford, Sir Henry, p. 362.
gup, 215/1070, get up! away!
gurgoyles; prelates compared to, 164/179.

Haberdasher's Company, p. 365, 366.
had I wist, 345 at foot; haddye-wyste, 353/36; hadywyste, 433/61, had I wist, or known what would have happened; repentance too late.
Haddon, Dr., his *Exhortation to England to repent*, englisht by Arthur Golding, p. 321.
hair, long in Henry VII's time, p. 443, 455/38; short in Henry VIII's time, p. 443.
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halse (from harmes), ? 195/464, raise, draw away from (Fr. *hausser*), or salute, keep sound (O. N. *heilsa*, health).—Wedgwood.
Hampton Court, Wolsey's Palace at, p. 342.
hanging for stealing from want, p. 95.
Harrison, A., Secretary to Bp. of Norwich, p. 299.
Harrison's 'Description of Britain,' quoted, p. 30, p. 112, *n.*, p. 131, *n.*, p. 148, *n.*, p. 176; p. 457 (enclosures of commons, etc.), 464 (raised rents), 468 (castles), 470 (vagabonds).
harthis, 437/77, hearts.
heide, 307/87 ?
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heresy, the poison of, 282/19.
heretical books burnt, 355/115.
heretics burnt by More, 234/1707.
Hierosolymites; Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, 248/2117.
hinde, 217/1141, gentle, courteous.
hodypeke, 454/7: cp. *Sotard*, m., a noddie peake, wittall, cockscombe, woodcocke, dotterell, ninnihammer.—Cotgrave.
hogg's nose with a gold ring, 422/64.
Hogon, John, a fiddler who sang a seditious song on Feb. 15, 1537, p. 310–12.
hold with the hound and run with the hare, 423/73.
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holy oil, 432/29.
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hoods, rolled, stuft with flocks, p. 442; 451/183.
hose, 432/29, whoso.
hostiaris, persons who provided the bread for the Eucharist (*hostiæ*), 250/2149.
hother, 359/215, 235, other.
houed, p. 367, halted.
huddy peake, 188/233, term of contempt. See 'hodypeke.'
hugger? 140/601.
Humber, 320/32.
hunc and hanc, 356/141, Henry VIII and Queen Catherine.
hurted, *p. part*, p. 367 at foot.
husse, 286/143, to set on with noise, to buz, to incite.
Hutchinson denounces the enclosure of commons, p. 467–8.
hydra, the Lernean, 283/40.

i prefixt: ieche, ieke, 437/71, 72, each, eke, (see y).
Iceland curs, 137/475.
ieche, 437/71, each.
ieke, 437/72, eke, also.
Image of Ypocresye, The, p. 181.
immorality of gentry, described by Cromwell's commissioners, p. 80.
in a venture, 358/186, so that.
in-awnderes, 132/286, ? adventures.
incubyne, 253/2211; 263/2451, *incubus*, nightmare.
inducam, *for* induction, 356/142.
insaciat, 357/178, insatiate.
insinuation, 212/991, registering.
intimations, 212/989, summons.
intrycars, 204/753, intrigues.
ipocras, p. 371.
Ipswich, Wolsey's intended college at, p. 342.
Ireland, state of, p. 38.

Jacobites, French Dominicans, 248/2115, 253/2209; so called from their house in the Rue St. Jacques.
Jane, Queen, Henry VIII's wife, 309/147.
janglynge, 447/67.
"jangelyng, is whan a man spekith to moche biforn folk, and clappith as a mille, and taketh no keep what he saith." Chaucer's *Persones Tale*, De Superbia, vol. iv., ed. R. Bell, p. 40.
japax, adv. in latinised form from jape, mock, jest, 254/2241.
javell, 265/2547.
"He [the Friar] called the fellow ribbalde, villaine, iauel, backbiter, sclaunderer, and the childe of perdition." *Robinson's transl. of More's Utopia*: Arber's reprint, p. 53.
Jesuytes, *Jesuitains*, an order of White Friars, not Jesuits, 248/2113.
jett, 95/77, boast, vaunt, (*jactare*, old Fr. *jacter*).
jettynge, 447/67, strutting about and showing off: "*Fringuerie*, f., a ietting, sprucenesse, trimnesse; also leacherie, taile-frigging, sensuall wantonnesse."—Cotgrave.
Jhesu, a doggrel prophecy, p. 319.
Johannytes, Knights of S. John or Hospitallers, 248/2111.
John, King, bullied by prelates, 222/1320.
John of Bridlington, 317/18.
Jonas, 326/6, 13.
Josselin, Squire, p. 408.
Joye's translation of the New Testament, p. 349, note.

Judgment of Paris, a pageant at the Little Conduit in Cheapside, p. 395.
iustes, 317/8, justice.
justice denied to the poor, p. 136.
jym-jam, 265/2248, knickknack.

keale, vessel for cooling milk, (kealer in Sussex), 124/19.
Kent, the Holy Maid of, p. 473.
Kett's rebels, p. 147; sermon against them, p. 469.
Kingston, Sir Wm., p. 380, note 3.
Kinsman, Lady, p. 406.
knights, few good ones in England in Henry VIII's time, p. 441; 449/122; *cp.* 99/234.
knappish, 265/2545, cross, peevish, sharp.

labour-service commuted, p. 55.
Lady Jane Grey's Lamentation, p. 427.
Lady Jane's Lament, p. 429-431.
laffye, 308/116, laity.
Lamentacyon of a Christen against the City of London; by H. Brinklow, quoted, p. 273–274.
Land of Cokaygne, quoted, p. 61.
Langland on morality of clergy, p. 64.
laps of Anne Boleyn's robes, 372/13.
laske, 225/1411, purgative.
Latimer, quoted, p. 10; p. 27; p. 113; p. 115.
Lauder's 'Godlie Tractate,' quoted, p. 470.
lawyers oppressors of poor, 143/691.
lay-folk, the clerical charges on, p. 463.
lay, 226/1451, law, faith.
laymen despised by clergy, 190/283, 192/353.
laymen despised by Schoolmen, p. 229.
Layton, Dr., Letters to Cromwell, p. 76.
Leaden Hall and its pageant, p. 369.
lechery in England, 448/78.
Lee, King's almoner, letter to Henry VIII, p. 280.
Leland's, John, his Verses for Anne Boleyn's Procession, p. 364, 379–81; p. 392; p. 394-5; p. 399–401.
lendax, 254/227, ? '*lendex, Tarmus* (*tarmes*), *vermis in lardo; Vert de Lart.*'—Ducange.
lerynge, 442/71, leering, grimacing.
lettice, p. 371, 372, 'furre *letice*' Palsgrave: '*Letice*, f., a beast of a whitish gray colour.'—Cotgrave.
lettyng, p. 367, hindering.
leven, 207/834, lightning, sky.
Lever's Sermons, quoted, p. 468, 469, 470, 472, 473.
lib, 256/2275, to geld.
licence to Scotch bondman, p. 14, *n.*
Lincolnshire Rebellion in 1536, p. 302.
Lincolnshire Rebels, the punishment of, p. 311.
liripipes, p. 443.
lob, 232/1645; 256/2275; p. 473, clown.
Locke, the, 318/37; 319/7, ? who or what.
Lombardus, Peter Lombard, author of the 'Sentences,' died 1164, 230/1584.
London beggars in 1550 A.D., p. 469.
London Bridge, 315/25.
London, plague in, A.D. 1549, p. 321.
Lord Chancellor's Dress, p. 371, near foot.
Lord Mayor of London, his river procession on Oct. 29 referred to, p. 365.
lords keep small households, p. 95.
lobye, 243/2063, lubber, stupid fellow.
Lucifer, same as Lucifrans, an obscure sect of the 4th century, 249/2130.
Lucifer's fall, 357/163; p. 346.
Ludgate, p. 370.
lurch, 224/1397, deceit, stratagem.
Luther on Cardinals, p. 219, *n.*
Luther on Friars, p. 249, *n.*, p. 258, *n.*
Luther on mass, and fasting and purgatory, p. 277.
Luther on More, p. 179, *n.*
Luther represented as a dragon, 284/73.
Lutherans, Popish abuse of, protested against, p. 474-5.
luxury, Sir T. More on, p. 5.
lybel, *libellus*, 143/713, list.
lyche, 189/258, like, alike.
lynde, 450/138, lime-tree.
lyvelye, 330/118, living, life-giving.

Maccabees, quoted, 305/18.
Machabees, the, 306/49.
madhead, 327/49, mad fool.
Maid of Kent, p. 178, 233/1685.
Maior of London, p. 371.
makyng, 337/7, writing poetry.
Malepardus (the abode of Reynard the Fox), 230/1585.

mallys, 307/85, malice.
mandrake oil, p. 325 at foot.
manor, p. 371, dwelling-house, palace.
manse, 357/162, man's
marde, 451/188, marred.
mardatus, 257/2295, merdatus, befouled.
Mardoche, 307/181, Mordecai.
Mark's, St., Knights of, a Venetian order, 250/2163.
Marlyon of Selladon, 317/17.
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marriage of near relations allowed by Lutherans, 286/154.
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Mary, the wife of Cleophas, in a pageant, p. 369.
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mastures ?, 320/20.
mavys, 411/45, the song-thrush.
meat, price of, p. 41, 126, 464.
Mede, Mistress, 137/485.
Medusa slain by Theseus, 283/49.
Medwall, Hy.: his sketch of two Dandies of Henry VII's time, quoted from his *Interlude of Nature*, p. 454–5.
Melpomene's speech to Anne Boleyn, p. 383.
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Mercers' Company, p. 366–7.
merchandise restrained by Wolsey, 357/152.
merchant strangers, 317/12.
merchants not to buy too much land, p. 133.
mercymonyes, 208/872, *mercimonium*, merchandise.
Merton, the Parliament of, p. 54.
mesell, 258/2339, leprous, scurvy.
meticulous, 264/2478, timorous.
Minimi; a branch of Franciscans, founded in 1436, by S. François de Paule, 251/2169.
minions, the King's; dandies of Henry VIII's court, p. 440.
Milman, Rev. H. H., on the writer of 'Piers Plowman,' p. 167; on the Morality of Ecclesiastics, p. 174–5.
mys-went, 233/1689, gone astray.
moan, 318/43, moon.
mockaniste, 231/1625; p. 274, ? word formed in jest.
molde warpe, p. 476, mole.
monasteries, their lands put to a worse use, p. 139.
monasteries visited in 1535:—St. Alban's, p. 70; Maiden Bradley, p. 76; Folkestone, p. 77; Bury, p. 78; Fountains, p. 78; Leicester, p. 83.
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monkes of Westminster, p. 371.
monks, different orders of, attacked, p. 245–250.
Moustrell ?, 320/18.
monyalles, 251/2172, monial, a nun.
moote, 449/109, A. Sax. *môt*, moot, assembly, debate.
morality of clergy and monks, p. 59.
More, Sir T., p. 178; p. 232–234; his Apology referred to, 232/1638; his accusers, p. 404.
More in conspiracy with the Maid of Kent, 234/1696.
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More's tyranny, 234/1703.
More's 'Utopia,' quoted, on the state of England, p. 3; alluded to, 233/1684.
morte, 306/45, slaughter.
Mortimer, Earl of March, hanged 29 Nov. 1330, 357/170.
mortuary; gift at death, for tithes, 213/1022.
Muses, the Nine; their speech to Anne Boleyn, p. 388.
musis ? 141/641, muses, praisers.
mychers, 193/398, misers.
Mynorite, Franciscans, *frati minori*, 253/2215.
mysse, 305/32, ill-fortune, mishap.
myswente, ys, 318/19, has gone wrong.

nebulones, 258/2327, *nebulo*, worthless fellow.
Neverthrift, 448/104.
new-fangle guyse, 146/39.
Newstayre in London, p. 366.
nobility cowed by prelates, 223/1344.
nobles leave the country for the Court, 159/15.
noit, 306/40, not.
non-preaching ministers under James I, a satire on, p. 267.

non-sequitur, 450/141.
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Norfolk Rebels, Petition of, p. 147.
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Norris, Sir John, p. 344.
North; his Complaint to Wolsey, p. 337; his Praise of Wolsey, p. 338.
Northbrook, John, of Exeter, p. 476.
note, 445/20, ne wote, know not.
Now a Dayes, p. 93.
"ffor any witte pat men haue *nowe a dayes*," Chaucer's Canon's Yeoman's Tale, Lansd. MS. 851, leaf 168 near the foot.
nunneries at Lichfield and Harwood, visited, p. 78.
nvnyte, 432/46, unity.
Nycolites, probably Augustines, reformed by S. Nicholas of Tolentino, 247/2107.
nycticorax, 254/2240, night-raven.

oblation, called superstition by Lutherans, 285/111.
Observants, order of Reformed Franciscans, founded by S. Bernardino di Siena, 1403, 259/2346.
Occanist, 231/1624, Occamist, a disciple of Occam.
occur, 317/7, ? okyr, usury.
offerings to Saints worn by priests' women, 194/418.
offices, price of, 139/570.
officials, harshness of, p. 134; extortion of, p. 140.
oi *for* oo, 308/118; *for* o, 306/45.
Olyfaunte, 316/7, elephant, ? Henry VIII.
on strawe, 306/58, one straw.
ons, 307/68, once.
oppression of rich, p. 96–98.
ordinaries and clerical courts, p. 474.
other, 132/303, or.
Overthrowe of the Abbyes, The, p. 295.
oxen, price of, in 1583–99, p. 40 *n*.
Oxford, heretical books burnt at, in 1528, p. 346.
Oxford, the Earl of, High Chamberlain of England, p. 372.

Pace's letters to Wolsey, quoted, p. 154.
Packyngton, Augustine, a London mercer, p. 347.
palia, 209/898, Palilia, feasts in honour of Pales.
paliard, 254/2253, *paillard*, lecher, rascal.
Pallas, Juno, Venus, and Mercury, in a pageant, p. 370.
pallax, = *dolosus, fallax*, 253/2230.
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pecke, peke, 183/74, contemptible fellow, p. 218, *n*. See 'hodypeke.'
Pecocke, Sir Stephen, Mayor of London, p. 365.
pectoll, 451/185, breast-cloth.
pediculous, 263/2476, full of lice.
penselles, p. 366, streamers.
penytencyares, 242/2011, officials that prescribe penances.
Percy, Lord Harry, p. 304.
pereles, p. 397 at foot, peerless, without an equal.
persecution by clergy, 183/53.
perseuerauntlye, 452/215, perseveringly.
pestilence or plague, p. 321. [10
Peter, the authority given to, despised by Lutherans, 285/121.
peyse, 164/180, (Fr. *poids*), weight.
pharonicall, 352/27, Pharaoh-like.
pickthanks, 423/86.
Piers Plowman, Vision concerning, quoted, p. 168 *n*., 227/1456.
Pilgrimage of Grace, p. 302.

pill, 198/537, 259/2344, plunder, rob (Fr. *piller*).
pillars carried before Wolsey, 360/256; p. 340 note.
pilled, 214/1032, 225/1441, bald.
Plautus, a comedy of, played in 1519 before Henry VIII, p. 441.
'*Ploughmans Crede*,' quoted, p. 66; p. 187 *n.*, p. 168, *n.*
plumy, 245/2085, feather-cushioned, *plumarium*.
pluralities, priests', p. 362.
plyghte, 410/31, placed, situated.
Plymeworth, 375/25, ? Plymouth.
pochyd, 353/59, stampt down, like poacht ground.
poleaxes borne before Wolsey, 360/256; p. 340.
Political Poems (ed. Wright,) quoted on Idleness of Friars, p. 66, 67, 69; p. 257 *n.*
polles, 315/9, 18, St. Paul's Cathedral.
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poor; they kill themselves from distress, p. 458.
poor cannot gain suits, 141/625.
poor-laws under the Tudors, p. 121.
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Pope, scriptural comparisons to, 215/1091.
pope-holy, 226/1441, and *n.*, *papelardie*, hyprocrisy; *papelardus*.
popes draff, pardons and mass, 436/25–8; 432/25.
popesnes, 432/33, popishness.
Popish slanders of Lutherans, a protest against, p. 474–5.
population lessened, p. 457.
Pore Helpe, A, quoted, p. 273.
porgynge plas, 432/21, Purgatory.
portall, 412/73, gateway, porch.
Portes, 4 Knights of the 5; bearers of Anne Boleyn's canopy, p. 372, p. 380, note 4.
post and glyeke, p. 155, *n.*, games at cards.
poudered, 372/19, ? ornamented with ermine.
poultry scarce, from increase of pasture, p. 102.
poyntes, p. 442, 450/134.
'Praier and Complaynte of the Ploweman,' A.D. 1400, quoted, p. 52.
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Precher; Preaching Friars, *frati predicatori*, or Dominicans, 253/2219.
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prelates compared to wolves, 165/201.
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prelates should work for their bread, p. 238.
presthod, 358/189, priestly office.
Premonstratences; branch of the Austin Canons, founded 1119, 245/2089.
presthod, 358/189, priestly office.
presumatlye, 411/41, presumptuously.
prevate, 305/36, deprived.
prices of poultry and fish in 1532 A.D., p. 465:
prices, rise in, p. 35, p. 114.
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pride hurts England, 146/22.
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propagation, 307/86.
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proseqwuit, 305/14, follow out.
prosse, 132/316, conversation.
prosses, p. 136, process.
Protector Somerset appealed to, 144/759.
pryll, 284/80, to bubble, purl, as water.
punishment of thieves, Sir T. More on, p. 4.
purfeled with miniuer, p. 368.
purfled garments, p. 442.
purgatory, Friars' stories of souls in, 260/2364.
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purgatory not believed in by Lutherans, 287/163.
Purgatory Proctoure, name given by Tyndall to More, 233/1668, p. 274.
purveyors, 143/703; p. 146, *n.*
py, Pied Friars, like Carmelites, a small order with only 2 houses in England, 256/2278.
pyghte, 159/11, framed.
pyllyste, 353/34, pillagest, strippest.
pyrled gold, 455/45, ? not, Fr. *perlé*, rough, not smooth: *fil perlé*, hard twisted thread.—Cotgrave.

quater, 318/16, four on the dice.
querester, 243/2039, chorister.
quibibes, 242/2016, quibble.
quinibles ? 229/1527.
quyche, 357/171, move.—Halliwell.

racked wine, p. 369. *rack*, to pour off liquor; to subject it to a fermentive process.—Halliwell.
rank, *adj.*, 419/24.
rascal, 440/2, low people, cads.
raye clothe, p. 371, striped cloth.
rebellions in 1549, 117–147; 326/21; p. 321; p. 301.
rebellion threatened, 145/768.
recorde, 143/692, recorder.
recure, 308/114, 138, cure?
Red Knight, 320/14, ? who.
Reformed Religion: a Papist's opinion of its priests, p. 472.
regrateres, 125/64, 143/706, retailers.
regratynge, 125/41, huckstering, wrangling. Fr. *regrat.*
renge, 141/626, rank.
Rennishe wyne, racked, p. 369.
rents, rise in, p. 17, 21, 31, 30, 35, 134, 137.
rents raised, p. 457, 458, 464.
rerage, p. 22, arrears.
restort, 330/123–4, restore it.
Reuerys, 316/12, ? who.
retche, 236/1780, reck, care.
Rhodianes, Knights of St. John, who held Rhodes, 250/2140.
Rich, Sir Richard, p. 304.
Robert Manning of Brunne, on the priest's concubine, p. 62.
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Robin Hood as the personification of Bishops, p. 297.
roboracyone, 306/51, strength.
Romans, cause of their decay, 160/43.
rommys, 307/95, posts, situations.
Rose, p. 391, Henry VIII. called in his early days the Rose without a Thorn—a name nicely belied!
rote, p. 366, l. 4 from foot, p. 369, a stump of a tree, Anne Boleyn's device.
rowne, or round, 265/2518, whisper.
Roy's *Rede me and be nott wrothe*, quoted, p. 16, 73, 82, 153, 154; its date is A.D. 1528–9, p. 351.
Roy, quoted, on the burning of the New Testament, p. 350–1; on monks' pride, p. 331, *note* 2; on Standish, p. 347; on Wolsey, and his procession of priests, p. 340.
ruddocke, p. 314/3, robin red-breast.
Ruffianes, a sect of Canons Regular, named after St. Ruf, 250/2139.
rure, 339/59, rear?, build up.
ruskyn, 449/114 roystering. Fr. '*rustre*, m.: a ruffin, royster, hackster, swaggerer.'—Cotgrave.
rutter, 456/20–1. Germ. *reiter*, *rutter*, a rider, trooper; a buck, fine fellow. 'Howe sayst thou, man? am not I a ioly *rutter?*'—Skelton's *Magnyfycence*, Works, ed. Dyce i., p. 249, and ii, p. 245-6.
ruttyngly, 443/847, grandly.
Ruyn of a Ream, The, p. 158.
ryne, 305/21, reign.
rynne, 98/222, rind.
ryve, 143/692, Reeve.

Sabines' simple manners, p. 385, *note* 4.

sacrymentaule, 432/32, sacramental doctrine, real presence, etc.
St. Edward's shrine in Westminster Abbey, p. 372.
St. Martin's Church, Ludgate, p. 370.
St. Mary Hyll, London, p. 366.
Salisbury Plain, 315/17.
sanguisuge, bloodsucker, *sanguisuga*, 222/1304, 236/1802.
sapphire good against sweating sickness, p. 325.
say, 287/161, essay, try.
saye, p. 361, assay, tasting food to see that no poison was in it.
scala celi, 315/14.
scarcity of food in 1527-8, p. 19 : see 'dearth.'
Scenobites, 248/2121, Cenobites, monks living in communities.
scholastic preachers object to Bibles, 229/1528.
Scott, Sir W., quoted, on Lord Howard, p. 332.
sects among the Jews, p. 240.
secundary, 241/2008, delegate.
seisse, 308/126, cease.
sely, 232/1657, poor, in danger.
sensor, 241/1976, censor, judge.
sermons too frequent for many of the clergy, p. 270–71.
Servites, order (Augustine rule) founded in 1239, by 7 Florentine Merchants, 248/2114.
seven deadly sins in the name 'galaunt,' 447/57.
Severn, 320/32.
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shepherds' food and clothing, p. 17.
shermane, 307/71, wool- or cloth-shearer.
shifted her, p. 371, changed her clothes.
'shipman's hose,' proverbial for something that suits every turn, 262/2442.
Shooters Hill, thieves on, p. 362.
shortynge, 431/7, shortening.
Shrewsbyry, my lorde of, p. 311.
Shrewsbury, the Earl of, Lord Furnival, p. 372.
shyche, 433/51, such.
sib, p. 294, kin.
Simon Magus, 357/166.
sin, the unpardonable, 206/799.
singing called howling by Lutherans, 286/139.
sinke, 251/2178, cinque, 5 on the dice.
Sir John, 194/471, 273, familiar name for a priest.
sise, 318/17, six on the dice.
sise synke, 238/1891, 6 and 5 on dice.
sixes and sevens, 'at vi or vij^{e},' 358/207.
skallard, 255/2259, ? scaldehead.
skappler, 198/488, scapular.
Skelton on Friars, p. 263, *n.*; on pride of prelates, p. 221, *n.*
Skelton on Wolsey, p. 331, *note* 1.
Sklaveinytes, 247/2106, wearers of *sclavines* or pilgrim's cloaks.
slasht garments, p. 441.
sleper, 412/65, slippery.
small shanks of gallants, p. 442.
Smith's 'Commonwealth,' on Bondmen, p. 15.
sodomytes, p. 468.
sodomy, prevalence of, in Monasteries, p. 81.
sole, 432/38 soul.
Somerset, Duke of; William Gray's New Year's Poems to him, p. 417–25.
Somerset, Duke of, p. 478.
Sophrans? 248/2122.
sowrly, 306/44, surely.
Spencer or Despencer, Hugh, 357/169
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Spoiling of the Abbeys, The, p. 292.
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statute 7 Henry VIII, cap. 1, (decay of towns, etc.), p. 6.
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stomacher, 455/47.
Stowe on the Sweating Sickness, p. 322.
Stubs's, Philip, 'Anatomie of Abuses' quoted, p. 31, 292.
Styllyard, Merchants of the, p. 368; their pageant, p. 369.
succubine, 253/2212, *succubus*, a devil in woman's shape.
suckeses, 420/31, succease, put an end to.
sue, 188/215, follow (*suivre*).
sufferance, 160/86, submissiveness.
Suffolk, Duke of, p. 302; p. 311–12; p. 372.
suitors, poor, ill-treated and put off, 420, 421/43.
'Supplycacyon for the Beggers' quoted, p. 74, p. 262, *n.*
suppression of monasteries, Letters of Commissioners on, p. 75.
suppressed monasteries, p. 302.
surquedry (*sur-cuidier*), 198/546, presumption, arrogance. 'Presumpcioun, is whan a man undertakith and emprisith that him oughte not to do, or elles that he may not doo, and that is cleped *surquidrye*.'—Chaucer's Persones Tale, *De Supubia*, vol. iv, p. 40, ed. R. Bell.
Surrey, my lorde of, p. 311.
Surrey, Lord, who led at Flodden, p. 332.
surveyors, complained of, p. 116.
suscitate, 356/140, stirred up.
sustentation, 212/978, relief, aid.
swearing in England, 317/10; p. 415, 425/98.
sweating sickness in 1518, alluded to, p. 90, p. 98.
sweating sickness, p. 321–325; 328/57. See Erasmus's letter in Starkey's '*England in Henry VIII's time*,' clxxv., from *Letters and Papers Henry VIII*, vol. 2, ccix., *note*.
swtte, 136/463, suit.
swynke, 238/1869, labour.
syde, 455/38, long.
synck and cater, p. 477, five and four on the dice.
tabellion, 210/932, notary. "A notarie is called a *tabellion*," 1622.—Gerard Malyne's Ancient Law. Merchant, p. 198 (Phil. Soc. Dict.)
Talbot, 334/43, Earl of Shrewsbury.
talewes, 449/108, censorious, A. Sax. *tál*, slander. See *Babees Book* index and references.
tan-houses kept by abbots, etc., p. 362.
tatch, 225/1421, *tache*, spot, trick.
taunt, 207/819, lofty.
Temple Bar, p. 371.
tenant-right, p. 55.
Tercyaris, 250/2147, members of the Tertiary or Secular Order peculiar to Franciscans and Dominicans.
Terpsichore's speech to Anne Boleyn, p. 384.
Tettenhanger, p. 324.
Thalia's speech to Anne Boleyn, p. 384, p. 394.
Thames shall run blood, 316/5.
"the hunte is up, the hunte is up:" a song, p. 311.
theffes, 127/137, theaf, kind of sheep.
"*Then put in prystes wyffes your trust and confydence*," p. 313.
Thetford abbey, p. 311.
Theutonycences, 245/2089, Teutonic Knights.
this, 411/43; 434/107, 109; 432/36, thus.
Thomas of Canterbury, Beket, 317/17; 352/4, 22, 25.
Thomists, followers of Thomas Aquinas, schoolmen, 228/1520.
thowght, 143/722, though.
thrall, 411/49, thraldom.
thrassone, *θρασσω*, 258/2326, boaster.
thryueles, 448/103, thriftless.
tillage giving way to Pasture, p. 5, 30, 31, 34, 97, 125, 137.
tippets, 452/191.
tilling, 265/2522, enticing.
tithes to be commuted to 1-8th, in the Norfolk Rebels' Petition, p. 151.
to, 308/113, until.
toddypoll 255/2264. "Fy, knafys! Fy, *dotty-pols*, with your bookes."—*Townley Mysteries*, p. 145. 'Dotty-pols. *i.e.*, clipped heads, a name given to the priests and other ecclesiastics,' Gloss. *ib.*, p. 335, col. 2. But, query.
Tom-to-bold, Dr.—perhaps Father Peto, 231/1613; p. 229, *note* 2.

topiace, 254/2249, toppice, to hide, (hares).
toppe castles of the Lord Mayor's barge, p. 366.
totorne, 448/81, torn to pieces; slasht, cut, 448/93.
tottes-quottes, 198/531, 213/1017, dispensations.
tottiface, 542/2244, totty, unsteady, wavering.
Tower of Babel (or hell), 359/240; 360/241–2.
Tower of London, p. 343; 354/87; p. 367; 427/14.
Tower of London, Anne Boleyn at, p. 380, *note* 3.
towns, decay of, p. 7, 8, 33, 99.
toyllous, 449/109, working, scheming.
traders, encroachments of, p. 131.
transmygracyon, 451/171.
trappers, p. 368, trappings, horse.
treason under Henry VIII, p. 476.
trentall, 260/2375, collection of 30 Masses for repose of a soul.
trey, 313/19, three on the dice.
Trigge, F., Petition of, p. 34; Sermon by, p. 33.
tristur, 320/11, tryst, appointed meeting.
trowht, 307/68, truth.
troye, 138/520, treye, A. Sax. *trega*, affliction, grief.
true-loves, 193/413, knots on gloves.
trygetours, 449/106, tricksters.
Tunstall, C., Bishop of Durham, alluded to? 161/102,
turkes, 306/56, English non-papists.
twycche, 357/174, ? not 'touch', but a gallows like a big horse-twitch.
Tyndale's New Testament, p. 347.
TYNDALE, on rent-raising, enclosures, etc., p. 458–9; on Westminster Stews, begging Friars, etc., p. 462–4; on Wolsey and Henry's divorce, p. 478.
type, p. 369, a ball or globe.

Udal, N; his Verses for Anne Boleyn's procession; Latin, p. 381–8, p. 391–3; English, p. 388–91; p. 393–4, p. 395.
uncustomed, 440/4, not charged with duty at the custom-house.
ungentleness, 451/165.
vnlawdabyll, 358/191, to be condemned.
Unpreachable Minnisters, the Humble Petition of, p. 267.
Unprosianes, 250/2137, qu. Umbrosians, monks of the order of Vallombrosa.
Urania's speech to Anne Boleyn, p. 386.
ure, p. 96; 235/1743, use.
vre, 307/85, use, execution.
usurers, different classes of, p. 143.
'Utopia,' Sir T. More's, quoted, p. 3.

vagabonds and suspected persons, treatment of, p. 51, *n.*
vagabonds, their punishment in Elizabeth's time, p. 470.
vene, 432/44, vain.
verder of silver, p. 368, ? *verge*, rod, wand.
verger. See the 'long white rod,' p. 372, l. 6.
Vergil, Polydore, his terror of Wolsey, 336.
vestments of clergy and monks, unmeaning, 196/496.
Vox Populi Vox Dei, p. 124; date of it, p. 109; analysis of it, p. 111.
Vox Populi confirmed, p. 414.
voyde of Spice and subtilties, p. 371, the parting dish, last course of a feast. Halliwell.
Vuedale (Udal), Nicholas, p. 378.

Wade, Sir Wm., p. 319.
wafers with verses written on them, p. 370.
wafter, p. 365, 366, a boat of passage.
Wanley, the Cataloguer of the Harleian MSS., p. 405.
warrocked hood, p. 441; 449/115.
Warwickshire Diggers on sheep pastures, p. 37.
wastell, 224/1377, fine bread.
Watling Street, 315/22; 320/12.
Welsh stone, a, 320/24.
Welshmannes hose, a proverbial expression for pliability, 206/814.
'wely, 243/2046, A. S. *welig*, rich, happy.
werrears, 306/54, warriors.
Westminster: Leland's Latin verses on the Cathedral doors, p. 400.
wherry, p. 366.
White Cross, 320/18.
Whitehall, 315/26.
white lace on the left sleeve of Knights of the Bath, p. 371.

White Lion, 334/37 ; p. 332, Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, 1521–2 A.D.
wife, Gray's wicked one, who caused his death, 435/5.
Wight, or White, John, ballad printer, p. 426. Mr. Wm. Chappell dates him (the father), 1613–15.
Wilcocks, Adam, of Exeter, p. 476.
Wiltshire, the Earl of; Anne Boleyn's father, p. 372.
Winceslanes, 250/2138, probably derived from St. Wenceslaus or Wenzel of Bohemia (ob. 928).
Winzet, Niniane, on prelates' licentiousness, p. 473 ; on nobles robbing the church and the poor, p. 475.
'Wit and Wisdom,' quoted, p. 36.
wois, 309/139, whose.
WOLSEY: *Of the Cardnall Wolse*, p. 331; *The Complaynte of Northe* to him, p. 336 ; his Praise by Northe, p. 338 ; his *Impeachment*, p. 340; is described by Roy, p. 340; his College, 352/16 ; his probate courts, p. 354/67 ; his killing the Duke of Buckingham, p. 355/93 ; his vices, 360/247 ; his pomp, 360/255–6, his pride, p. 361, note.
Wolsey and the Statute of Apparel p. 466.
Wolsey and Henry's divorce, p. 478.
Wolsey alluded to, 160/40 ; 163/152.
women, English, vices of, 450/148–159.
women who entice men, p. 439, note 5.
woo, 412/77, woeful, sorry.
Woodall, Mr., p. 304.
worthe, 320/5, become.
wote, 455/39, foot.
wtter, 309/129, utter.
Wycliffe on the bad example set by Prelates, p. 65 ; p. 152, *n.*
Wyllyames, 143/707, ? who.
Wynkyn de Worde's Treatyse of this Galaunt, ? 1520, A.D. p. 438–453.

xuld, p. 311, should.

y prefixt: yerthe, 435/19, 436/47, 52, earth ; yeven, 436/39, 50, even.
Yarmouth, grant of 'fishes royal,' p. 150, *n.*
Yeomanry, decay of the; p. 35, p. 129.
yeven, 436/50, even.
Yslande, 137/474, Iceland.

Zabulon, probably for diabolus, 208/856.

ERRATA.

Page 92, the compositor's Headline pie 'o Nwa ayDes' should be 'Now a Dayes.'
" 110, l. 1 *for* shor *read* short.
" 114, l. 11 *for* Strafford *read Staf*ford.
" 125, heading *for* Shipmasters *read* Sheepmasters.
" 134, line 6. [2] for note refers to 'hurd-up' in the next line.
" 170, l. 2, 3 from bottom, *read* 'and stand, ... or suffer.'
" 195 ; this page is wrongly numbered 125.
" 205, reverse notes 4 & 5.
" 245. Note [1] *for* Maçon *read* Macon.
" 254, Note [12] *read* 'Spenser's *F. Q.* bk. *vii* Mutabilitie, Canto. 7, st. 39.'
" " note [3] *for* ı tted *read* witted.
" " l. 2245 strike out [12].
" 273, l. 13, *for* ch. *read* cp. (compare).
" 286, l. 142. Note [2] 'busseing' perhaps means 'buzzing.'
" 445, l. 19, *for* the / for, *read* / for the.
" 446, l. 45, *for* me, ? *read* we.
" 460, l. 35, *for* 1560, *read* 1550.
" 470, l. 25, *for* be, *read* then be ; l. 29, *for* doath, *read* dooth ; l. 42, *for* But, *read* Bot.

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